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of the
IC & BELGIC TRIBES.
with their
pins and Trackways

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No 27
from Dr. J. B. Williams.
p-0-1 (1897)

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ORIGINAL DELINEATIONS,

TOPOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND DESCRIPTIVE,

INTITULED

THE BEAUTIES OF

England and Wales.

COMPRISING

OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE BRITONS; THE
ROMANS IN BRITAIN; THE ANGLO-SAXONS; THE ANGLO-DANES;
AND THE ANGLO-NORMANS:

TOGETHER WITH

*Remarks on the Progress of Ecclesiastical, Military, and
Domestic Architecture in Succeeding Ages.*

J. Harris
BY J. NORRIS BREWER.

"To be the Heralds of our Country's fame,
Our first ambition, and our dearest aim."

GOUGH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. HARRIS; LONGMAN AND CO.; J. WALKER; R. BALDWIN;
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J. RIVINGTON; AND G. COWIE AND CO.

1818.

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1870, Feb. 11.
Gift of
Rev. Henry H. Jenks,
of Fitchburg.
(H. C. 1863.)

TO THE MEMORY OF HIS GRACE,
HUGH,
Second Duke of Northumberland,

Esq. Esq. Esq.

THIS INTRODUCTORY VOLUME

TO THE
BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES,

FORMING THE COMPLETION OF THAT WORK, IS INSCRIBED

WITH PROFOUND VENERATION.

THIS Volume was patronised by His Grace ; and, by permission long since awarded, was to have been honoured with the sanction of his ILLUSTRIOUS NAME as its Patron. — The whole of its contents display the transitory nature of earthly glory. Alas ! the page of Inscription is woefully emphatic. Between the intention and the act, the noblest work of God—a GOOD MAN—passed from the earth !

Praise cannot now be deemed adulation ! The writer, therefore, indulges in freedom of expression ; and INSCRIBES THIS WORK TO THE MEMORY OF A NOBLEMAN who sustained the true dignity of his Rank by the Courtesy of
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the complete Gentleman ; whose VIRTUES were superior to the trials of every age ; who presented in YOUTH a model for the affluent and ennobled, by the disdain of enervating pleasures, and the dedication of his talents to the most arduous field in which his Country required exertion ; whose PRIME OF MANHOOD was equally useful in the Senate, and admirable in the exemplary practice of social duties ; and who, in the retirement of ADVANCED AND DECLINING LIFE, inspirited patriotic effort by PRECEPT, as before by EXAMPLE, solacing the pains of decrepit seclusion by the exercise of benevolence, and the encouragement of the Literature and the Arts of that Country which his whole personal Career was calculated to adorn.

To the Memory of such a Nobleman, HUGH, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, this Work, a humble Tribute to his lamented Funeral-Monument, is inscribed by

J. NORRIS BREWER.

PREFACE

TO THE

Beauties of England and Wales.

IN concluding this extensive work, the Publisher and Proprietors repeat the sentiments expressed *on the completion of the first volume*.— They await the decision of the Public, with confidence, intermingled with fear. The former is the offspring of the unceasing solicitude bestowed on every part of the undertaking; the latter of the occasional inaccuracies, and deterioration of embellishment, which, even with the most sedulous attention, seem hardly possible to be avoided in a performance of this description.

The time for professions is now passed. The work, in a complete state, is in the hands of the Subscribers; and must, from its own character, evince the sincerity of every avowal formerly made. But, in adverting to this circumstance, and whilst consigning the volumes to a reliance on their intrinsic merits, the Proprietors would beg leave respectfully to observe that *their* duty consisted

consisted in selecting, and duly seconding the exertions of, literary men and artists. After the performance of such an obligation to the Subscribers and to themselves, on the part of the Proprietors, the opinions of the reader and connoisseur in the arts must apply to the respective writers, draughtsmen, and engravers. And it is hoped, that the efforts of all concerned have been equally zealous and able; and have gratified the expectations of those who have supported the undertaking.

Whilst speaking of this work, viewed as a whole, the Publisher reverts to those observations which he submitted on the completion of the *Beauties of England and Wales* as far as regarded the county surveys, and independent of the present volume, comprising an Essay introductory to the prosecution of Topographical researches, and to the study of our National Antiquities.

“It will be readily admitted by the candid of every class, and especially by those conversant in topographical investigation, that some errors and oversights are unavoidable in every department of a work so multifarious in its notices, and published with periodical expedition. These casual faults will plead, it is hoped, their own excuse with the liberal; and it is confidently presumed that no topographical work, equally comprehensive,

sive, has appeared with less numerous inaccuracies in a first edition.

“ If the same scale of comparison may be allowed, the Publisher would beg permission to suggest, in regard to such Subscribers as have complained of the length of time employed in the progress of the **BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND**, that it is believed a work so comprehensive, founded on actual and minute survey, was never written, printed, and produced to the Public, in a shorter period, although this has been retarded, in many of its parts, by circumstances peculiarly unpropitious.”

The Subscribers and the Public are entitled to a full explanation of the rise and progress of a work which has received extensive patronage, and has, assuredly, conducted in a memorable degree towards rendering an object of fashionable pursuit that species of research, which, until late years, was considered destitute of interest to all but the dull explorer of pedigrees, and the melancholy and tasteless examiner of ruinous masses of stone, who venerated such fragments only because they were old.—Without undue assumption, it may be asserted, that the **BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES** have performed the laudable task of ameliorating much that was repugnant in the crust of antiquity ; have shewn that even the discussion of pedigrees may become a delightful source of
information,

information to the general reader, by extracting, and holding forth to notice, names little known, but connected with interesting passages in the story of past days ; and have proved that ponderous masses of monastic or castellated stone, nearly shapeless through age, and overgrown with ivy, are often fraught with tales of touching emphasis.

They have endeavoured to render it familiar with the polite, as well as the erudite, that no expanse of British ground is so steril as to want a claim on the feelings and taste of the investigator, who combines the shades of past scenery with present appearances. It has, indeed, been their aim to prove that the walk of Topographical Literature is not calculated for confinement to the dry indiscriminate antiquary and the genealogist ; but that the description of a particular place may be rendered the inspiriting centre of intelligence at once various, amusing, and instructive ; uniting the beauties of natural history, and the progress of science and the arts, with a display of the last noble result of cultivated nature—moral and intellectual excellence.

The rise of this Work ; its procedure through the first nine volumes ; and its known influence on the topographical literature of the age ; are thus explained in a letter from Mr. Britton to the Editor of this Introductory volume.

Letter

TO THE BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES. ix

Letter from J. Britton, Esq. F.S.A. to Mr. J. Norris Brewer.

DEAR SIR,

In compliance with your wishes, I will endeavour to furnish some account of the origin and early progress of the *BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES*;—point out the manner in which that work was originally conducted, and furnish you with the names of most of those gentlemen who afforded myself and Mr. Brayley literary information towards the completion of the first nine Volumes, Volume Eleven, and a portion of the Fifteenth. A statement of this kind appears to be not only due to the patrons of the Work, but an essentially component part of it.

I am the more desirous of being particular on these subjects, and of recording certain facts in the *Volume* you are now printing, as I am well aware, that both myself and my early coadjutor have been implicated in the errors of other persons, with whom we were never directly or indirectly connected. Believe me, my dear Sir, though I am eager to justify myself for what is done,—guard against erroneous conclusions,—and furnish the future Topographer and Biographer with accurate data respecting a large and popular publication, I do not wish to traduce any of its editors, authors, or publishers; or make a statement that is not strictly applicable to the contents, and execution of the Work. From the experience you have had in collecting and writing the accounts of Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, and Middlesex, you must be well aware of the extreme difficulty of obtaining correct information on many subjects which you may be desirous of explaining;—of the incompetency of some to afford communication;—of the indolence and apathy of others;—of the reserved pride of certain persons, and contemptuous conduct of others. These are only some of the unpleasantnesses we have had to encounter:—hence the experienced topographer and acute critic should exercise much lenity in estimating the contents of a work like the present, which embraces such a vast variety of subjects,—of places, persons, and things;—many of which, from the limits which we originally prescribed to ourselves, could only be briefly noticed, not
illustrated

illustrated in detail. At the commencement of this publication, we were certainly much too concise,—indeed on many subjects wholly silent. As the work advanced we acquired not only more knowledge of general chorography and antiquities, but also learnt what was required by the topographical reader; and what was essential towards the completion of the publication. Anxious to satisfy the one, and effect the other, we extended our views,—eagerly sought for original information,—visited nearly every town and principal place in each county,—obtained original communications from many distinguished persons, as will be shewn in a subsequent list,—analyzed and compared *every topographical work* that had been published,—and indeed zealously endeavoured to render the work, not only satisfactory and creditable to ourselves, but to the critical reader, and to the country. As conducive to this end, we sought a new style of *embellishment*; in which accuracy of representation should be combined with picturesque effect: in which the young draftsman and engraver, should have an opportunity of displaying their respective talents, and vie with each other in the career of fame.—A new era in topographical literature, as you will readily admit, has been created since the commencement of this century—for, before the *BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND* appeared, the generality of county histories, and antiquarian works were rather disfigured than adorned by their embellishments. A few of the old draftsmen and engravers are, however, entitled to respect and praise. *Hollar*, *Loggan*, and *Burghers*, have bequeathed us many interesting views of buildings, monuments, stained glass, &c.: but many of the works, even of these artists, are very inaccurate; and from the obvious reason, that the engravers were not sufficiently remunerated for their skill and time. The old bird's-eye views, by *Kip*, *Knyff*, &c. and the Views, by *S. and N. Buck*, are highly useful and interesting; but this class of embellishment is at present “out of fashion.” The “*cuts*,” as they are sometimes called, contained in *Grose's* “*Antiquities*,” and those copied from them, are only tolerable in the very infancy of literature and art, and may be regarded as approaching to caricatures in topography. *Gilpin's*
views

views in his various "Tours," have a certain degree of prettiness and picturesque effect: but they have no one quality of accuracy, nor do they deserve to be classed with topographical embellishments. They may amuse the young masters and misses of drawing schools, but unfortunately they lead to slightness and a neglect of fidelity. In *Pennant's* works, and *Cordiner's* 'Antiquities of Scotland,' there are some respectable prints. Dr. STUKELEY, in his volumes on 'Stonehenge,' and 'Abury,' and in his '*Itinerarium Curiosum*,' was the first topographical antiquary that furnished plans and sections of buildings, &c; and these are now become eminently interesting and valuable. But for his prints of Avebury, or Abury, as he calls it, we should not have known the magnitude and arrangement of that vast druidical or aboriginal monument. By these and his descriptions, we are enabled to ascertain the immense extent, and unique arrangement, of that mighty work; which the *Goths*, of modern times, have almost destroyed.* To my respected, but visionary countryman, JOHN AUBREY, we are also indebted for much curious information on the state of many antiquities, before Stukeley's time. The topographical works of Dugdale, Plot, Carew, Lambard, Burton, and Thoroton, are truly valuable and curious. The first engravings, however, of interest, in our times, were Hearne and Byrne's '*Antiquities of Great Britain*;' and these have since been succeeded by a list of works too numerous to be particularised here; but the greater part of which have originated from the BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND: some in opposition to it; some from emulation; and others from a spirit of enquiry, and love of the subject, which grew up with the progress of that work. Among other topographical publications, which have thus courted public patronage, and some of which have conferred honour

* A view of this village is given in the account of Wiltshire, Vol. XV. merely to shew a few of the upright stones: but to attain an accurate knowledge of the whole temple, in its pristine and perfect state, it is necessary to display it by ground-plans, and different geometrical views. This I propose to do in my third Volume of the "*Beauties of Wiltshire*," which is ready for the press, and will speedily be produced.

nour on their respective authors and districts, I feel much pleasure in noticing the following :—

"*The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*," now publishing in folio, by GEORGE ORMEROD, Esq. M.A. and F.S.A. is a very valuable and interesting specimen of topography. This gentleman communicated much useful and original information relating to Lancashire, and generously presented a plate of the collegiate church at Manchester. In one of his letters to me, dated September 3, 1807, he thus judiciously remarks on the character of the present work. "I always considered your 'Beauties' as not intended to enter into deep disquisitions applicable only to the antiquary, or addressed merely to the local vanity of certain county inhabitants; but, as a popular work for general entertainment and utility, a focus to collect the rays of scattered information."

"*Cantabrigia Depicta*," by Messrs. Harraden and Son, one Vol. 4to. with several plates. "*A History and Description of Cornwall*," now publishing in 4to. by F. HITCHINS, Esq. and S. DREWE, of St. Austle. The latter gentleman visited some places in Cornwall, with me, in 1804: and also communicated several long and interesting letters on the manners, customs, habits, &c. of the miners of that county. A "*History and Illustration of St. George's Chapel, Windsor*," by William Herbert, and F. Nash, folio. A "*History of Islington*," by Mr. Nelson, one Vol. 4to. "*The History of the Inns of Court and Chancery*," by W. HERBERT, one Vol. 4to. and 8vo. "*The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton*," by G. Baker. This worthy and zealous topographer has announced the above work to be comprised in four Vols. folio: and I am enabled, from personal knowledge, to say, that his collections are vast; and that he is assiduous and indefatigable in accumulating and analysing an extensive mass of materials. He very kindly furnished much original information towards the account of Northamptonshire, in the eleventh Volume of this work.—An *Account and Illustrations of the Isle of Wight*, one Vol. 8vo.—"*The Southern Coast*

Coast of England," now publishing in 4to. Numbers.—"*The Thames, with Graphic Illustrations*," two Vols. 4to. and 8vo. produced by Messrs. W. and G. COOKE, and so highly creditable to their professional talents, would probably never have appeared but from the excitement and example of the *Beauties of England*, for which work, both those excellent Engravers executed some of the early plates. It is a pleasing circumstance to the true lover of topography, to contemplate such eminent literary and graphic publications, and to know that the taste for, and the laudable rivalry displayed in them, have originated in a work, which was as humble and unassuming in its origin, as the authors were in circumstances and pretensions.

Respecting the *embellishments* of this work, it is proper to remark, that, both myself and Mr. Brayley, wished to give subjects of Antiquities more frequently than they were adopted, knowing that such prints were more particularly required by the purchasers;—but this was objected to by the Publisher, who preferred *seats and wood-scenery*, considering these the principal *beauties* of the country. From this circumstance, arose the "*Architectural Antiquities*," and *Antiquarian Cabinet*," the first of which has been completed in four Vols. 4to. with 270 Plates. The latter work was commenced by Mr. Brayley, and is finished in ten Vols. 18mo. with above 400 Plates.

After the death of the original Publisher, I was requested by the respectable Publisher of this Volume, to write the account of *Wiltshire*, my native county, to form part of the Fifteenth Volume of the present work; and this portion of the *Beauties*, I can refer to with some degree of confidence and pleasure, as consisting almost wholly of original information, and being the result of personal inquiry and examination.

"THE BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES," in title and plan, originated in "*the Beauties of Wiltshire*," two volumes,* which I published in 1801, in conjunction with Messrs. Verner and Hood, booksellers

* I must remark, however, that those volumes have little pretensions to topographical

booksellers, of the Poultry. At that time, I believe, there was not an *original* topographical work published respecting England, generally, excepting, indeed, the "Magna Britannia," in six volumes, quarto. There was also "A Description of England and Wales," in ten volumes, 12mo, 1769, and some folio works, called "Boswell's Antiquities," and "British Travellers," chiefly copied from "Grose's Antiquities," and published with fictitious names, which are only entitled to notice here, to guard the young topographer; as I am justified in saying they are *hasty* and illiterate compilations, without any attempt at originality, or comparative examination. Like the blinded horse in a mill, each compiler followed the other in plodding, thoughtless, unvaried succession; and thus error upon error has been repeated, and absurdity after absurdity disseminated. "The Antiquities of England and Wales," &c. by Grose, 1772, 1776, only embraced a few objects in the wide range of English topography. It had, however, been popular, and that led the Publishers of the "Beauties" to anticipate equal success in a new publication, which should embrace all the essential ingredients of Grose's work, also of Camden's "Britannia," and be combined with whatever was interesting in the recent local histories, agricultural surveys, general tours, &c. as well as include such original information as could be obtained. Mr. Hood, the acting partner of the firm above-mentioned, readily agreed to take a principal share in our newly-projected work; and Mr. Brayley and myself commenced a general tour over England and Wales, in June, 1800. The first Number, devoted to Bedfordshire, was published in April, 1801; and from that time
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topographical or antiquarian merit. They were written under very unfavourable and depressing circumstances, and in referring to them, I wish to obtain the most favourable and candid construction from the topographical critic. Mr. Gough, in the Gentleman's Magazine, wrote some harsh, but I believe, just strictures on them. A third volume, to conclude the work, and embrace accounts of such places as are not noticed in the two volumes, is now ready for the press, and I trust is not only better written, but more strictly topographical than the former.

till the conclusion of the Sixth Volume, the publication was continued in our joint names, and with our united co-operation, and exertion. The Numbers, however, did not appear in regular periodical succession; which occasioned frequent disputes between the Publisher and the authors; and probably dissatisfied some of the most eager readers—It should, however, be remembered that the work was not intended to be a mere compilation, nor is it composed of select extracts, as the absurdity of its title of “*BEAUTIES*,” has been supposed to intimate:—a large portion of it is original matter, and the parts derived from printed authorities, were carefully analysed, investigated and acknowledged. This, indeed, must to the topographical reader, and to those who will give themselves the trouble of comparing the particular account of any place, or county, with preceding works. In explanation of one of the delays of publication, Mr. Brayley penned the following address for the wrapper of No. X.

“The present Number has been delayed partly in consequence of my own indisposition, and partly by the absence of *Mr. Britton*, who, for the sole purpose of obtaining original and accurate information, undertook, in the most inclement season of the year, [Dec. 1801] to make a journey through the counties of *Cornwall and Devon*, in the former of which he is yet pursuing his researches. It is our most ardent wish to render *THE BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES*, as *original*, as *correct*, and as *interesting*, as any work of a similar nature, and limits, that can ever issue from the press. If, therefore, from the delay of *promised* communications, (and this is not one of the least inconveniences

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* The title of “*BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND*,” &c. was retained in deference to the wishes of the Publisher; but the authors were so fully sensible of the inadequacy of that phrase to explain the nature of the work, that they afterwards subjoined the words “*ORIGINAL DELINEATIONS, Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive*,” as a secondary title, and more illustrative of its contents. The title of “*Beauties of England*,” &c. had been previously adopted in two or three superficial and slight works, which will be enumerated in a subsequent page.

we have to combat,) from indisposition, or, from the time which necessarily elapses in procuring genuine materials, by journeys to different parts of the kingdom, the publication should at any future time, as in this case, be *unavoidably* protracted, we trust that our Subscribers will pardon the delay; and the more especially, because it will never be resorted to, but when it tends to increase the accuracy of the work."

The first six Volumes have been jointly executed by Mr. Brayley and myself; and it is but justice to state, that the greatest portion of their literary composition was from the pen of that gentleman, who, with much care and exertion, endeavoured to render them accurate and original. The principal travelling, correspondence, labour of accumulating books, documents, direction of draughtsmen, engravers, and some other necessary vocations, chiefly devolved on me; and I felt it a pleasure and duty to prosecute my task with zeal and assiduity. At the close of the sixth volume it was deemed expedient that each of us should undertake to write and conduct a Volume alternately; and, by arrangement, the counties of Hertford, Huntingdon, and Kent, devolved on Mr. Brayley, for Vol. VII.; whilst Lancashire, Leicestershire, and Lincolushire, came under my direction, for Vol. VIII. The former counties having extended to two Volumes, mine was numbered IX. In the prosecution of this Volume, I was actuated by a favourite maxim, that the writer and reader should perfectly understand each other; that there should be no reserve or ambiguity in the former, nor suspicion or doubt with the latter. A mutual cordiality and confidence should exist, and then the one would pursue his labours with comfort and pleasure to himself, whilst the other would read with additional advantage and delight: besides, in an extensive work, like the present, the author must calculate on the communications of intelligent correspondents; who will not be likely to write *freely* and *fully*, unless they are confident that their favours will be properly appreciated and applied. I therefore stated my views and opinions as to the characteristics
of

of "the Beauties of England," in the following terms, in a circular letter, to many gentlemen of the counties just named.

"Brevity, perspicuity, and selection, are the most essential desiderata in the present work: which is not intended to inform the veteran antiquary and topographer, but rather to instruct and please the general reader. It is not to be considered merely as a dry, dull, chronicle of facts, but a popular History and Description of the CITIES, TOWNS, CHIEF SEATS, and ANTIQUITIES; with the NATURAL and ARTIFICIAL CURIOSITIES of every county. Its province is to give a pleasing and familiar picture of the *geography, statistics*, and national peculiarities of England, in the aggregate, and of its parochial characteristics in particular. Such is the idea I have formed of what the work ought to be, and it will be my aim to render the topographical accounts of Lancashire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, &c. conformable to this standard."

In regard to that portion of MIDDLESEX, or rather of LONDON, which was written by Mr. Brayley, and in the general work is styled the First and Second Parts of Volume X. but which actually constitute Volumes in themselves—Mr. Brayley has desired me to say, "that (with one exception) the only gentleman from whom he obtained any particular written information, was his respected friend, *Thomas Fisher, Esq.* For, whatever else appears in those Volumes, up to page 720, of the Second Part, was principally obtained by his own labour, and his own researches. Much *oral* information, however, was procured during his progress through London, from divers gentlemen, who declined having their names publicly noticed.

"The account of HUNTINGDONSHIRE was likewise drawn up, chiefly, from his own notes; from the Latin Histories of Ramsey Abbey and Ely, published by Gale, in the *Decem Scriptores*; and from what has been called the 'Cotton Manuscript,' preserved among Baker's Collections, in the University Library, at Cambridge."

On reviewing the commencement, and early progress of this work, I cannot but feel greatly astonished at its rapid success

and popularity;—at the number and variety of correspondents and friends it called forth from several counties, and at the influence it produced on topographical literature. This astonishment, however, chiefly arises from a knowledge that both myself and my co-adjutor were unknown in the republic of letters—were in very humble stations of life, and consequently without the influence or connexion, calculated to produce those effects. Yet thus circumscribed, we gradually and imperceptibly extended our sphere of communication—increased the reputation and sale of the work, by improving its contents, and by demonstrating a disposition to be sincere, and to impart all the information that was communicated.

Having thus, my dear Sir, detailed all such particulars as occur to me to be material for publication, I would also furnish you with corrections and additions to the volumes already referred to; but fear that this task would impel you to extend your Introductory remarks much beyond the prescribed limits.—At first, as already noticed, we were very brief; but, in the course of fifteen years, I have made so many additions to each county, that I should feel extreme difficulty in selecting from the mass such materials as would be deemed requisite by the general reader, and still not be regarded as too prolix for supplementary matter. Many corrections are already printed in the errata to each Volume.

The Introductory Volume, to which it is proposed to annex this statement, I have reason to believe, will be useful and interesting. It is essential to the work, and it was always our intention to have written a preliminary memoir; but, in our calculations, concerning the accounts of Bedfordshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire, we were certainly much deceived by supposing that such a review would make only about half as much again as the letter-press of those counties, and thus constitute a portion of the first Volume. You have very properly decided on making it a distinct Volume.

Believe me yours, very truly,

JOHN BRITTON.

Tavistock Place, August 24, 1817.

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The principal circumstances connected with the design and early progress of this undertaking, are explained with equal candour and accuracy in the preceding comprehensive letter. Such particulars relating to its subsequent procedure, as are necessary to be communicated to the Subscribers, may be stated in the following terms.

On the decease of Mr. Hood, which occurred in the year 1811, when not more than ten Volumes and a few Numbers had appeared, his successor declined the future management of the work; and that difficult task was undertaken by Mr. Harris, the present Publisher, in attention to the general wish of the remaining proprietors. In the performance of a duty implicating so many objects, and depending on so great a variety of co-adjutors, he has not failed to meet with many circumstances productive of delay and perplexity. But, conscious of using indefatigable exertions to *hasten*, as much as was possible, without *hurrying*, the completion; and equally conscious of adopting every measure which appeared to promise benefit to the publication; he relies on the candid approbation of the Subscribers, and trusts that the work, in its general character, is executed consistently with their wishes.

His exertions would have been unavailing without the co-operation of the other proprietors. He

feels it necessary and desirable to observe, that one sentiment alone has prevailed among the whole of those concerned in the property of this publication. Viewing it as a work calculated to meet with national encouragement, and to form a legitimate source of topographical information in ages subsequent to its first appearance, they determined on considering expense as a secondary object, and on procuring the best local intelligence which pecuniary liberality could command.

It is requisite to state explicitly the different persons who have assisted in the principal divisions of the work, while under the management of the present Publisher. On the secession of Mr. Britton and Mr. Brayley, several writers were engaged to investigate and describe different counties. The following enumeration shews the gentlemen employed for respective districts :—

Vol. 12.	{	Comprising Northumberland	Rev. John Hodgson.	
		Nottinghamshire - - - -	F. C. Laird.	
		Oxfordshire - - - -	J. Norris Brewer.	
		Rutlandshire - - - -	F. C. Laird.	
Vol. 13.	{	Comprising Shropshire, So-	} Rev. J. Nightingale.	
		mersetshire, and Stafford-		
Vol. 14.	{	shire - - - -	}	
		Comprising Suffolk, Surrey,		Frederic Shoberl.
Vol. 15.	{	and Sussex - - - -	}	
		Comprising Warwickshire		J. Norris Brewer.
		Wiltshire - - - -		John Britton, F.S.A.
		Westmorland - - - -		Rev. John Hodgson.
Vol. 16.	{	Worcestershire - - - -	} F. C. Laird.	
		Yorkshire - - - -		J. Biglaud.
Vol. 17.		North Wales - - - -	Rev. J. Evans.	
Vol. 18.		South Wales - - - -	Rev. T. Rees, F.S.A.	

The

The

The completion of the Tenth Volume must be explained by the following brief statement.—This Volume consists of five Parts, and comprises the History of London and Westminster, together with that of the county of Middlesex. The eighteen first Numbers, (ending at page 720, of the Second Part,) were written by Mr. Brayley. It then became desirable to request other assistance; and the task of finishing the topographical account of London and Westminster was undertaken by the Rev. J. Nightingale. The Part comprising delineations of Middlesex, as a county separate from the metropolis, was written by Mr. J. Norris Brewer, and contains a notice of every parish in that county.—It is presumed that the Public will duly appreciate the difficulty of continuing the pages relating to London and Westminster, on a plan not laid down by the writer.*

In regard to the embellishments, the Publisher can truly aver; that engravers of the greatest eminence, or promise, have been anxiously sought after,

* The above five Parts, or Volumes, of the "BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND, are published separately, under the following title: "London and Middlesex; or an Historical, Commercial, and Descriptive Survey of the Metropolis of Great Britain, including Sketches of its Environs, and a Topographical Account of the most remarkable Places in the above County. Illustrated with Engravings." The price of the Work, in boards, is 6*l.* 5*s.* small paper; and large paper, 10*l.*

after, and their exertions liberally remunerated. He trusts, therefore, that the Plates will be found generally executed with due talent and fidelity.

On finally taking leave of the Subscribers to this Work, and (on the present occasion) of its numerous friends, the Publisher and Proprietors have the sincere gratification arising from a consciousness of having endeavoured to realize every promise held forth at the commencement of the concern, with the exception of *a List of the Subscribers*. This promise was made in the infancy of the undertaking ; and the subsequent extension of patronage, and alterations proceeding from the great length of time employed in its completion, will, it is confidently hoped, plead a sufficient apology for the abandonment of such a part of the original design.

That very arduous part of the promised contents, an INTRODUCTION, comprising "a Review of British, Roman, and Saxon History," has been performed, at an expense of time and labour to which the *size of the Volume* is by no means correspondent.

The Subscribers will recollect that the Introductory Essay was originally intended to form part of the first Volume, but that its execution was deferred, on account of "the length of time, and extensive reading, necessary to the full investigation and arrangement of the numerous and complex subject

jects it involves."*—It is hoped that the same causes of delay will obtain an excuse for its late appearance, when consigned to the hand of a writer unconnected with the work in its early stages. But he has great pleasure in acknowledging the friendly conduct of MR. BRITTON, who has, on every occasion, afforded with most obliging liberality, such information as was requested concerning the plan on which it was originally intended that the Introduction should be executed; and has, also, favoured the author with the loan of several rare books.

It was observed, in a former address to the Subscribers, that "The publication of **THE BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES**, in a series of detached parts, rendered unavoidable a vast number of allusions to the state of the country, in preceding times; and to the manners and endowments of the inhabitants, and the prevailing laws, institutions, and arts at different periods of history. To have elucidated these on every occurrence would have led to innumerable repetitions; and entirely to omit all elucidation would leave the Work much less complete and satisfactory than the Proprietors were desirous it should ultimately remain in the hands of their Subscribers. Necessity, therefore, has combined with inclination in throwing together, as Introductory matter, whatever is of general application."

Such

* Advertisement on the completion of the first Volume of the *Beauties of England and Wales*.

Such terms of explanation, however, scarcely apply to the whole of the desiderata which became obvious on a more mature consideration of the subject. The requisite topics of disquisition in a complete introduction to the study of English and Welsh Topography, were, indeed, found to be so multifarious, that it remained only to make a selection of the classes imperatively demanding notice.

In prosecuting this choice of subjects, the Editor has been guided by an estimate of the objects most frequently occurring in topographical researches, and least illustrated by remarks to be found, in a condensed form, in books easily attainable. He has, therefore, selected, as primary objects of attention, those subjects of antiquarian enquiry which form so large and interesting a portion of the "Beauties;" and concerning which the most satisfactory information is scattered in many weighty, recondite, and very expensive works.

In the execution of his task he has abstained, in general practice, from the delivery of individual opinion; and has considered it his duty to present a digest of the remarks afforded by the most judicious writers upon every subject chosen for discussion.—Thus endeavouring to render "the Introduction to the Beauties," a brief summary of antiquarian observations on such topics as appeared to be most essential in topographical investigations.

If the reader should deem his pages deficient in that relief which springs from anecdote, and which has

has been cultivated in our County delineations, he is requested to recollect that the unavoidable limits of the Introduction prevented much attention to incidental remark, or studied ornament ; and that the first, great object of the Editor was the conveyance of information. In attempting this office, it has been his endeavour to facilitate as much as possible the study of antiquities, by rendering the approaches easy ; and by referring, in the margin, to works of most ready intelligence, while more abstruse authorities are left for notice in the appended list of Books treating on the collective topography and antiquities of this country.

Anxious to avail himself of the opportunity presented by the Introductory Volume, the Editor, under the direction of the Publisher, has collected from the writers of several counties some additional corrections, together with a few particulars of intelligence obtained since the production of their respective volumes, or calculated to supply omissions almost inevitable to the celerity of periodical publication.

It has likewise been judged desirable to insert in this volume, summaries of the population, according to the returns made under the authority of Parliament in the year 1811, for all such counties as were described in "the Beauties" before the publication of those returns. Thus, as far as was attainable, the Proprietors have endeavoured to render their work applicable, in every important point.

point, to the existing state of topographical circumstances.

A truly pleasing duty remains to be performed.

—The names of those noblemen and gentlemen who favoured this publication with the contribution of Plates ; who honoured the different editors with a correspondence on the subject of topographical information ; or otherwise facilitated the execution of these Historical and Descriptive Delineations of England and Wales ; have often been noticed, during the progress of the work, only on such supernumerary leaves as were liable to be destroyed on the binding of the volumes in a complete form.

—A grateful sense of respect to these liberal patrons of the undertaking, imperatively demands that their names should be now collected, and presented to the remembrance of the Subscribers and the Public, in pages which, from situation, are likely to be as durable as those improved by the intelligence that they afforded. In addition to the tie of gratitude, it cannot fail of being desirable to exhibit the degree of favour obtained in the execution of so extensive a topographical work, as a mark of the superior liberality of the present age, compared with those in which similar investigations were, with greater difficulty, carried into effect.

It is requisite, however, that the editors should place a faithful record in the annals of topography ; and it must not be concealed that, in nearly every county,

county, some partial discouragement occurred, from the prejudices or indifference of individuals, whose situation in life should have rendered them superior to misapprehension or literary apathy. Insensible themselves to the pleasures arising from such a pursuit, these persons forgot that their station and opportunities imposed it as a social duty that they should aid in the gratification of others, through the medium of a publication intended for general perusal.—Peace be with the indifferent! and long may their honours of office, or manorial possessions, lend tranquillity to their slumbers! The contumelious are left to the misery inflicted by injurious folly, without one wish for an augmentation of its pangs.

The list of those who favoured the work with local information and graphic contributions, is honourable to the LITERARY SPIRIT of the age, and is justly a subject of gratification and pride with the persons on whom the obligations were more particularly bestowed.

The editor of the INTRODUCTION inserted a request for communications on antiquarian subjects, of a local character, but admitting of a general application, in the Gentleman's Magazine, and other eligible periodical publications. This address was answered, in a solitary but valuable instance, by THOMAS WALFORD, Esq. F. A. S. of Birdbrook, Essex; whose politeness of manner rendered

rendered additionally pleasing the opinions which he communicated on the subjects of crypts, and the round towers of churches.

But the personal applications of the same editor were attended with a degree of success entitled to his lasting gratitude. It is with sincere pleasure that he acknowledges the assistance of the REV. T. LEMAN, of Bath, since the name of this gentleman must necessarily bestow importance on those pages which underwent his revision. To Mr. Leman this work is indebted for the drawings of the two maps by which it is illustrated. The first exhibiting the situation of the different tribes of Britain, with their towns and trackways, as they existed at the first invasion of Cæsar ; and the second containing a display of Roman stations and roads.

It is here necessary to explain that the latter map is formed on one, from a drawing by the Rev. T. Leman, inserted in Mr. Hatcher's edition of Richard of Cirencester ; to which are added, in the present publication, numerous discoveries made since the appearance of that work.—The Proprietors are greatly obliged by Mr. Hatcher having permitted them to profit by his engraving, in every particular useful to the artist employed by themselves.

That part of the letter-press which relates to the geography of ancient Britain, is chiefly formed on intelligence conveyed by Mr. Leman ; and it
is

is to be regretted that the limits of the Introduction prevented the editor from availing himself more largely of the rich stores of information unreservedly laid open by so profound and judicious an antiquary. All that is of principal value in the remarks on the construction, and characteristic features, of Roman roads, likewise proceeded from information and corrections afforded by the same gentleman.

The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF CLOYNE, is particularly requested to permit the Editor to return thanks for marks of polite attention, which were circumscribed only by his diffidence in intruding on time so truly valuable as that of his Lordship.

To JOHN NICHOLS, Esq. F.A.S. he is indebted for the loan of several estimable books, and for facilities afforded to various objects of enquiry.

Materials for the article on the Civil Divisions and Laws of the Anglo-Saxons, were furnished by a gentleman whose professional pursuits should render him capable of communicating valuable information on those subjects.

The above acknowledgments express the extent of assistance received by the Editor of the Introduction, except that he was aided in forming the list of books treating on the topography and antiquities of England collectively, by Mr. W. UPSCOTT, of the London Institution, whose intimate acquaintance

acquaintance with all such publications is proved by his useful and curious work, intituled, *A Bibliographical Account of the principal Works relating to English Topography*.

The following PLATES were given to the Authors in the course of the publication, and again presented to the Public, in addition to the usual number of Plates promised in the conditions.*

VIEWS OF PLACES		GIVEN BY
Coleshill - - - -	Berks	The Earl of Radnor
Stow - - - -	Bucks	The Marquis of Buckingham
Stoke Park - - -	Bucks	John Penn, Esq.
Powderham Castle -	Devon	(Two Views) Lord Courtney, (by the favour of Mr. Craig)
Fulford House - - -	Devon	Baldwin Falford, Esq.
Oxten House - - -	Devon	Rev. J. Swete
Wolford Lodge - - -	Devon	General Simcoe
Willersley Castle - -	Derbysh.	Richard Arkwright, Esq.
Gosfield Hall - - -	Essex	(Two Views) The Marquis of Buckingham
Hermitage at Whitley	Essex	Thomas Walford, Esq.
Belchamp Hall - - -	Essex	Rev. Samuel Raymond
Audley End - - - -	Essex	Lord Braybrooke
Cuffnells - - - -	Hants	Right Hon. George Rose
Colney House - - -	Hertford	George Anderson, Esq.
Quarry Hill - - - -	Kent	James Burton, Esq.
Interior of Rochester Cathedral - - - }	Kent	Thomas Fisher, Esq.
Lancaster - - - -	Lancash.	John Dent, Esq.
		Liverpool

* This list is communicated to the Editor of the Introductory Volume, by Mr. Britton.

TO THE BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES. XXXI

VIEWS OF PLACES		GIVEN BY
Liverpool Commercial Buildings - }	Lancash. Corporation of Liverpool	Do.
Liverpool Town Hall		
Heaton Hall (by the favour of Mr. Craig) }	Lancash. Earl of Wilton	
Collegiate Church, Manchester - - }	Lancash. George Ormerod, Esq.	

A list of correspondents relating to the first NINE VOLUMES, and to VOLUME THE ELEVENTH, was enclosed with the letter from Mr. Britton, already submitted to the reader. The Editor has taken the freedom of introducing it in this place, with the view of affording, as far as was practicable, a collective and unbroken record of the principal contributors of literary, or local, information to the Beauties of England and Wales, in all their parts.

Prefixed to Mr. Britton's list, is the following observation: — "The warmest acknowledgments of myself and Mr. Brayley are due to the noblemen and gentlemen recorded in the following list, as well as to many others who expressly desired that their names might not be made public; yet who, nevertheless, communicated much valuable information."

The Earl of Harcourt	The Rev. Thomas Leman
Sir Richard C. Hoare, Bart.	The Rev. John Whitaker
Sir Henry Eaglesfield, Bart.	The Rev. James Ingram, Saxon
John Dent, Esq.	Professor of Oxford
Edward King, Esq.	The Rev. James Dallaway
	The

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 The Rev. Stebbing Shaw
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 George Cumberland, Esq.
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CHESHIRE.

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Dr. Philip

Rev. Mr. Lyne

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John Whitaker

R. Polwhele

J. Foster

Mal. Hitchins

Mr. Penwarne

— Tope

— Hennek

— Howell

— Gilbert

Colonel Rodd

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Captain Oats

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Mr. William Drewe

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T. R. Underwood, Esq.

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Lord Courtney

Lord Borringdon

Sir

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 Rev. J. Evans
 Mr. Dyde, author of History of
 Tewksbury

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 Earl of Carnarvon
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 may, Bart.

The

TO THE BEAUTIFIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES. XXXV

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Barnard Dickinson, Esq.	Mr. Cunningham
Robert Holford, Esq.	

With the last-named county terminates the list of contributors communicated by Mr. Britton. The correspondents of several subsequent Editors, or those who particularly favoured their enquiries, are thus gratefully enumerated; and, in regard to some counties, acknowledgments are due to noblemen and gentlemen whose name the Editor of the Introductory Volume has not the opportunity of recording.

MIDDLESEX,	George Gostling, Esq.
<i>(The County separate from London) comprised in one Volume, written by Mr. J. Norris Brewer.</i>	Josiah Boydell, Esq.
	Thomas Willan, Esq.
	James Hall, Esq.
	Edward Hogg, Esq.
His Grace the DUKE OF NORTH- UMBERLAND	J. W. Freshfield, Esq.
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The Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel,
M.A. Keeper of the Bodleian
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Mr. D. Moore, Thame

Mr. J. Badcock, Watlington

The Rev. J. Francis, of Bur-
ford, communicated some in-
formation relating to that
town and its neighbourhood

RUTLANDSHIRE.

Thomas Barker, Esq.

The Editor of the "Beauties" for SHROP-
SHIRE, SOMERSETSHIRE, and STAFFORDSHIRE,
thus collectively enumerates the principal corre-
spondents in regard to those parts of the work.

The Rev. Hugh Owen, M.A.

Rev. Joshua Toulmin, D.D.

Right Rev. Dr. John Milner,
Vicar Apostolic of the Mid-
land District

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 Mr. Hutton, of the Museum,
 Keswick

WORCESTERSHIRE.

The Lady Viscountess Beauchamp

YORKSHIRE.

The late Duke of Devonshire
 The Earl of Carlisle
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 Mr. Hargrove
 Boothroyd
 B. Clarkson
 Rhodes
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 King
 Hornsey
 W. Parkin
 Justice
 Hardy
 Wallis
 Rolland
 Sheardown
 Walker

SOUTH WALES.

Thomas Johnes, Esq. of Hafod, M.P.
 Sir William Paxton, of Middleton Hall
 Dr. Davies, of Caermarthen
 Richard Philips, Esq.

The death of the Rev. John Evans, Editor of the Seventeenth Volume of the BEAUTIES, comprising an account of NORTH WALES, has deprived us of an opportunity of recording the names of those gentlemen who afforded information in regard to that division of the principality.

INTRODUCTION,

&c. &c.

ENGLAND and WALES comprehend such parts of the island of Great Britain, as are south of the Cheviot Hills, and an arbitrary line drawn from Solway Firth to the river Tweed. These districts are finely diversified in character; and partake, in the Cambrian, or western division, of the mountainous rude grandeur of the tracts to the north of the line of boundary. In other directions they are rich in a graceful succession of hill and vale; the former being in partial instances only too steep for cultivation, and the lowlands almost invariably fertile, or capable of responding to the efforts of the Agriculturalist.

England is famed for an abundance of wood, distributed in ornamental proportions; and numerous rivers afford great facilities of inland navigation, whilst their diffusive and winding courses are favourable to the picturesque adornment of the country. Although the metals deemed precious are rarely found in England or Wales, those which are useful to the real wants of man are discovered in salutary plenty; and have, from the earliest recorded period, formed a source of moral energy to the Briton, by propelling him to exertions of industry, and by leading him to habits of Commercial interchange.

But, however estimable may be the natural capacities of a country, its real beauties are to be sought in the progress of mind amongst its inhabitants. The source of opulence is but the

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auxiliary

auxiliary of intellect.—In the following brief review of circumstances generally connected with the topography of South Britain and Cambria, I shall make it my pleasing task to direct, at every possible opportunity, the attention of the reader to such events as appear to illustrate the Data of national advancement in morals, science, or taste; convinced that a majestic ruin, or modern uninjured work of art, depends for leading interest on a knowledge of the spirit which induced the erection of the decaying structure, or which preserves the existing fabric.

The island of Great Britain, of which England and Wales constitute the predominating parts, extends from fifty to fifty-eight and a half degrees of north latitude; and is, consequently, about 500 geographical miles in length. Its greatest breadth is found between the Land's End, Cornwall, and the North Foreland, in Kent; and is, in this direction, 320 geographical miles. In British miles the length is computed at 580, and the extreme breadth at 370.

This is the most considerable island of Europe, and approaches, in general outline, towards the form of a triangle. The circuit of the three sides, allowing for the devious character of the coast, is, by a free estimate, supposed to be about 1800 miles.

England, including Wales, is situated between 50° and 56° north latitude. The greatest length from south to north is about 400 miles; and the extent in square miles is computed at 49,450.* England is bounded on the east by the German ocean; on the south by the English Channel; on the west by St. George's Channel; and is divided from Scotland, on the north, by the river Tweed, the Cheviot Hills, and that artificial line before noticed, which proceeds from the Cheviot Hills to the south-west, and meets the Firth of Solway.

This island was originally termed ALBION; a name which appears

* This statement of the extent and contents of Great Britain, is chiefly founded on Pinkerton's Modern Geography, collated with other authorities.

pears to have been an usual Celtic term for heights or eminences, and is reasonably thought to have been bestowed on it by the Gauls of the opposite shore, from a contemplation of the tall cliffs which rise to the view of those who inhabit the coast in the neighbourhood of Calais.*

The name of BRITAIN was substituted for the original mode of designation at a very early period, and probably soon after the first settlement of inhabitants in the island. The conjectures of antiquaries concerning the etymology of this term are extremely numerous.—Camden, with the diffidence usual to a man of true genius, when he feels that probable surmise is all that can be offered, submits it as possible that the first syllable, or radical part of the appellation, alludes to the custom of the inhabitants painting their bodies in various colours and devices. But it is not by any means clear that the word *Brit*, or *Brith* properly implies *painted* in the Celtic.

Bochart, having recourse to the Greek name of this island, is willing to derive it from *Baratanac*; which, in the Phœnician tongue, signifies a land of Tin.

I pass unnoticed the surmises of various minor writers, and state the opinions of Borlase † and Whitaker, ‡ as those which appear most ingenious, while they partake least of fancy. On viewing the usual character of the whole range of primary local appellations, it may be rationally believed, with Dr. Borlase, that the word *Brit*, or *Brith*, signifies some circumstance relating to natural situation, rather than to any thing so variable as custom or manner. The idea of the disjunction of this country from Gaul would be necessarily a prevailing feature in the consideration of those who resided on the Continent, and of those who

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boldly

* Vide Hist. of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 10. octavo edit. (to which edition of Mr. Whitaker's work, I, likewise, refer on every subsequent occasion, unless the contrary be noticed;) and Genuine Hist. of the Britons asserted, p. 91. et seq.

† Vide Antiquities of Cornwall, Chap. 1.

‡ Hist. of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 10—12; and Genuine Hist. of the Britons asserted, p. 29—32, 71—74, 91—93, 95—103.

boldly quitted its security and first colonized the shores of Albion. Hence, an etymon expressive of the circumstance of separation may be sought for with propriety; and such a mode of explaining the term is readily found.

According to Whitaker, the appellation of *Britain* was first applied to the inhabitants rather than to the region; and the radical part of the term is derived from a Celtic word, primarily denoting *separation* and *division*. The same intelligent writer observes that the original word appears to have been equally pronounced Briet, Brit, and Brioth; Breact, Bréac, and Brig; and is still retained in the Welsh Brith, and the Irish Breact, any thing divided or striped. "Brit is enlarged into Brit-on, or Brit-an, in the plural, and Brit-an-ec in the relative adjective; and so forms the appellation Brit-on-es, Brit-an-i, and Brit-an-ic-i; as Brig, in the plural, is altered into Brig-an, and Brig-ant, and forms the denomination Brig-ant-es."*

This argument as to the derivation of the second name by which our island was distinguished, is not offered to the reader of these pages as probably conclusive, but as one that is quite problematical. Still, it appears the more plausible amongst the great variety of conjectures.—It must be added that the appellation of *Britain* was not anciently peculiar to the island primarily denominated *Albion*, but was common to many of the smaller neighbouring isles; and it may be remarked that several writers, foreign and native, notice it as a felicitous circumstance that the parent-island retains to the existing day the name by which it was known in the first period of its credible history, while almost every other country has lost its early appellation.

The comparatively modern term of *ENGLAND*, by which the south part of *Britain* is now distinguished, is derived from the *Angles*, a people ascribed to different parts of the north of Germany, but who, at the era of the Saxon invasion, were resident

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* Hist. of Manchester, p. 11.

in the district of Anglen, in the duchy of Sleswick.* They were among the most numerous and bold of the successful German invaders; but, according to the conjecture of a modern writer, "the Ecclesiastical history of Bede, which was written in that part of the country, that was possessed by the Angli, contributed greatly to the extension and general acceptance of the modern name." There is not any solid authority for believing that Egbert arbitrarily abolished the distinctions between the Saxons, Jutes, and Angli, and commanded that the island should thenceforward be called England.

A compendious statement of the opinions of different etymologists, respecting the probable derivation of the names of CAMBRIA, and WALES, usually given to that part of Britain which is situated to the west of the rivers Severn and Dee, is presented in the preliminary pages of the seventeenth volume of this work.†

THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

The period at which Britain was first peopled, and the district from which its population proceeded, are subjects entirely open to the conjectures of the inquisitive. In common with most other nations, the British possesses no record as to its original; but pseudo-historians have risen as abundantly in this as in other countries, to shape chimeræ from obscurity, and to allure by fable where fact is wanting. No instruction can be conveyed by an analysis of such extravagant representations; and it appears that little entertainment is implicated in wild tales respecting "Bruto, or Brito, of Trojan extraction, great grandson of Æneas,

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who

* Vide Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. I. p. 58; and Camden's Introduction.

† Vide Beauties, Vol. XVII. p. 1—4.—According to the Welsh Triads, three names, of a different etymology to those noticed above, were bestowed, at different periods, on the island of Britain. See these presumed appellations mentioned, p. 7. note.

who having by birth and by accident, destroyed both the one and the other of his parents, fled his native shore; and, after various exploits in Gaul, arrived with his Trojan compeers in this country, then inhabited by giants, whose chieftain, Gogmagog, he overthrew, and left his own name to the conquered island.* But such is the narration presented by Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the reign of Henry the Second.* The story was treated with contempt by the reflecting, even of his own era; but did not fail to gain, in different modifications, some popular credit through the medium of subsequent monkish and superstitious writers.

According to the most rational hypothesis, and that which is received as probable by the majority of modern judicious writers, this island was first peopled from the neighbouring shores of Gaul. The similitude of manners, language, and religion, which is known to have existed between the two countries, in the century previous to the Christian era, is in itself an argument of considerable force. A further argument is deducible from the presumed similarity of name to be discovered between the two nations. It appears that Gaul was inhabited, at a very early period, by two branches of the *Cimmerians*, both of which nations often partook, in usual acceptation, of the specific term bestowed on each. These were the *Cimbri*, frequently denominated the *Cimmerii*, *Cumri*, or *Gumri*; and the *CELTÆ*. The latter name prevailed amongst themselves, even when they were denominated *Gael* by the Romans. The appellation of *Cimbri* is thought to be still perceptible in the term *Cymry* (colloquially pronounced *Kumri*) applied to themselves by the Welsh; whilst that of *Gathel*, or *Gael*, is retained by the highlanders of Scotland.†

The

* Nennius, who was an abbot of Bangor in the seventh century, likewise gave, at the earlier period in which he flourished, the pedigree of the fanciful King Bruto, which he traced up to Jupiter himself.

† The historical Triads of the Welsh, describe Britain as being first peopled by the "nation of the Cymry," and colonized at different periods. Respecting the testimony of these very curious Triads, and the contents of those which

The encroachments of BELGIC tribes on the Celtæ; and their share in the ancient possession of the island, will be noticed in a future page.

The compulsory brevity of a writer who treats on the first population of Britain, a subject naturally obscure, will create no surprise, and perhaps little regret.* It may be lamented that an oppressive paucity of legitimate information prevails concerning the history of the early inhabitants of the island, and the state of

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their

which relate to the early history of Britain, I present an extract from a judicious modern historian: "It may not be improper to state, in one view, all that the Welsh traditions deliver of the ancient inhabitants of the island. How far individuals may chuse to accredit them, is a matter for their own discretion to determine. But in the mean time, they ought to be preserved from absolute oblivion.

"According to the Welsh Triads, while the island was uninhabited by human colonies, and was full of bears, wolves, beavers, and a peculiar kind of wild cattle, it had the name of *Clas Merddhin*. In this state, Hy Cadarn led the first colony of Cymry to it, of whom some went to Bretagne. It then acquired the name of *Y vâl Ynys*, the *Honey Island*. In the course of time Prydain, the son of Aedd the Great, reigned in it, and from him it was called *Ynys Prydain*, the isle of Prydain, which is its present denomination in Welsh, and which the Greeks and Romans seem to have extended into Britannia. It was afterwards visited by two foreign tribes, of Kimmerrian origin, the *Lloegrwys*, from *Gwasgwyn*, or Gascony; and the *Brythou*, from *Llydaw*, or Bretagne. Both of these were peaceable colonists. The *Lloegrwys* impressed their name upon a large portion of the island. At subsequent periods other people have come with more or less violence. The Romans; the *Gwyddyl Fficti* (the Picts) to Alban, or Scotland, on the part which lies nearest to the Baltic; the *Celyddon* (Caledonians) to the north parts of the island; the *Gwyddyl* to other parts of Scotland; the *Corranaiad* from *Pwyll* (perhaps Poland) to the Humber; the men of *Galedin*, or Flanders, to Wyth; the Saxons; and the *Llychlynians*, or Northmen."—Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons. Vol. I. pp. 14, 15.

* The reader who is desirous of investigating more deeply a subject so recondite, is referred to some ingenious speculations in Turner's introduction to the history of the Anglo-Saxons; and to three letters from the Rev. Samuel Greethead, respecting the origin of the inhabitants of the British islands: *Archæologia*, Vol. XVI.

their moral attainments, manners, arts, and manufactures, before these took a new bias from the victories of the Roman arms. But the manners of all nations in an infantile state of society, have so near an approximation, with an allowance for the slight difference of colouring imparted by external circumstances, that probably neither philosophy nor mere curiosity sustains any serious deprivation by this sterility of intelligence.

A narration of the wars carried on by rival Clans, affords but little interest, when the very names of the parties are preserved with difficulty by antiquarian care; and in the tangible remains of the early British tribes we have still emphatical monuments of their warlike spirit, mingled with indications of such rudeness in works of art as might be expected from a people little conversant with commerce, and not united under that salutary result of mature congregation, one consolidated head of government.

Our knowledge of the internal polity, of the customs, and even of the geographical circumstances, of the early Britons, commences with the Roman invasion of the island. The Druids, who, in their various classes, engrossed of the learning of those ages first known in British history, and who were the chroniclers of events, used no other than an oral method of record. Thus we rest for solid information, concerning the first periods of our national story, on Roman and Greek writers; and chiefly on Julius Cæsar and Tacitus. Fortunately for literature, those authors were possessed of minds equally comprehensive and acute. Although vanity, and motives of personal interest, may have induced the ambitious Cæsar to have partially misrepresented some circumstances connected with the dubious success of his own arms, his statements in other respects are undoubtedly veracious. The elegant and judicious Tacitus either personally visited Britain in the first century, or obtained intelligence from his father-in-law, Agricola.

To these great writers of antiquity, assisted chiefly by some Greek authors, whose assertions must often be regarded as of a questionable character, because seldom founded on actual investigation, all modern historians are indebted for the foundation on
which

which they build, when treating of the manners of the early Britons.

In aid of the sober methodical writer, who presents as credible only that which he finds stated in specific terms, there have occurred in recent years, some authors of a bold and inquisitive disposition, who have endeavoured to bestow illumination on the gloom of our early annals, and to supply the deficiencies of the scanty pages, by means of probable deduction. Like *Goguet*, they insist on national arts and manners undergoing a logical process; and while, by an acceptable inference, they aver that the people who used chariots must have been acquainted with various branches of mechanical knowledge, they advert to the practices of art connected with such an usage, and contend that the country could not, at its interior, have been in the first state of rudeness, since there must have been roads, probably improved by the labour of the hand, to render the carriage a vehicle capable of easy transit.—Foremost amongst these writers stands Mr. Whitaker, whose history of Manchester is an Essay on the early History of Britain at large. If received with caution, his ingenious work is eminently useful, as he not only elicits, by a rational pursuit of argument, many novelties of intelligence, but has judiciously corrected numerous mistakes in preceding writers.

In the following remarks on the probable condition of the early Britons, I first notice circumstances generally connected with the geographical positions and relations of the different tribes; and afterwards present, in a very succinct form, such observations on their religion, customs, polity, and progress in arts and manufactures, as appear to be necessary for an illustration of their vestiges, both moral and tangible.

It has been observed that the patriarchal form of government, in its simple state, has never been of long duration in any country; for as independent families increased in number, they gradually approached nearer to each other; and disputes respecting boundaries, as naturally united several into one tribe or clan, as the tribes, by alliances and intermarriages, were afterwards consolidated

solidated into petty states, under one head or leader. At what precise period such changes took place in Britain, or in what other modes originated its forms of government, it would be futile to enquire; but the existence of many different tribes, or clans, was evidently the state of society at the date of the Roman invasion.

The primary guide in endeavours towards ascertaining the geography of Britain at the earliest recorded period, is Ptolemy of Alexandria, the great Geographer, Mathematician, and Astronomer, who flourished towards the middle of the second century, under the Emperors, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. His description of this island is concise and merely geographical, but is of high interest as being composed at so early a period of the Roman ascendancy, and while the British nations, even in the conquered districts, still retained their ancient names and marks of distinction. It will, however, be observed that the writings of Ptolemy contain many important errors, and he has fallen into some mistakes which affect the whole of his British geography. But these inaccuracies are obvious to correction; and it is asserted by Horsley that "the order in which he disposes the towns, rivers, and other places, particularly those on the coast, almost equals for usefulness, the distances in the Itinerary, and the order in the Notitia."* In appropriating particular districts, by means of the distances in this Geographer, it is further observed by Horsley "that when the coast is once settled it will be proper to consider the relative situation of the towns, with respect to it, in order to fix them likewise. And when we are sure of

* Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 356.—This opinion appears to be expressed in terms too strongly favourable. A modern writer, of considerable experience and judgment, observes that "Ptolemy's method of settling the positions of his towns by longitude and latitude, promises information nearly equal to the Itinerary; but a very little acquaintance with his Geography, will soon convince any one that it is of no use. The position of no town can be determined with certainty, on the authority of this learned Egyptian alone." Reynolds, on the Itinerary of Antoninus, p. 35.

of any one or two counties which belong to a people, from the towns mentioned as being among them, we may guess what other neighbouring counties have probably belonged to the same people, either by observing what were most likely to be the boundaries, or by other collateral evidences.”*

On the foundation of this venerable writer alone, aided by the calculations of ingenuity, were formed the most acceptable plans respecting the locality of the various British tribes which existed in his time, until the discovery of the work of Richard of Cirencester, a monk of Westminster, who flourished in the latter part of the 14th century.† But the geographical information conveyed by this industrious monk’s “Description of Britain,” and by his illustrative map, is considered more valuable than the crude outline of Ptolemy, by some of the most intelligent antiquaries of the present day, and such as have directed a particular attention to the antiquities of the early Britons. In the preface to Mr. Hatcher’s edition of Richard of Cirencester, it is said, that “the most superficial view of the map will suffice to convince us of its superior accuracy, not only to the early draughts fabricated from the observations recorded by Ptolemy, but even to those of his best commentators. In the geographical description of the different tribes, our author has taken his groundwork from Ptolemy, or those from whom Ptolemy derived his information. But if he drew his groundwork from the Egyptian geographer, he has made such additions and changes as show a later, more correct, and more particular knowledge of the country. He has amended a glaring error which Ptolemy committed, in throwing the Northern part of the island to the East, and another in placing Ireland at too great a distance from Britain. He has also drawn up his account of the different states in a more distinct and regular form, has mentioned a few additional tribes, omitted others, and

* Britannia Romana, p. 356.

† A more particular account of the work of Richard of Cirencester, is given in the “List of Books,” appended to this Introduction.

and specified some local boundaries, not alluded to by other writers.”*

The information afforded by this curious work, is used, in conjunction with that of Ptolemy, and his most judicious commentators, in the following brief statement of the political divisions of those parts of Great Britain, now denominated England and Wales, during the sway of the nations who possessed this island previous to the establishment of the Roman power.

The map of ancient Britain, which accompanies this section of our work, exhibits, as nearly as can be ascertained, the situation of each tribe, both Celtic and Belgic, AT THE PERIOD OF JULIUS CÆSAR’S FIRST INVASION OF THIS ISLAND.† The principal

* Preface to Mr. Hatcher’s edition of Richard of Cirencester, Lond. 1809.

† The propriety of such an assertion will be readily admitted, when it is observed, that this map was engraved after a drawing by the Rev. Thomas Leman, of Bath, whose deep researches into British antiquities are evinced in papers contributed to several county histories, and other works. The map here presented contains all the improvements in the geography of ancient Britain, suggested by Richard of Cirencester.

The following enumeration of the different Celtic and Belgic tribes, and of the British towns, will be found useful for reference, while, at the same time, it explains the contents of the map. The Roman characters prefixed to the *Celte*, and the Arabic to the *Belge*, correspond with similar characters and figures in the body of the map. The figures prefixed to the towns of the Britons, likewise correspond with prefixed figures in the map; and in the under-written enumeration is shewn the connexion of each respective town with the British trackways, or roads.

CELTIC TRIBES, XXII.

I. Bibroci	} Senones.	
II. Segontiaci		
III. Durotriges		
IV. Carnabii		
V. Cimbri		
VI. Hædai		
VII. Auncalites		
VIII. Dobuni	} Catieuciani.	
IX. Cassii		

BELGIC TRIBES, 7.

1. Cantii
2. Rhemi, or Regni.
3. Belgæ proper
4. Morini
5. Damnonii
6. Attrebates
7. Trinobantes

X. Iceni

principal towns of each petty nation, are likewise marked; and are accompanied by figures which refer to a statement of their ancient and modern names. Thus, the purpose of particular information

- X. Iceni Cenomanni {
 XI. Iceni Coritani {
 XII. Carnabii
 XIII. Brigantes {
 XIV. Parisii {
 XV. Voluntii {
 XVI. Sistantii {
 XVII. Ottadini
 XVIII. Gadeni
 XIX. Silures {
 XX. Dimeciæ {
 XXI. Ordovices {
 XXII. Cangiani }

BRITISH TOWNS.

ON THE SOUTH WATLING STREET.

1. Rhotupis, *Richborough*
2. Durovernum, *Canterbury*
3. Durobrivæ, *Rochester*
4. Noviomagus, *Holwood Hill*
5. Trinobantum, *London*
6. Verulam, *Verulam*
7. Durocobrivæ, *Maiden Bower, near Dunstable*
8. Benonis, *Claychester*
9. Etocetum, *Wall*
10. Uriconium, *Wroxeter*
11. Mediolanum, *Clawdd Goch*
12. Segontium, *Caer Segont*
13. *Holyhead*

ON THE NORTH WATLING STREET.

14. Bremenium, *Riechester*
15. Epiacum, *Lanchester*
16. Vinovium, *Binchester*
17. Cataractonis, *Catterick*
18. Olicana, *Ilkley*
19. Cambodunum, *Slack*
20. Deva, *Chester*
21. *Holyhead*

ON THE IKENFIELD STREET.

21. Ad Taum, *Taesborough*
7. Durocobrivæ, *Maiden Bower*
22. Sorbiodunum, *Old Sarum*
23. Iberium, *Bere*
24. Durinum, *Maiden castle*
25. Isca, *Exeter*
26. Tamara, *on the Tamar*
27. Voluba, *on the Fowey*
28. Cenia, *on the Fal*

ON THE RYKENFIELD STREET.

29. *Chester-le-Street*
16. Vinovium
17. Cataractonis
30. Isurium, *Aldborough*
9. Etocetum.
31. Alauna, *Alcester, Warwickshire*
32. Ariconium, *Berry Hill, near Ross*
33. Gobannium, *Abergavenny*
34. Maridunum, *Caermarthen*
35. Menapis, *near St. David's.*

ON THE ERMYN STREET.

16. Vinovium
17. Cataractonis

formation will be best gratified by a reference to a map so comprehensively arranged. But, with a view of facilitating the researches of the reader, I present an enumeration, and general notice of the tribes which formed the population of Britain, previous to the conquests effected by the Romans, and whose appellations so often occur in various pages of the "Beauties of England and Wales."

Before we enter on such an examination, it is, however, necessary

17. Cataractonis	44. Ratae, Leicester
50. Isurium	8. Benonis
36. Eburacum, York	41. Corinium
37. Petuaria, Brough	45. Aquæ Sulis, Bath
38. Lindum, Lincoln	46. Ischalas, Ilchester
39. Durnomagus, Ebor	47. Moridunum, Sarum
5. Trinobantum.	
4. Noviomagus	ON THE UPPER SALTWAY
40. Anderida Portus, Pevensey	48. Salinae, Drogheda
	49. Venta Belgarum, Winchester
ON THE IKEMAN STREET.	50. Classentum, Bittern
7. Durocobrivæ	
41. Corinium, Cirencester	ON THE WESTERN TRACKWAY.
42. Venta Silurum, Caerwent	51. Luguballium, Carlisle
43. Isca, Caerleon	52. Coccium, Blackrode
34. Maridunum	48. Salinae
35. Menapia	53. Branogena, Worcester
	54. Glevum, Gloucester
ON THE FOSSE.	55. Uxella, near Bridgewater
38. Lindum	25. Isca

Other British Towns, not immediately on the foregoing Trackways, but mentioned by Richard of Cirencester.

— Portus Magnus, Portchester	64. Camalodunum, Exeter.
56. Regentium, Chichester	65. Lovantium, Llanio
57. Halangium, Canabre.	66. Magna, Kentchester
58. Masidum, near Stratton	67. Branogenum, near Lentwarden
59. Artavia, Hartland Point	68. Camboricum, Cambridge
60. Termolus, Molland	69. Rerigonium, Ribchester
61. Lemanis, Stuyfall castle	70. Portus Felix, at the mouth of the
62. Dubris, Dover	Humber.
63. Regulbium, Reculver	71. Galacum.

sary to remind the reader, that these large portions of the island, though inhabited by various tribes, were really peopled by two nations only; the aboriginal, or *Celtic* inhabitants, and the *Belgæ*.

The geographical line of distinction between the Celtic and Belgic settlers, at the date of Cæsar's first invasion, is carefully marked in the annexed map; but, in order to present a more perspicuous view of the effects of the Belgic invasion of Britain, as connected with the locality and future history of the aboriginal inhabitants, it may be observed, that the Celts, who had, at an early period, occupied all such parts of Britain as lay to the south of the Thames, from the coast of Kent to the extremity of Cornwall, were distinguished by the general name of *Senones*.* The respective tribes of the people, thus recognised by a general appellation, were named:—I. The *Bibroci*, who occupied the counties of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and part of Berks. II. The *Segontiaci*, dwelling in Hampshire and Berkshire. III. The *Durotriges*, in Dorsetshire. IV. The *Carnabii*, and V. The *Cimbri*, seated in Devonshire, Cornwall, and part of Somersetshire. VI. The *Hædui*, in Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, and Wilts. VII. The *Ancalites*, who possessed a small district, partly on the south of the river Thames, near Henley.

Concerning the above tribes may be submitted the following particulars.

The *BIBROCI*† are said, by Richard of Cirencester, to have inhabited *Bibrocum*, *Regentium*, and *Noviomagus*. The site of the first-named place, (the *Bibracte* of the Itinerary) is uncertain. *Regentium* is placed at Chichester, and *Noviomagus* at Holwood Hill.

The *SEGONTIACI*‡ were seated in the north-west part of Hampshire,

* Richard of Cirencester, p. 37, Hatcher's edit. and remark by the Rev. Thomas Leman.

† The *Bibroci* are mentioned in the Beauties for Berkshire, p. 83.

‡ For some account of the *Segontiaci*, see Beauties for Hants, p. 5, and for Berks, p. 83.

shire, and in a part of Berks on the south-west; having for their chief city *Vindonis*.

The territory of the DUROTRIGES* comprised the present county of Dorset, and their capital was *Durinum*, (Maiden castle, near Dorchester.)

The CARNABII† occupied the north and west of Cornwall, to the Land's end; having for their chief cities *Musidum*, and *Halangium*; the former supposed to have stood near Stratton, and the last at Carnbre.

The CIMBRI possessed the south-west part of Somerset, and the north of Devon. Their principal towns were *Termolus* (uncertain as to site) and *Artavia* (probably near Hartland-point.)

The HÆDUI‡ occupied the whole of Somersetshire, except the south-west corner, together with a part of the south of Gloucestershire, and of the north-west of Wilts. Their chief towns were *Ischalis*, (Ilchester) *Avalonia*, (Glastonbury) and *Aquæ Sulis*, (Bath.)

The remaining Celtic tribes of Britain were distinguished by the following appellations, and were distributed over the island in the following manner, at the date of Cæsar's first invasion.

The CATIEUCLANI, or CATIEUCLANI, consisted of two tribes, which were denominated *Dobuni* and *Cassii*; and their dominions extended from the Severn to the German Ocean.

Of these, the DOBUNI|| (termed *Boduni*, by Dio) are placed by ancient geographers in the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, and Worcester. § In the "Beauties" for Oxfordshire, it is suggested, that the appellation of Dobuni signifies a race possessing lands

* See the Durotriges noticed, *Beauties for Dorsetshire*, p. 321.

† The Carnabii of Cornwall are noticed in the *Beauties for that county*, p. 311.

‡ The Hædui are mentioned in the *Beauties for Wilts*, p. 5.

|| The Dobuni are noticed in the *Beauties for Oxfordshire*, p. 2—6; and for Gloucestershire, p. 497.

§ In regard to their exact lines of territory, it is said, in the notes on Richard



Map of Southern England, 1840.

lands on river-sides, a people who are stream-borderers. It is obvious, that a name, if derived from allusions to locality, would be bestowed on a tribe from its primary circumstances of inhabitation; and it is probable, that the Dobuni first took possession of the lowlands of these districts, and consequently were dwellers in the vicinity of such great streams as formed distinguishing features in the character of surrounding country. *Corinium*, Cirencester in Gloucestershire, was their capital.

The *Cassii** appear to have occupied the tract of country now divided into the counties of Hertford, Bedford, Buckingham, Middlesex, and Essex; having their principal town at *Verulamium*, (St. Alban's.)

To the north of the Thames dwelt the people known by the general name of *ICENI*,† divided into two tribes, termed the *Iceni Magni*, or *Cenomanni*; and the *Iceni Coritani*.

The territory of the *Iceni Magni* is said, in a note on Richard of Cirencester, "to have stretched from the Stour to the north of the Nen and the Ouse, possibly to the Welland; and, on the west, to the boundaries of the *Carnabii* and *Dobuni*." A precise definition of the extent of territory possessed by this, or any other of the British tribes, would appear to be of little importance, unless connected with some historical incident, or illustrative of a peculiarity in custom or manner, as displayed in tangible vestiges. According to the opinions usually received, the *Iceni Magni* are believed to have been the ancient inhabitants of the present counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Northamptonshire. They had for their capital, *Taesborough*, in

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chard of Cirencester, that "they were bounded on the west by the Severn, on the south by the Thames, on the east by the Charwell, and on the north by the *Carnabii*." Richard of Ciren. Edit. 1809, p. 46.

* See the *Cassii* noticed in the *Beauties* for Hertfordshire, p. 5; for Bedfordshire, p. 1; and for Buckinghamshire, p. 276.

† For statements of many particulars relating to the *Iceni*, see *Beauties* for Huntingdonshire, p. 325—326; for Cambridgeshire, p. 3—7; and for Norfolk, p. 1—3.

Norfolk, which the Romans removed afterwards to *Castor*, near Norwich.

The ICENI CORITANI,* or, as they are often termed the CORICENI, appear chiefly to have inhabited the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Rutland, with the remaining part of Northamptonshire. Their chief city was *Ræge*, or *Ratæ* (Leicester).

The original Celtic population of the district now termed Wales, will be mentioned in a future page; and I, therefore, proceed towards the north, in which direction, to the westward of the Coritani, were seated the CARNABII, or CORNAVII,† whose territories are believed to have extended over a great part of the following counties:—Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire. (The remainder of the two former of these counties appears to have been possessed by a tribe which is termed *Huiccii*, by Bede, but is called *Jugantes*, by Tacitus, and whose name is now commonly written *Wiccii*.) The metropolis of the Carnabii was *Uriconium* (Wrexeter.)

To the north of the Carnabii and the Coritani, were situated the BRIGANTES,‡ who constituted the most numerous and powerful of the British nations, at the time of the Roman invasion.—Their dominions extended over the present counties of Durham, York, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancaster. But parts of the western border of this great territory were occupied by two tribes, of distinct appellations, although subject to the government of

* The Coritani are noticed in the *Beauties* for Rutlandshire, p. 4; for Leicestershire, p. 313; for Nottinghamshire, p. 2; and for Derbyshire, p. 291.

† For notices of the Carnabii, or Cornavii, see *Beauties* for Warwickshire, p. 2—3; for Worcestershire, p. 3—5; for Staffordshire, p. 717—719; and for Cheshire, p. 183—184.

‡ For notices of the tribe termed Brigantes, see *Beauties* for Durham, p. 5—6; for Yorkshire, p. 1—8; and 668—669; for Westmoreland, p. 1; for Cumberland, p. 3—5; and for Lancashire, p. 5—7. The *Sistuntii* and the *Volontii* are noticed in the same pages, with an exception of those for Yorkshire.

of the Brigantes. These were entitled the VOLUNTII and SISTUNTII.* The interest created by their names, is, however, very slight, as the most important events connected with their story must be sought in the annals of the Brigantes. This latter potent and predominating tribe owned numerous towns, the principal of which was *Isurium* (Aldborough, near Boroughbridge.)

In addition to the above particulars respecting Brigantia, it must be observed, that a people termed the PARISII are mentioned, both by Richard and Ptolemy, as living in that district which is now termed the East Riding of York. But it is conjectured by Baxter, Whitaker, and other modern writers, that the Parisii did not constitute a separate tribe, and were merely the *Cangi*, or herdsmen of the Brigantes. It is certain, that they were subordinate to that powerful nation; and if they had not been separately noticed by early geographers, the historian would be quite indifferent as to their identity and presumed characteristics. Their only town, according to Ptolemy, was called *Petruaria* (Brough on the Humber) although a second, termed *Portus Felix*, is noticed by Richard of Cirencester, which, probably, was situated near the mouth of that river.

The most northern tribes of the country now denominated England were the OTTADINI† and the GADENI, who held such parts of the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland as are north of the Tyne; and the domains of the former are supposed to have extended into Scotland, as far as the extremity of Lothian; thus comprising a long and fine extent of sea-coast. Ptolemy, to

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* The geographical positions of these tribes are marked in the annexed map; and the following observations concerning their exact limits, together with those of the Brigantes, are presented in the notes on Richard of Cirencester, p. 51. The territory of the Brigantes proper, "stretched from the bounds of the Parisii, northward to the Tine; and from the Humber and Don to the mountains of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. To the Volantii belonged the western part of Lancashire; and to the Sistuntii, the west of Westmoreland and Cumberland, as far as the Wall."

† The tribe termed Ottadini, is noticed in the *Beauties for Northumberland*, p. 1—2.

whose geography we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of this people, describes them as possessing two principal towns, named *Bremenium*,* and *Curia*. On the testimony of Richard, the former is believed to have been the capital of the *Ottadini*, and is known to have occupied the site of Riechester, eight miles north of Risingham.

The aboriginal population of WALES is noticed, at some length, in the pages which are introductory to the account of Cambria, forming part of the "Beauties".† But the respective territorial possessions of each tribe, are defined in terms so brief, yet perspicuous, in the following passages, that, with the permission of their learned author, I present them, as the most desirable means of communicating concise information on this head.

"The *Silures*, with their two dependent tribes, the *Dimecia*, and the *Ordovices*, possessed all the country to the west of the Severn and the Dee, together with the island of Anglesey.

"Of these territories, the *Dimecia* had the counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, and Caermarthen; while the *Silures* possessed all the rest of South Wales, as well as such parts of England as lay to the west of the Severn, and to the south of the Teme. The *Ordovices* occupied all North Wales, as well as all the country to the north of the Teme, and to the west of the Severn and the Dee, except a small tract of country to the west of Bangor and Pwllwelly-bay, which belonged, together with the isle of Anglesey, to their subordinate clan, the *Cangiani*.‡"

After a long possession of this island, throughout all its most fertile districts, the original Celtic inhabitants were compelled to admit as participators in so fair a territory, the *BELGÆ*, a Teutonic people (and the common parent of the Romans, the Saxons, the

* See some curious particulars relating to the site and remains of this ancient city, in the *Beauties for Northumberland*, p. 149—153.

† Vide *Beauties*, Vol. XVII. p. 5—6.

‡ Note on Richard of Cirencester, by the Rev. Thomas Leman.

the Danes, and the Normans,)* who are supposed to have first migrated into Britain, about three centuries previous to the arrival of Cæsar.† These invaders speedily effected a settlement in the southern and western parts of Britain; and, in process of time, extended their conquests from the shores of Kent, to the extremity of Cornwall. *At the date of the first invasion of Julius Cæsar*, the Belgæ, thus settled in Britain, consisted of the following seven colonies:—1. the *Cantii*, of Kent; 2. the *Regni*, or *Rhemi*, of Surrey and Sussex; 3. the *Proper Belgæ*, of Hampshire and Wiltshire; 4. the *Attrebates*, of Hampshire and Berkshire; 5. the *Morini*, of Dorsetshire; 6. the *Damnonii*, of Devonshire and Cornwall; and 7. the *Trinobantes*, of Essex and Herts.

Thus, the before-mentioned Celtic inhabitants of the southern and western parts of Britain, were expelled by the following Belgic colonies: the *Cantii*, who gained possession of all the country, from the mouth of the Thames to the Rother; the *Regni*, or *Rhemi*, who extended their conquests from thence to the western borders of Sussex; the Belgæ proper, who over-ran all the country westward, to the banks of the Stour in Dorsetshire; the *Morini*, who continued their conquests to the Ax; the *Damnonii*, who subdued the whole remainder of country on the west, to the banks of the Fal; the *Attrebates*, who drove the *Segontiaci* from the banks of the Thames; and the *Trinobantes*, who, crossing the Thames, and invading the Eastern *Cassii*, extended their conquests to the Stour, and the middle of Hertfordshire.‡

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* See Remarks on the Early inhabitants of Britain, History of Hertfordshire, Vol. I. p. 12.

† Genuine Hist. of the Britons asserted, p. 63—65.

‡ From this statement of Belgic conquests must be excepted, “a confined territory, which was left to the *Segontiaci*, under its capital *Vendomis*; and the mountains of Somersetshire, Cornwall, and Devon, all which still remained possessed by the *Carnabii* and the *Cimbri*.” History of Hertfordshire, p. 11.

A more particular account of the geographical circumstances of each Belgic tribe, at the date of Cæsar's first invasion, may, however, be desirable.

The CANTII * inhabited the country which is now termed Kent; and their territories comprised the whole of that county, with the exception of a small district that belonged to the Regni. They are described by Cæsar as the most civilized of all the Britons, and as differing but very little in their manners from their brethren in Gaul. Their capital was *Durovernum* (Canterbury.)

The REGNI, or RHEMI,† occupied the sea coast from Rye Harbour, on the border of Sussex, and the whole interior of that county, together with Surrey, a small part of Hants and Berks, and a very trifling portion of Kent. *Noviomagus*, written *Neomagus* by Ptolemy, (Holwood hill) was their metropolis.

The territories of the BELGÆ PROPER comprehended the greater part of Hampshire and Wiltshire; other parts being still retained by the Celtic Segontiaci. Certain portions of Wiltshire, are, however, supposed by some writers to have been occupied by the tribe denominated CEANGI,‡ nearly at the period of the invasion

* For a notice of the Cantii, and of some historical events relating to that people, see *Beauties for Kent*, p. 406, et seq.

† See the Regni noticed in the *Beauties for Sussex*, p. 23; and for Surrey, p. 30.

‡ The *Cangi*, *Cæangi*, or *Cangani* (for these terms are usually supposed to be descriptive of the same people,) are mentioned by Tacitus, as dwelling near the sea "which looks towards Ireland." Camden is inclined to place them either in Somersetshire or Cheshire; but traces of the appellation by which they are known, may be discovered in various other counties. Some modern antiquaries, of whom Baxter (vide *Gloss. Brit.*) and Whitaker (vide *Hist. of Manchester*) are the principal, suppose that the Cangi were not a distinct tribe, but merely such of the youth of different British nations, as were employed in watching the herds and flocks. Persons engaged in such a duty would be armed, for the defence of their herds from the attack of rival Clans, or from the ferocity of beasts of prey; and as they were probably

invasion under Julius Cæsar : and the people thus described, together with the *Attrebates*, are conjectured by other antiquaries to have possessed a part of that county, so late as the date of the invasion under Claudius.

In the above statement of the possessions of the Belgæ proper,* I have followed the account of Richard of Cirencester, as illustrated by the able notes of Mr. Leman. The towns unquestionably belonging to this people are noticed in the annexed Map. *Venta* † (Winchester) which Richard mentions as a "noble city," was their capital.—In regard to the name by which this tribe is distinguished, it may be observed that they are often termed the *Proper Belgæ* by modern historians and antiquaries, in contradistinction either from such colonies of the same stock, as had obtained an earlier footing, and had effected an intermingled settlement with Celtic tribes more towards the interior of south Britain; or from such nations as were conquered by the Belgic arms, and were become tributary.

The MORINI,‡ having subdued the Durotriges, who originally possessed Dorsetshire, fixed themselves in that district; and their territory is believed to have comprehended the whole of the present county. Their capital was *Dunium*, or *Durinum* (Maiden Castle, near Dorchester, which last place was subsequently the Roman station.)

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bly considerable in number, they might venture on opposing the Romans, at least when those enemies appeared only in straggling parties.—Such is the hypothesis of the above writers; and considering the frequency, and the dissimilarity of situation, in which traces of the Cangi or Ceangi occur, the conjecture certainly wears an air of probability.—For some remarks on this subject, see *Beauties for Cheshire*, p. 184—185; and for *Wilt.*, p. 5—6.

* For some notice of the Belgæ, and their possessions, see *Beauties for Hampshire*, p. 5—6; for *Wiltshire*, p. 5—7; and for *Somersetshire*, p. 339—340.

† The capital of the Celtic tribe, the Segontiaci, before the invasion of the Belgæ, was at *Old Winchester*, which the Belgæ removed to the present site of New Winchester.

‡ The Morini are mentioned in the *Beauties for Dorsetshire*, p. 321.

The DAMNONII, or DANMONII,* occupied Devonshire, and the south-east part of Cornwall; having for their metropolis, *Isca* (Exeter.)

The ATTREBATES, or ATTREBATII,† possessed the north-east part of Hampshire, and the south and north-east parts of the county of Berks; (the remaining parts of those districts being retained by the Segontiaci.) The only town mentioned by Ptolemy as belonging to this tribe, is termed *Naldua* by that writer; which is generally agreed to have been the same with the *Callea* of Antoninus, and the *Calleba* of Richard. Much uncertainty has prevailed as to the probable site of this town, the capital of the Attrebates. But, in the commentary on Richard's Itinerary, strong arguments are adduced for ascribing it to Silchester, that venerable spot which now presents so impressive an outline of a vast Roman city, deserted by inhabitants, and remote from the track of all travellers, except those led by curiosity to examine its massy and extensive walls.

To the north of the Cantii and of the Thames, were seated the TRINOANTES, or TRINOVANTES,‡ who inhabited the districts now denominated Middlesex and Essex, together with a part of Hertfordshire; having *Trinobantum*, or *Trinovantum* (afterwards better known by the names of Londinium and Augusta) for their capital.§ According to Mr. Whitaker,|| and his opinion has a great appearance of correctness, the Trinobantes were no other

* For many particulars respecting the Damnonii and their possessions, see *Beauties for Cornwall*, p. 311, et seq; and *Beauties for Devonshire*, p. 5.

† The Attrebates are mentioned in the *Beauties for Berkshire*, p. 83—84.

‡ The Trinobantes are noticed in the *Beauties for London and Middlesex*, p. 1; and for Essex, p. 243.

§ It is observed by Mr. Whitaker (*Hist. of Manchester*, Vol. I. p. 100. *notes*) that "Ptolemy, who places the Cantii in all the south of Middlesex, fixes the Trinoantes in Essex only. But as the Trinoantes, according to Richard, p. 23, &c. once resided in Middlesex, Ptolemy's account of the Cantii and Trinoantes was taken from records of two different dates, and ought, therefore, to be referred to different periods."

|| *Hist. of Manchester*, Vol. II. p. 205.

other than a branch of the Cantii, which spread over all Middlesex and Essex, and, as "Novantes, or Newcomers, into Middlesex, had their fortress distinguished by the appellation of *Tre-Novantum*, or the town of the Novantes." It may, however, be observed that an etymology of this term, quite different from that given by Mr. Whitaker, is presented in that page of the *Beauties of England*, to which I have referred for some further particulars concerning these ancient inhabitants of Middlesex.

In concluding this brief geographical survey of the population of ancient Britain, it is desirable to remind the reader that we shall certainly fall into a considerable error, if we believe that the present boundary marks of the different counties afford a close resemblance to those of the kingdoms, or petty states, into which Britain was divided before the interference of the Romans.—In forming an estimate of the probable limits of such territories, we, perhaps, find the best guide in a careful consideration of natural circumstances. Rivers and ranges of mountains formed lines of natural boundary, which, in most instances, must have been adopted by a rude people, and which do, in fact, constitute the limits of many countries in the present improved state of society. A mode of calculation on the extent of territory possessed by each British tribe, formed on such a consideration of imperative natural circumstances, will be obvious in many of the remarks submitted in the preceding pages.

The reader who compares the above statements, concerning the territories of the various British tribes, with the accounts of those petty nations prefixed to respective portions of the *Beauties of England and Wales*, will not neglect to hold in remembrance that the Map of ancient Britain, and the observations by which it is accompanied, apply entirely to one period,—the first invasion of the island under Julius Cæsar. Such a view was chosen, on the principle of its embracing the point of history most useful and interesting to the English and Welsh topographer.

A perusal of the foregoing historical Analysis, and a reference
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to the tables of division between the Celtic and Belgic tribes, will enable the reader to detect any casual errors of appropriation into which the editors of this work may have fallen, whilst merely engaged in the description of a particular district.

Each of the numerous small states mentioned above, whether Celtic or Belgic, constituted a separate monarchy, the right of succession to which was of an hereditary nature. Thus divided into distinct communities, each under its respective head, the whole of the Britons were evidently in that state of society which immediately succeeds to the patriarchal, when they were first called to defend their country against so potent an enemy as the Romans. Their want of general unanimity is noticed, by several Roman and Greek writers, as one of the great causes of their want of success in opposing the Roman invasion. But, notwithstanding the remarks of those writers, it is certain that the British tribes were accustomed to unite their forces under one leader, on the advance of a common enemy. This officer appears, however, to have been merely a military commander-in-chief, and was one of the British kings, created, on the approach of danger, *Pendragon*, or commandant over the other allied sovereigns. Such were Cassivellaunus and Caractacus.

As we are not informed of any difference between the *political constitution*, the *religious ceremonies*, and *prevailing laws*, of the Celtic and Belgic Britons, the following observations on these subjects, apply to them collectively, as forming the population of this island at the date of the Roman invasion.

It is believed that the power of the respective British Kings was far from being arbitrary or extensive; and that the chief civil duties of the state, including the privileges of forming and administering laws, were vested in the ministers of religion.

The members of this potent priesthood, are known by the general name of *DRUIDS*; but they are described, on the testimony of ancient writers, as being divided into three classes, appropriated to different branches of learning, and engaged in performing distinct

tinct offices. These three classes are usually denominated *Bards*, *Druids*, and *Faids*.^{*} Some of the peculiar duties of each class, together with the nature of the religion which they taught, and many of its ceremonials, may be thus stated, on the authority of contemporary Roman and Greek writers.

The *Bards* exercised the office of historical and genealogical poets. The *Druids*, who were far more numerous than either of the other classes, performed the principal offices of religion; whilst the *Faids* were the religious poets and presumptive prophets of the association. They composed hymns in honour of the Gods, which they chanted on sacred occasions; and devised such pretended revelations as were calculated to impress the multitude with reverence and awe.

Many of the *Druids* appear to have lived in fraternities, near the temple which they served; thus resembling, in one habit of familiar life, the monastic churchmen of succeeding ages. It is probable that they preserved celibacy; but it is believed that they were not on that account, entirely deprived of female society. The softer sex, ever conspicuous for a tender zeal of piety, claimed a participation in the honours of the priesthood; and they were found useful auxiliaries in the pageants of superstitious devotion. These *druidesses* are said to have been also divided into three classes, and those of the upper order were much esteemed by the people, for their pretended skill in divination and prophecy. Their numbers were considerable, and their zeal unbounded. It will be recollected that when Suetonius invaded the Isle of Anglesey, numerous bands of these consecrated females were seen hurrying along the ranks of the British army, bearing flaming

^{*} *Bard bryant, Derwydd, and Owydd.* See *Beauties for Wales*, (Vol. XVII.) p. 35.—It must be noticed that, in the opinion of many Welsh antiquaries, the Druidical or Bardic system, consisted of classes whose duties they thus appropriate: the *Bard proper* attended to philosophy and poetry; the *Druid* was the minister of religion; and the *Ovete* was the mechanic and artist. See a dissertation on the Bardic system and institutions, in the introduction to Owen's *Translations of the Elegies of Llywarch Hen*.

flaming torches in their hands, and with wild gestures and dishevelled hair, imprecating the wrath of heaven on the sacrilegious foe.

Very little is known concerning the secret doctrines and fundamental principles of Druidism. The common policy of those who endeavour to 'subjugate the human mind by superstitious practices, throws a veil of mystical obscurity over the engines of the base attempt; and the Druids adopted a method of secrecy most perniciously effectual, by religiously prohibiting the use of letters amongst their association. From the few remarks contained in Roman and Greek writers who have treated on this subject, it is evident that they taught the doctrine of the immortality of the soul; but, according to Cæsar and Diodorus, they publicly instilled the notion of the transmigration of the spirit into other bodies.

It is not improbable that the Druids secretly cherished a pure and simple belief in the existence of one God, the great Creator of themselves and all around, above, and beneath them; but as the emoluments of their brotherhood were derived from the blind veneration of bigotry, they raised a long train of phantasies for the delusion and amusement of the human imagination. Under their influence, the Briton was induced to worship the sun, the moon, and the minor luminaries of the heavens; streams were deified by them, and honoured with devotional rites; warlike Princes were exalted after death to the rank of gods.

In a religious system calculated to stimulate and render profitable the mundane hopes and fears of mankind, offerings, sacrifices, and the practices of augury and divination, would necessarily form primary objects of attention; and the want of simplicity in the mode of faith would, as naturally, be attended with a studied solemnity of ceremonials.—The Druids held it unlawful to adore the Gods within walls and under roofs. Their places of worship were invariably in the open air, and covered only by the canopy of the heavens. Here they formed huge temples, (if such a term may be bestowed on their religious structures,) consisting
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of ranges of unhewn stone, which enclosed a circular area. To increase the solemn effect of the scene, by conducting the devotee to the vicinity of the altar through mysterious gloom and deep tranquillity, their stupendous temples were usually surrounded with thick groves of oak; and even the majestic trees of which these groves were composed, were consecrated by druidical superstition, and associated with the attributes of divinity. When the priests performed religious ceremonies, they wore garlands of oak-leaves. The mistletoe which grew on these sacred trees was regarded with particular reverence, and was gathered for religious purposes with much pomp and ceremony. On this important occasion, as we are told by Pliny, one of the Druids, clothed in white, ascended the tree, and with a knife of gold cut the precious branch, which was received into a sagum of pure white. Sacrifices and a banquet concluded the festival.

The wild and gloomy spot of druidical worship was sometimes surrounded by a ditch and a vallum of earth; and was often chosen on an eminence, as such a situation allowed a free view of the heavenly bodies. It is probable that religious ceremonies were performed daily in these sacred recesses; and it is known that the Druids held certain fixed festivals. The sixth day of every moon (from which day the Britons dated the commencement of the lunar month,) was appropriated to devotion; and several annual festivals were observed with great solemnity. On all occasions of public danger, or triumph, the rude grandeur of this captivating but perverse religion, was exerted to its greatest possible extent.

Frequent sacrifices formed an essential part of the Druidical superstition. The living creatures sacrificed to the gods by these priests, were sometimes entirely consumed by fire upon the altar; but more frequently a portion only was thus offered in oblation, and the remainder was divided between the officiating Druid, and the person who presented the sacrifice. Unhappily the victims were not always of a kind which allowed of such an innoxious participation. In the early stages of heathenism, most nations

are found guilty of a species of barbarity, which can proceed only from a mistaken notion of the temper of the Deity, formed on the scale of human feelings, by the worst and most tyrannous of mankind. Nations, famed in the progress of their history for politeness and humanity, have, at an early period, endeavoured to render propitious the gods of their own fabrication, by staining their altars with votive human blood ; and this excess of cruelty was practised with religious fervour by the British Druids. It is said that offenders against the law were usually chosen for this horrid purpose ; but it appears that, if criminals were not at hand, such of the innocent as were abject and unfriended, were sacrificed without scruple. A recollection of this practice is desirable, as it is connected with those vestiges of Druidical antiquity which will be briefly noticed in an ensuing page ; but for a detailed account of the sanguinary custom, I willingly refer the reader to the regular historians of Druidism, or to the sources whence they chiefly acquire intelligence, the writings of Pliny, Cæsar, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus.

Owing to the deep secrecy of their consultations, and their prohibition of the use of letters, it is quite impossible to prove, at present, the extent or varieties of intelligence possessed by the British Druids ; but the Roman and Greek writers bear ample testimony to their knowledge and erudition. Their private schools formed a kind of university for the youth of Gaul. Their skill in astronomy and natural philosophy is admitted by the most polished of contemporary writers ; and it is said that their systems in various branches of learning were of so complex, if not profound a nature, that a student would employ twenty years in obtaining a complete knowledge of them.*

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* The Theological doctrines of the Druids, together with their systems of morals and philosophy, and other lessons in art and science, were delivered in a multitude of verses, which it must needs take a long time to impress on the memory of the learner. Some relics of these have been supposed to exist in the *Historical Triads*, published in the *Welsh Archaeology*.—Clad in robes
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To pass unnoticed the proficiency which they are believed to have attained in Astronomy, Geography, Geometry, and Metaphysics, it may be observed, that their skill in mechanics is evident from those stupendous vestiges of their religious structures, which remain to the present day, subjects of admiration with the most ingenious.

That they were acquainted with the science of legislation has been already mentioned; but we have few opportunities of ascertaining their talents in this important branch of knowledge. As the laws of the Britons were not written, but were formed into verses, and preserved by the Druids, all who endeavour to present a view of them are compelled to call largely upon the aid of probable conjecture.

We may, however, notwithstanding the probable amalgamation of the customs of the Britons, with those of invading nations, still discover some distinct points in the modern doctrines of our English law, which, from their great affinity and resemblance to the Druidical tenets and discipline, are fairly referable to a British original. Among these may be first mentioned, the very notion of an *oral, unwritten law*, such as is, in its elementary principles, the common law of England, containing the grand fundamental rules of our legal polity; which being delivered from age to age, by custom and tradition merely, would appear to be primarily derived from the practice of the Druids.

A less equivocal remain of the British institutions, is to be found in the partible quality of lands, by the custom of *Gavelkind*, which still obtains in many parts of England, and was the universal course of descent in Wales, until the reign of Henry the Eighth.

To these, likewise, may be added the ancient division of the goods of an intestate between his widow and children, or next
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of white, and mounted on a slight eminence, the Druids probably poured forth such verses, while instructing crowded congregations of Britons in the fanciful tenets of their religion.

of kin; which has been revived by the statute of distributions.

The tenure of lands in *Gavelkind*, the most important of the British legal remains, exists principally in the county of Kent, although it is to be found in certain portions of many other counties; and was probably, in ancient times, the general custom of the realm.* The principal distinguishing properties of this tenure are, that the tenant is of age sufficient to aliene his estate by feoffment at fifteen;† that the estate does not escheat in case of attainder and execution for felony, according to an ancient maxim "the father to the bough, the son to the plough;"‡ and (which is by far the most important deviation from the general rule of modern law,) that the lands descend not to any one son only, by right of primogeniture or otherwise, but to all the sons together; a course of descent formerly the most usual throughout the whole of England, varied only by the customs of particular districts.

The state of the *useful arts* amongst the various British tribes, together with their *commerce, customs in war, and familiar habits*, before the interference of the Romans, are necessarily subjects of curiosity and interest.

In presenting remarks on these topics, it would be desirable to distinguish, in every particular, between the primeval Celtic inhabitants, and the more recent migrators from Gaul, the Belgæ. But, even if such a minute discrimination were attainable, it is probable that many variations of custom to be noticed between these settlers in Britain at dissimilar periods, were inconsequential in the history of human manners, as they proceeded chiefly, or entirely, from the effects of different stages of civilization on people who entertained the same national opinions.§ The great circular

* Blackstone's Comm. Vol. II. p. 84. Seld. Analect. l. 2. c. 7.

† Ibid.—Lamb. Peramb. 614. ‡ Ibid.—Lamb. 634.

§ In support of such a remark, it may be observed that Mr. Whitaker, after a mature consideration of the accounts transmitted by ancient writers, thus

circular temple of the primeval inhabitants was consistent with the fundamental religious principles of the Belgæ, and was adopted by them, as is believed, with no other alteration than such as regarded artificial improvement. Cæsar, although he notices the superior civility of the Belgæ, states no distinction between their religion, or political constitution, and those of the inland Celtic tribes. Succeeding ancient writers usually describe the various petty nations, whether Celtic or Belgic, under the general name of Britons.

Viewed in this light, as tribes possessing the same forms of religion and of government, but dissimilar in their respective stages of progress towards refinement, we shall find that the Belgæ introduced to this island some arts calculated to afford them a marked pre-eminence in commercial pursuit and personal comfort. But, whilst admitting the superior polish of the Belgæ, and their greater knowledge of arts, both useful and ornamental, we must not, with a hasty boldness of contrast, suppose that the primeval and inland tribes were quite ignorant of the arts which render life

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decent,

thus delivers his opinion concerning the probable similarity of national features between the Celtæ and the Belgæ: "Nor was the difference great in itself, betwixt the Britons and the Belgæ. They both constructed their edifices in the same manner, used the same stated pieces of brass or iron bullion for money, had the same fondness for keeping poultry and hares about their houses, and the same aversion to seeing them upon their tables. And they both painted their bodies, both threw off their cloaths in the hour of battle, both suffered the hair of their head to grow to a great length, both shaved all but the upper lip, both had wives in common, and both prosecuted their wars on the same principles. In all these particulars, the great and principal strokes of the national character, the Belgæ and Britons universally agreed. Several of the latter likewise concurred with the former, in their attention to agriculture, and in wearing garments of woollen. And the only distinction betwixt them was one, which was no difference of manners at all; that the Britons, being dislodged from that side of the island which was immediately contiguous to Gaul and Spain, and the only part of it which was visited by the foreign traders, were no longer able to pursue the commerce which they had previously carried on, and were obliged to resign it up to the Belgæ." *Genuine Hist. of the Britons* asserted, p. 84—85.

decent, or were destitute of a system of commercial interchange, calculated to enhance the value of their natural possessions. Trackways, remote from the utmost frontier of Belgic encroachment, penetrated the inland recesses of Britain through the territories of all her tribes; and that the Celtæ possessed a foreign commerce, however limited, is well known.

The great characteristic line of distinction, between the first settlers in Britain and those of a more recent date, consisted, according to the account transmitted by Cæsar, in the practice of agriculture; which was introduced to Britain by the Belgæ, and was successfully cultivated by that people in their portions of the island. This useful art (the adoption of which, assuredly, constitutes an important era in the rise of civilization) would appear, from the commentary of Cæsar, to have been chiefly confined to the south-western coast, and, consequently, to districts inhabited by Belgic Britons. The inland, or Celtic tribes, according to that commentary, despised agriculture, but were actively engaged in pasturage; through the exercise of which art they supported themselves, using chiefly as food, milk, and the produce of their numerous cattle.

With agriculture, the source of national wealth, and thence of growing refinement in manners, it appears that the Belgæ introduced to our island a manufacture, essential to the comfort of man in a rude state, and of primary importance as he ascends in the scale of civilization. This was the manufacture of woollen cloths, which has since proved of so much importance to this country, as to have been emphatically styled the "source of all its riches, and the basis of all its power." At the era of Cæsar's invasion, the common use of garments, composed of manufactured wool, was confined to the Belgic Britons. But a mode of dress, at once eminently productive of comfort and comparative elegance, was not likely to be restricted for ages to any particular tribes; and it does, in fact, appear that the Celtic chieftains had adopted the use of woollen vestures, when they first became known to the Romans.

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Such an usage was, however, limited to chieftains, and other persons of power and distinction. Cæsar, speaking in general terms, describes the Britons in the interior parts (the Celtæ) as being clothed "in the hides of animals;" the first and most natural resource of man, when attempting to defend himself against the inclemency, or vicissitudes of the seasons.

Such appear to be the most important points in which the Celtæ and Belgæ were dissimilar. The towns of both possessed the same rude character; and we are not informed of any marked difference between their scattered habitations, whether adapted to the chieftain, the agriculturist, or the pastoral farmer.

In presenting a view of the manners and customs of the population of Britain, when the island was first invaded by the Romans, much, therefore, must be of general application. Where a peculiarity is traced to a particular people, it will be carefully noticed in the following pages.

That the Britons possessed numerous towns is shewn by our map of ancient Britain, and the explanation of its contents. These, however, were of a very rude character, and were used only as places of retreat in times of war and danger. It is said, by Cæsar, that "what the Britons call a town, is a tract of woody country, surrounded by a mound and ditch, for the security of themselves and their cattle against the incursions of their enemies."

But the account transmitted by that writer is far from conveying a just notion of the whole of the British towns, or fortified places. Many of these retreats were constructed on the brow of a promontory, when the character of country afforded such a natural advantage. The distinguishing marks of the British town, whether placed in the lowlands, and protected by morasses and prostrate trees; or situated on a lofty elevation, and defended by rude ditches or banks; will be noticed at greater length, in the pages which treat of existing traces of British antiquities.

The domestic buildings of the Britons demand but little observation. We may readily suppose that some of the rudest settlers in this country, in the early stages of their residence, secured themselves from the frequent changes, and casual severity of the climate, in excavated recesses. But such savage and gloomy retreats would chiefly be used by mankind while depending for sustenance on the spoils of the chase, and contented with imitating, in a mild season, the leafy den of the beast of the thicket. Caesar describes the country of the Belgic Britons, at the date of his invasion, as being well-provided with houses, which resembled those of Gaul. They were, therefore, of a circular shape, and composed of wood, with a high tapering roof, having an aperture at the top for the emission of smoke. From the testimony of other writers, it would appear that the habitations of the Celtic tribes were nearly of a similar description. The round, or oblong ground-form, with a conical roofing, is, indeed, the character of building almost invariable with the early stages of society; and evidently proceeds from the rude, but natural, practice of enclosing an area with tall erect limbs of timber, inclining at the summit towards a common centre. In the pages which treat concerning vestiges of the ancient Britons, it will be shewn that some relics are still remaining, which are believed to exhibit foundations of their dwellings; and which, if admitted as such, will evince that some of their habitations, though simple, and of small dimensions, were designed for durability.

A correct idea of the comforts which the Britons were enabled to assemble round them in their rude habitations, can be gained only from an examination of their *progress in the arts*, and their *commercial opportunities*.

That there was a period at which the inhabitants of Britain were ignorant of the art of working metals, would appear to be evident from the numerous instruments, formed of stone and flint, which have been found in many parts of the island.* This igno-

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* See many of these discoveries noticed in the Beauties for Wiltshire, under the article, *BARNOWS*.

rance is common to every nation in the first stage of society; but the Britons speedily discovered the mineral treasures which lay plentifully embosomed in various districts of their country, and they progressively acquired the talent of refining and rendering a portion of them amenable to use. *Tin*, long esteemed the most valuable production of this island, was exported by the Celtic Britons, through many ages antecedent to the encroachments of the Belgæ.

The discovery of this valuable metal, induced the visits of foreign merchants, and led to a series of commercial interchanges highly important in the annals of early Britain. The first nation which opened a trade with the inhabitants of this island, was, undoubtedly, the Phœnician. That enterprising people, the founders of navigation, and of extensive commerce, are supposed to have commenced a trade with Britain, about 600 years before the Christian era. Tin was the first great article of British exportation; and this metal the Phœnicians procured in large quantities from the Scilly islands, then denominated the Cassiterides.

The Phœnicians enjoyed an exclusive trade with this country, for nearly three centuries;* when they reluctantly admitted the Greeks to a participation in their advantageous traffic. From such a competition of purchasers, the Britons derived considerable benefit; and the great mart for the arrangement of exports and imports, was removed from the obscure Cassiterides, and fixed, as some believe, in the isle of Wight.†

We have not any direct authorities for ascertaining the nature of the articles given in exchange for their tin, by the Phœnicians, to the first Celtic traders of Britain. A conjecture may, however, be drawn from the state of the foreign trade cultivated by

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* See some notice of the connexion between the Britons and Phœnicians, in the *Beauties* for Devonshire, p. 38; and for Cornwall, p. 338—339.

† An examination of different opinions, as to whether the Isle of Wight is really the *Ictis* of Diodorus Siculus, and was, consequently, the great British mart for tin, is presented in the *Beauties* for Hampshire, p. 332—333.

the Britons, when the Belgæ shared in the population of the island, and at the time of the Roman invasion under Claudius. Tin then continued to be the chief article of exportation; but lead, the skins of animals, both wild and tame, together with numerous other commodities, are mentioned among the exports of Britain. The human being, reduced to slavery, and estimated merely as an animal, was also an object of barter. In exchange for such articles of traffic, the Britons imported salt, earthenware, and brass, both wrought, and in bullion.

It would thus appear that the islanders derived but few additions to their comforts from their foreign commerce. It is certain that they waited at home for opportunities of barter; and it is quite doubtful whether they possessed barks of sufficient magnitude for extensive voyages, if they had been actuated by a spirit of bold commercial enterprise. Such of their vessels as were noticed by Cæsar, were merely open boats, framed of light timbers, ribbed with hurdle-work, and lined with hides.*

Brass, or *copper*, was the favourite metal with the Britons, whether of Celtic or Belgic extraction, as with all ancient nations in their early ages,† and was entirely imported by them, although they understood the art of working it, and constructed from it various implements. That their military weapons, swords, battle-axes, spears, and arrow-heads, were chiefly formed of copper or brass, is manifest, from the numerous relics found in different parts of the island, and preserved in the cabinets of the curious. From these it appears that they often mixed an extraordinary quantity of lead with the primary metal.

Iron, the most useful of all metals, and that which Nature has spread through most regions in the greatest abundance, is still
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* Boats similar to those described by Cæsar, are still used on the rivers of Wales, and are denominated *Coracles*, in English. The Welsh term this species of boat, *Cwm*. See *Beauties for Wales*, Vol. XVII. p. 8, &c.

† For the general use of brass, or copper, in the manufacture of offensive arms, amongst the ancients, see Goguet's *Origin of Laws, Arts, &c.* Vol. I. p. 157—159; and Vol. II. p. 266.

the most difficult of discovery ; and is rendered forgeable by a process peculiarly complicated and tedious. Small quantities of this metal were imported from the continent, both by the Celtic and Belgic Britons, until a short time before the descent of Cæsar ; when some mines were opened, and worked upon a small scale, by the latter people. It is believed that gold and silver were not known to be natural productions of the island, when it was first visited by Cæsar ; but it would appear that these metals were discovered soon after that period, as Tacitus and Strabo mention both amongst the riches which Britain possessed to reward her conquerors. If not dug and worked in Britain, it is probable that these precious metals had been long imported in small quantities from Gaul, either in bullion, or wrought into various ornaments. That many ornamental particulars of pure gold formed a part of the elevated Briton's personal decorations, is evident, from the discoveries made on opening barrows, or funeral tumuli.

The art of the potter is one so necessary and so simple, that it can scarcely be supposed unknown to a nation which practised pasturage, and used as food the milk of its kine. That the Britons were acquainted with this art, is proved by vessels found in places of burial, and in other earth-works, assuredly British.* But the rude character of these specimens shews that they had made little progress in refining on the manufacture. They had, also, vessels formed of native amber ; but, it would appear, from the investigation of funeral deposits, that these were very rare, and held in great value.

From the simplicity of construction and arrangement observable in their houses, it would seem probable that the Britons had little skill in works appertaining to the carpenter and turner ; but we shall find that they possessed war-chariots so well contrived and neatly executed, as to obtain the admiration of their polished invaders, the Romans. It may readily be supposed

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that

* See some specimens of British pottery casually noticed in the *Beauties for Wiltshire*, p. 229, and 310.

that the chief efforts of a people continually exposed to internal warfare, would be directed towards the construction of military vehicles and implements; but, where many tools were possessed, and an efficient mode of using them was well known, it is unlikely that the exercise of opportunity and talent should be confined to one branch of such essential arts. Accordingly, we find on several of the coins of Cunobeline, minted between the first and second great Roman invasions, the representation of seats, or chairs, provided with backs, and mounted on four supporters. This circumstance is trivial, and is mentioned only to counteract a notion conveyed by some historical writers, under the influence of which it might be supposed that the inhabitants of ancient Britain, collectively, were in the first stage of savage life, and quite unacquainted with the means of domestic accommodation. In addition to articles formed of wood, their tables were furnished with numerous utensils made of osiers, delicately intertwined. In this species of basket work they so greatly excelled, that articles manufactured by them, were afterwards exported to Rome, where they were much admired, and admitted to the boards of the elevated and fashionable.

Having thus collected such scanty materials as credible history affords, for a description of the Briton's residence, and for an estimate of its probable contents, it is desirable to examine into the state of his *personal appearance* and *habiliments*.

The most acceptable of the Roman and Greek writers, concur in describing it as a custom of Britain for the inhabitants to paint their bodies, although they offer somewhat dissimilar accounts concerning the mode in which this species of decoration was practised. Cæsar and Pliny mention the Britons as staining their skins with one uniform colour, the dye of Glastum, or Woad; and they notice this custom as common to both sexes. Other ancient authors describe the painting as being of a more artificial character, and as consisting of various figures and devices, punctured on the skin; the blue stain of the Woad forming the ground-tint of this strange tissue of imagery. It is probable
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that both accounts may be reconciled with correctness, and that the great bulk of the population used the cheaper uniform colour, while the upper orders indulged in the ostentation of figured punctures, either more or less elaborate and varied as might suit their temper and finances.

The existence of this practice evidently implies an original necessity, or custom, of exposing the person free from attire. But it has been already shewn that such an exposure was no longer compulsory, when the island was first visited by the Romans, although it appears to have been still practised in time of battle.* Both the Celtic and Belgic tribes were then clothed; the former chiefly in skins, and the latter wholly in garments of woollen cloth. As cloth is not mentioned amongst the articles imported by the Britons, there is confident reason for believing that the art of manufacturing it was introduced by the Belgæ. The cloths at that time manufactured in Gaul, and probably in Britain, were of a coarse and homely texture; but that most in request was composed of wool, dyed in several different colours, which being spun into yarn, was woven chequer-wise. Thus falling into parti-coloured squares, the fabric bore a close resemblance to the cloth still partially used in the highlands of Scotland, and known by the name of Tartan plaid.

It has been observed, in a previous page, that the comparative luxury of woollen garments was not entirely confined to the Belgic tribes, when the island first became known to the Romans. The chieftains, and other distinguished persons among the Celts, appear to have relinquished the rude garbs of their ancestors, and to have adopted a more comfortable and more ornamental species of attire. Their improved mode of dress is thus described by the lively pen of Mr. Whitaker;† and as the description is, in many
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* It is observed by Mr. Whitaker, that the highlanders have "retained this practice, in part, to the present times; as late as the battle of Killcranky, throwing off their plaids and short coats, and fighting in their shirts." *Hist. of Manchester*, Vol. I. p. 300.

† *Hist. of Manchester*, Vol. I. p. 300—302.

leading particulars, supported by the testimony of ancient writers, it may be perused as a curious delineation of ancient costume, founded on credible hints of intelligence, but enlarged with a considerable license of comparison and probable conjecture.

“ The trunk of the body was covered with a jacket, which the Britons called a *Cota*, and we denominate a waistcoat. It was plaided, and open before; had long sleeves extending to the hands; and reached itself to the middle. And below this began the trowsers, which were called *Braccæ*, *Brages*, or *Breeches*, by the Britons, wrapped loosely round the thighs and legs, and terminated at the ancles. These also were plaided, as their name intimates; *Brac* signifying a parti-coloured object, and the upper garment of the highlanders being therefore denominated *Breac*, and *Breacan*, to this day.

“ Over these was a looser garment, denominated, formerly, by the Gauls a sack, and by the Irish, lately, a mantle. This was equally plaided, and was of a thick strong texture. And it was fastened upon the body with buttons, and bound round the waist with a girdle. The former appear to have been placed one upon either shoulder, where the highlanders use a sort of pins at present; and are seen distinctly on the coins of several British monarchs. The latter, which is frequently used to this day by the highlanders, also appears upon British coins, and seems to have been particularly ornamented, as in the Roman triumph over *Caractacus* his *phaleræ* made a part of the splendid shew.

“ Round the neck was a large chain, which hung down upon the breast; and on the middle, or second finger of both hands was a ring. The ornamental chains of *Caractacus* were exhibited with his *phaleræ* in the procession at Rome. And both were made of gold among the chiefs, and of iron among their followers. They had shoes upon their feet, which were the same, assuredly, with the buskins that were used within these five centuries in Wales, and with the light flat brogues, that are worn to this day by some of the Irish and highlanders; and, like them, were made of a raw cow-hide, that had the hair turned outwards. And they wore

wore round bennets on their heads. This remarkable dress of our British ancestors, seems to have been equally the attire of the men and women among the nobles of Britain.”*

It is difficult to form a just estimate of the *moral qualities* and *familiar manners* of a people so remote, from the pages of those who have noticed them but briefly; who visited them as enemies or conquerors; and who pertinaciously affected to consider them, whether of Celtic or Belgic origin, as mere barbarians. They are described by the Greek and Roman writers, as being proud and vain-glorious; rash in resolve, and prone to passionate bursts of anger. In alleviation of such censure, it may be remarked that their pride was blended with patriotism, and that their warmth of temper was sustained and rendered respectable by an ardent courage, ever ready for action, in support of their princes, and in defence of their country.

The most important circumstance connected with the economy of civil life, is a due regulation of the commerce between the sexes. Many writers have presented rather minute descriptions of the marriage ceremonials of the Britons, and of the engagements entered into by the parties concerned. But their accounts rest entirely on a presumed analogy of manners between the ancient Germans and the Britons; on the poems of Ossian; and on the laws of Howel Dha. It is obvious, that conjecture is here allowed too large a scope for the purposes of legitimate history. Julius Cæsar affords the first acceptable authority on the subject, and he writes to the following effect: “Ten or twelve persons, who are commonly near relations, as fathers, sons, and brothers, all have their wives in common. But the children are presumed to belong to the man to whom the mother was married.”

* The dress of the British Princess, Boadicia, is described by Dio, as “a tunick of various colours, long and plaited, over which she had a large and thick mantle. This was her common dress, which she wore at all times.”—Many articles of personal ornament amongst the Britons are noticed in future pages, under the subject of *Barrows, Cairns, and Funeral Reliques*.

ried."* This assertion is corroborated by the testimony of Dio, and other ancient writers.

A statement so unfavourable to the morals of our ancestors, has naturally been treated with scepticism by many authors. Dr. Henry, one of the most respectable of those who hesitate in receiving as correct the accounts transmitted by the ancients, observes "that it is very probable Cæsar, Dio, and others, were deceived by appearances, and were led to entertain this opinion of the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes among the Britons, by noticing the promiscuous manner in which they lived, and particularly in which they slept. The houses of the Britons were not, like ours at present, or those of the Romans in those times, divided into several distinct apartments; but consisted of one large circular room, or hall, with a fire in the middle, around which the whole family and visitants, men, women, and children, slept on the floor, in one continued bed of straw or rushes. This excited unfavourable suspicions in the minds of strangers, accustomed to a more decent manner of living; but these suspicions were probably without foundation. For the ancient Germans, who were in many respects extremely like the ancient Britons, and lived in the same crowded and promiscuous manner, were remarkable for their chastity and conjugal fidelity."†

An argument in favour of the connubial good morals of the Britons, has, likewise, been drawn from the poems of Ossian; but the examiner will, perhaps, look with more consideration on the instance of Queen Cartismandua, who incurred the universal indignation of the Brigantes, for her inconstancy to her husband, and preference of her armour-bearer.‡ But, still, these arguments are far from conclusive, when opposed by the positive assertion of so judicious an investigator as Cæsar. In regard to Cartismandua, it may be readily supposed that an unusual re-

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* Cæsar, de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14.

† Henry's Hist. of England. Vol. II. p. 304—305.

‡ Vide Tacit. Hist. l. 3. c. 45.

serve was expected in the person of a queen, and that the popular indignation was heightened by the alien meanness of her companion in guilt. Although it has been found impossible to exonerate entirely the character of the Britons from this degrading imputation, we may easily imagine that a custom so offensive to the simplicity of nature, was not held in universal practice. Genuine delicacy would, perforce, find its way to some bosoms; admiration and esteem would individuate affection, even amongst the half-civilized; and paternal love, one of the deepest and noblest feelings of the human breast, would prohibit the indulgence of an intercourse so grossly promiscuous, amongst the more respectable classes of society.

Thus, even if the Druidical laws sanctioned a disgusting licentiousness of manners, we may suppose that only families of little consideration and repute took full advantage of the freedom allowed. It will be remembered that the laws of the Koran permit a mussulman to have a plurality of wives, and as many concubines as his fortune will maintain; but only a comparative few, branded with ill-fame for libertinism, seek gratification from the indulgence.

The art in which the Britons chiefly excelled, was that of war. The division of their country into numerous small principalities, produced continual struggles, which rendered a skill in the science of defence and attack, not only desirable but of vital necessity. They were, accordingly, trained to the practice of arms from the first dawn of adolescence; and the priests, who held so potent a tyranny over their feelings and understanding, encouraged them to believe that the fearless warrior was the character most acceptable to the gods. As the Britons were chiefly viewed when in a warlike attitude by the illustrious author, whose commentary forms the ground-work of the history of their manners; and as the enquiries of subsequent Roman writers were principally (from the complexion of the times) directed to the military circumstances of the island; we are enabled to present a more full and satisfactory picture of the Briton, when
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armed for battle, than when engaged in civil, and more valuable avocations.

Although there is reason to believe that the population of ancient Britain was far from being extensive, yet, as society, independent of the priesthood, was confined to two ranks, the chieftain and his retainer; and as only few were employed in useful arts and manufactures; the armies poured forth on a public emergency, were unexpectedly strong in numbers; for nearly all who were capable of bearing arms were liable, and were ready, to appear with them in the field. It is evident that the army of the ancient Britons was not divided into distinct legions, but that each particular clan fought round the person, and under the direction of, its immediate chieftain. These chiefs obeyed the commands of the king of their petty state; and, on great occasions, the assembled kings employed their forces according to the will of the Pendragon, or head of the confederacy.

The troops consisted of infantry, cavalry, and warriors who fought from chariots.

The infantry, as is usual with the military of most nations, formed the chief strength of the army. They possessed no defensive armour, except small, and generally round, shields. Their offensive weapons were swords of copper, or brass, long, broad, and without points, which were attached to the right side, and suspended from a belt or chain, thrown over the left shoulder. Round the body was a girdle, sustaining a short dirk or dagger, also of copper, or brass. Some bore a spear, armed at the point with copper, which was used occasionally as a missile weapon; and others were armed with bows and arrows.* In the use of these latter weapons the *Belgæ* appear to have been peculiarly expert, as Cæsar dwells with emphasis on the annoyance which
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* To this list of weapons used by the ancient British infantry, may be added the battle-axe, if indeed those instruments so frequently found in different parts of the island, and termed *Celts* by antiquaries, were intended for purposes of hostility.

his troops experienced from the darts of those who opposed his invasion. At the butt-end of the spear was often placed a ball of brass, charged with stones, or pieces of metal, and intended to startle horses with its noise. The whole of the troops threw aside their garments, and disclosed full to the enemy their painted bodies, before they entered on action.

The cavalry were mounted on horses of a diminutive breed, but swift in motion, and equally spirited and hardy. If figures exhibited on British coins may be received as conclusive evidence, the riders were not provided with saddles of any description. They were armed with shields; swords resembling those of the infantry; and long spears.

The war-chariots * formed the most remarkable feature in the military arrangement of the Britons, and were found, even by the firmest phalanx of the Romans, to be vehicles of tremendous operation. These were of two kinds, both having two wheels and being drawn by two horses. The chariots of the most destructive character were armed with sharp blades, or scythes, and hooks; and were driven furiously upon the ranks of an enemy, destroying or maiming all who unsuccessfully endeavoured to interrupt their progress.

The war-chariots of the second class contained the chieftains,
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* The use of military chariots among the Britons appears to have been derived from the Gauls; but the custom was almost entirely laid aside on the continent, previous to Cæsar's invasion of Britain. Mr. Polwhele, however, (*Hist. of Devon.* p. 174—176.) is of opinion that the practice was introduced to the Gauls by the Britons. Conjecture, rather than proof, is chiefly adduced by those who argue either on the side of Mr. Polwhele, or with the opposite party. In regard to the construction and character of these chariots, it may be remarked that Mr. King (*Munimenta Antiq.* Vol. I. Chap. 1.) endeavours to degrade them to a level with the little, low, cart, or truck, still used in many parts of Wales. If it be allowed that he is, in some respects, supported by probability, as to the cars used by the ancient Britons for purposes of traffic, we cannot suppose that the war-cars, which alarmed the Roman veterans, were such contemptible carriages.

and most honourable persons in command, who cast their darts around, while they inspirited the respective troops to energy in the fight. The skilful mode in which the British charioteers conducted the assault, and managed their horses, is described by Cæsar, in words to the following effect: "They first drive their chariots on all sides, and throw their darts; often, by the noise of the wheels and horses, putting the foremost ranks of the enemy into disorder. When they have forced their way into the midst of the cavalry, they quit their chariots, and fight on foot. Meanwhile, the drivers retire a little from the combat, and place themselves in reserve, to favour the retreat of the warriors, should they be too much oppressed by the enemy. Thus, in action, they perform the part both of nimble cavalry and of stable infantry; and by practice they have arrived at such expertness, that in the most steep and difficult places they can stop their horses, when at full speed, turn them which way they please, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and throw themselves back into their chariots with surprising dexterity."*

It is allowed by Cæsar, that the most hardy of his veteran troops were disconcerted by this mode of attack; and, if we may rely on the testimony of the same writer, the number of the chariots used in war was truly formidable. Cæsar asserts that no less than four thousand war chariots were retained by Cassivellannus, after that prince, hopeless of success in the field, had disbanded the remainder of his forces.

The accounts which have descended to us from their enemies, the Romans, afford sufficient evidence of the personal courage, discretion, and skill of the British chiefs. They usually chose their ground, with great judgment, on the ascent of a hill: and profited to the utmost in their operations, by a superior knowledge of the country which they defended. In drawing up their troops, (as we are informed by Tacitus) they commonly placed the infantry in the centre, in several lines and in distinct corps; each
division

* Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 33.

division of warriors, consisting of the members of one clan, commanded by its chieftain.

These bodies of infantry were so disposed that they could with ease support and relieve each other, as exigency might demand.

The cavalry and chariots were stationed on either side, with small detached parties spreading along the front of the line; and this part of the army, rushing forwards on a signal, commenced the action, encouraged by the war-cry of the whole power.

Accustomed to a limited theatre of warfare, amidst woodlands and morasses, with rival and contiguous tribes, the British commanders evinced a consummate skill in the arts of stratagem and surprise.

On such arts, indeed, depended their best hope, when they were opposed by the veteran legions. Their valour, however great, and their tactics, though far from contemptible, were not sufficient to enable them to cope in the open field with the superior arms and refined discipline of the Romans.

The hasty and predatory character of the warfare to which they had been alone accustomed, likewise precluded a knowledge in one essential branch of military science. This was the art of fortification; which they appear to have practised only in the instance of the barriers that they constructed around their towns, or stationary places of retreat in times of public danger.

After allowing these deficiencies, even in the dreadful art in which they chiefly excelled, it is evident that the Britons, collectively, possessed more than the untutored tumultuary valour ascribed to them by many writers. The skill in stratagem and retreat displayed by the *Belgic Britons*, greatly perplexed, if it did not entirely baffle, the illustrious Cæsar, one of the most consummate generals of Rome, the victorious mistress of so many nations. And in after ages of that contest whence we date the commencement of our national annals, the arts of the Romans assisted, in no mean degree, the

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success

success of their arms over the general population of Britain.— Such a triumph renders even subjugation attractive; but still it must not be forgotten that, after a struggle of more than four centuries, the conquerors of the continent left a portion of this island unsubdued, and sacred to rude but honest and indignant patriotism.

It is to be feared that the above brief sketch of the political constitution, the theology, and the customs and manners, of the ancient Britons, will prove inadequate to the gratification of the curious. But it would be difficult to extend an account of the inhabitants of Britain, at the time of the Roman invasion, to a much greater length, on solid ground. It has been observed by Dr. Johnson that “all which is really known of the ancient state of this island, is contained in a few pages;” and such appears to be indeed the fact, if we adhere to what has been said, determinately of ancient Britain, by those who wrote from actual observation, or from contemporary intelligence. If we were allowed to argue from analogy, and to ascribe, unreservedly, to the Celts and Belgæ of Britain, the manners of kindred tribes on the continent, a more copious detail might be presented without any great effort. But it must ever be dangerous to the interests of truth, to apply particular instances from general remarks.

I might, likewise, have added much to these delineations, and have imparted to them many touches truly attractive, if I had chosen to lean on the authority of the poems ascribed to Ossian. But it would appear that poems, only verbally transmitted, and known to South Britain through the medium of a free translation only, cannot be safely adopted as materials for a legitimate history of manners, unless when they directly agree with the assertions of ancient historical writers; and in such instances their testimony, except as to the mere purpose of embellishment, must be superfluous.

Some minor particulars relating to the customs of the ancient Britons, will be elicited from an examination of their rude, but venerable

venerable remains, which are strewed over the less cultivated parts of the island, in impressive abundance.

To an investigation of these I now proceed; and direct the notice of the reader to those earthy mounds and outlines, which mark the site of inhabitation at an earlier period than is recognised by the pages of British history; to massy vestiges of Druidical rites, which would mock the assaults of time, if unaided by the more destructive agency of the irreverent human hand; and to the antiquarian labours of those who have removed the incumbent load of earth from the Briton's rude cell of sepulture, and have disclosed the reliques of his form, together with the simple, but emphatic, memorials placed beside him in the grave by the fanciful piety of an obsolete superstition.

BRITISH TOWNS--VESTIGES OF HABITATIONS--EXCAVATIONS.—The towns of the Britons contained no buildings that were likely to meet the eye of distant posterity. It has been already noticed, that, according to Cæsar, these towns consisted of mean huts for human inhabitation, and sheds for cattle, which were placed in the midst of a thick wood, and fortified by a high bank and a ditch.—But although the buildings of the British towns were not calculated for long duration, the vallum and fosse, where not interrupted by the hand of future settlers, would remain as land-marks of former population, through very distant ages. Such appear to be those called *Ambresbury-banks*, near Copped Hall, in Essex, which are thus described by a careful investigator: "This intrenchment was formerly in the very heart of the forest, and is of an irregular figure, rather longest from east to west, and on a gentle declivity to the south-east. It contains near twelve acres, and is surrounded by a ditch and high bank, much worn down by time; though, where there are angles, they are still very bold and high. There are no regular openings, like gateways or entrances."*

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But

* Gough's *Camden*, Edit. 1789. Vol. II. p. 49. and Pl. I. fig. 4; and *Beauties for Essex*, p. 431—432.

But it would appear that the description of a British town, as transmitted by Cæsar, applies chiefly to the dwellings of such tribes as inhabited the lowlands of Britain. As security was the primary object studied by the Britons in constructing a town, we may readily believe that the nations which occupied the more mountainous districts of the island, chose the site of their places of retreat on the summit of elevations, difficult of access, and commanding extensive views. Accordingly, we find in several parts of Wales, and in Cornwall,* in Lancashire, Shropshire,† Cambridgeshire,‡ Herefordshire, and other counties of England, the remains of castrametations on tall precipitate hill tops, which are confidently believed to have been the fastnesses, or towns of retreat, constructed by the ancient inhabitants of the island.

These fastnesses enclose a considerable area, and are of an irregular form, the outlines complying with the natural shape of the hill on which they are constructed. Where the sides are not defended by precipices, they are guarded by several ditches, and by ramparts, either of earth or of stones, worked without the use of mortar. They have sometimes only one, but more frequently have two entrances. One of the most important of these strong holds may desirably be adduced in this place, as a specimen of their prevailing character, since it is situated, according to the remark of Mr. King, "on a spot that could not but be an object of the utmost attention to the original inhabitants of those territories, which afterwards were deemed distinctly England and Wales, from the very division here formed." This is now termed the *Herefordshire Beacon*, and is reared on the summit of one of the highest of the Malvern ridge of hills. The area of the castrametation comprises an irregular oblong, of 175 feet by 110 feet, and is surrounded by a steep and lofty vallum of

* *Beauties for Cornwall*, p. 500—501.

† *Beauties for Shropshire*, p. 266—267, (and for a more copious notice of Hen Dinas, the presumed British fastness in Shropshire, see *King's Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. I.)

‡ *Beauties for Cambridgeshire*, p. 130—131.

of stones and earth, and by a deep ditch on the outside. Attached to the principal area, are two outworks, of considerable extent, situated lower on the sides of the hill. Each of these encloses a plain, probably intended for the reception of cattle in times of exigency and retreat; and both are artificially connected by a narrow slip of land, secured by a bank and ditch. The acclivity of the hill, in its approach towards the summit, is guarded by several rude, but formidable, banks and ditches.*

The above description is far from disagreeing with the account given of many British fortresses by Tacitus;† and the whole arrangement of the castrametation, at once rude, bold, and cunning, would appear to be consistent with the character evinced by the ancient Britons in politics and in war. While, in general characteristics, these elevated places of retreat and defence are thus attributable to the Britons, it may be observed that there is not any other people to whom their first construction can be rationally appropriated, although they may, in successive ages, have been used by various hostile parties.

From encampments known to have been constructed by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, it is evident that these vestiges do not bear any resemblance to their modes of fortification; and thence it may be safely inferred that they were formed only by the hands of those who first used the soil, and who, in the rudeness of an early age of military tactics, sought, and found, security for their families and their herds, on the loftiest points of neighbouring elevations, where nature supplied the conscious deficiencies of art.

In addition to other arguments for the British original of these hill fortresses, it must be observed, that within the area of many of them are still remaining the *foundations* of numerous cells, or

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places

* See a more extended notice of this curious fortress, in the Beauties for Herefordshire, p. 597—599; and in King's Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. I.

† Annal. lib. XII. sect. 33.

places of habitation,* which are generally circular, or oval, as was usual with the dwellings of the Britons. The mere existence of such relics would appear to prove that the fortresses were intended for the regular accommodation of a tribe, combining both sexes and whole families, rather than for the temporary reception and defence of a band of warriors.

A curious species of earth work, supposed to form a part of the vestigia of civil life amongst the ancient Britons, now claims notice. I allude to the subterraneous pits and caverns which are found near Guildford, in Surrey;† at Royston, in Hertfordshire;‡ near Crayford, in Kent;§ and many other places. These are often descended into by means of a pit, or well, and are sometimes entered on a level, through the side of a hill. Within, they are of a different magnitude and description, some having only one spacious apartment, but they are generally divided into several rooms. Many writers contend that these excavations were made by the Saxons, in imitation of the custom of their German ancestors, as described by Tacitus; but Mr. King, who has bestowed great labour on the consideration of this subject, thus delivers a contrary opinion: "If we consider how much superior the other Saxon modes of fortification appear, it seems much more reasonable to conclude that they were *first* formed

* See an instance of these remains in the *Beauties for Cornwall*, p. 500—501. It may be here observed, that vestiges of scattered, round, small houses, supposed to be British, occur in several reclusé parts of England and Wales. Many of these are found on Dartmoor, in Devonshire, (See Polwhele's *Hist. of Devon*. p. 142—145; and *Beauties for Devon*. p. 233—234.)

† *Beauties for Surrey*, p. 257.

‡ *Beauties for Herts*, p. 181—183; where this excavation is supposed to have been used as an oratory; but, from its mode of construction, Mr. King, in his *Munimenta Antiqua*, argues that it was originally formed by the Britons, as a hiding place, or as a repository of grain.

§ *Beauties for Kent*, p. 552—553.—Curious specimens of subterranean works, probably designed for similar purposes, likewise occur in Cornwall. See also *Beauties for Essex*, p. 484.

formed by the Britons, in conformity to the most ancient usages of mankind. Diodorus Siculus expressly tells us, that the Britons did lay up their corn in *subterranean repositories*, from whence the ancient people used to take a certain portion every day, and having dried and bruised the grains, made a kind of food thereof, for immediate use.”*

Whilst we admit the authority of Diodorus Siculus, and conclude that these caverns were subsequently used as repositories of corn by the agricultural Britons, it appears probable that they were originally constructed as hiding places in time of war; such a mode of secretion being almost invariably adopted by all nations in the infancy of society, and being, indeed, learned from the wild beasts of prey around them, who evaded the hunter by stealing to deep and gloomy caves.

Thus, the towns, and most durable domestic retreats, of a people in the early rudeness of national manners, are connected with stratagems of war, and are illustrative of their proficiency in the art of fortification. In the instances of their towns, we chiefly, or entirely, find specimens of British intrenchments, and other military works. Their mode of warfare, until they improved their tactics by a communication with the Romans, was of a predatory and decisive character, that rarely allowed time for the formation of incidental fortified encampments.

LINE OF BOUNDARY, AND ROADS.—South Britain is intersected, in many districts, by extensive lines of ditches and adjacent embankments, which are interesting subjects of enquiry, although they have been rarely favoured with antiquarian investigation. Where these are noticed, they are often attributed to the Romans or Saxons; but it would appear that they are frequently ascribed to those successful invaders, in a loose, inconsiderate manner. The great Dyke which formed for many ages the line of boundary between England and Wales, is recognised by history, and is known to have been constructed by Offa, King

* King's Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. I. p. 48.

of Mercia; but the dykes and embankments which are not acknowledged by regular history, and possess no name but the fanciful epithet bestowed by neighbouring villagers, are more frequent in the less cultivated parts of the island than is generally supposed, and may be often ascribed to the ancient Britons, on the most secure ground which probable conjecture has to offer.—The line of embanked dyke in Wiltshire, termed Bokerly ditch, “issues from the site of an extensive British town;”^{*} and Grime’s Dyke, in Oxfordshire, is crossed by a Roman road.[†]

The most stupendous of these ancient boundary lines, is that called *Wansdike*, which is 80 miles in length, and is still visible for more than three parts of that extent. This deep ditch and lofty vallum, are supposed to have formed the line of demarkation between the Belgæ and the aboriginal Britons,[‡] although afterwards in part adopted by the Anglo-Saxons.

It is supposed that some further vestiges of the early Britons, connected with durable impressions made on the soil for the purposes of civil polity, may be found in the traces of ancient **BRITISH ROADS, or TRACKWAYS**, still existing. It may certainly be inferred, without an unwarrantable freedom of conjecture, that the people so familiarly acquainted with the use of chariots, and engaged in commercial pursuits, which rendered necessary a correspondence between the interior parts of the country and the coast, could not be destitute of roads, so carefully amended as to assume a permanent character. That such indeed existed, and were in many instances adopted by the Romans, is uniformly admitted by those antiquaries who unite the labours of local investigation with the erudite researches of the etymologist.

“ These

^{*} Beauties for Wilts, p. 224.

[†] Beauties for Oxfordshire, p. 13. See, also, the instance of a ditch, “ which, towards the middle, has been filled up, for the *Icknield Way* to pass over it,” in the Beauties for Cambridgeshire, p. 159.

[‡] Vide Beauties for Wilts, p. 718, and Collinson’s Introduction to the History and Antiquities of the county of Somerset.

"These British roads" (to use the words of a writer, who has attentively examined the subjects on which he treats,) "are so totally distinct from the Roman causeways, which succeeded them, that it is surprising so many persons should confound these works of the rude inhabitants of the island, with those perhaps of the most enlightened military nation that ever appeared in the world; for the British roads were merely driftways, running through the woods, or winding on the sides of the hills, and made only for their petty commerce of cattle and slaves. Unlike the military labours of their successors, they were hardly ever drawn in straight lines; were not regularly attended by tumuli, or barrows; were never raised; and had a peculiar feature, the reason of which is not known, of being divided during their course into several branches, running parallel with the bearing of the original road."* To which it may be added, that they do not lead to Roman towns, or notice such towns, except when placed on the sites of British fortresses.

The course of the British trackways, according to the investigations of the judicious antiquary above quoted, are carefully marked in our map of ancient Britain; and *such towns of the Britons, as are known to have stood on those roads, are enumerated in the marginal table of contents, by which the map is accompanied.*† It may, however, be desirable to notice briefly, in this place, the presumed course of each known British road, or trackway, in relation to the modern political divisions of country, and the present names of places. By the indulgence of the editor of Richard of Cirencester,‡ I am enabled to do this in the words

* History of Hertfordshire, p. 8. (from a communication of the Rev. T. Leman.)

† In noticing the towns of the Britons, it will be recollected that ninety-two of their capital towns are commemorated by historians, but the names of only eighty-eight have been preserved.

‡ Mr. Hatcher, to whom the antiquarian world is greatly indebted for his excellent edition of the Description of Britain, &c. by Richard of Cirencester, with "a Commentary on the Itinerary."

words of a recent commentary on that work, enlarged, in one particular, by the learned contributor of that portion of the commentary.

"The WATLING STREET, or Irish road, consisted of two branches, northern and southern.

"The south-eastern branch of the Watling Street, proceeded from Richborough, on the coast of Kent, to Canterbury; and from thence, nearly in the line of the present turnpike, towards Rochester. It left that city to the right, passed the Medway by a ford, and ran almost straight, through Lord Darnley's park, to Southfleet. It bent to the left to avoid the marshes near London, continued along a road, now lost, to Holwood Hill, the capital of the Rhemi, and then followed the course of the present road to London.—Having crossed the Thames, it ran by Edgeware to Verulam; and from thence, with the present great Irish road, through Dunstable and Towcester to Weedon. Hence, instead of bending to the left, with the present turnpike, it proceeded straight by Dovebridge, High Cross, Fazeley, Wall, and Wellington, to Wroxeter. It then passed the Severn, and continued by Rowton, Pen y Pont, and Bala, to Tomen y Mawr, where it divided into two branches. One ran by Bath-Kollert to Caernarvon and Anglesea; the other by Dolwyddelan, through the mountains to the banks of the Menai, where it joined the north-eastern branch (which will be presently described,) and ended at Holy Head, the great port of the Irish.

"The north-eastern branch of the Watling Street, coming from the interior of Scotland, by Cramond and Jedburgh, enters England at Chew Green, and continues by Riechester to Corbridge. There, crossing the Tyne, it ran through Ebchester, Lancheater, and Bincheater, and passed the Tees by a ford, near Pierce Bridge. Hence it went by Catterick, Newton, Masham, and Kirby Malside to Ilkley, and near Halifax to Manchester. Over the moors, between these two last places, it is called the Devil's Causeway. From Manchester, where it passed the Mersey, it proceeded by Street, Northwich, Chester, Caerhun,

Caerhan, and over the mountains to Aber, where it fell into the south-western branch, in its course to Holy Head.

" The ICKNIELD STREET, or road of the Iceni, proceeds from the coast near Great Yarmouth. Passing through Taunborough, it runs by Icklingham and Newmarket, and, skirting the chain of hills which stretches through Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, continues by Bournbridge to Ickdon and Royston, (where it intersects the Ermyrn Street.) Thence it proceeds by Baldock, over Wilbury Hill, to Dunstable (where it crosses the Watling Street,) Tring, Wendover, Elsborough, near Richborough, Chinnor, Watlington, Woodcote, and Goring; and, passing the Thames at Streathly, throws off a collateral branch, which will be noticed under the name of the *Ridgeway*. From hence it proceeded, as Stukeley imagined, by Aldworth, Newbury Street, Ashmansworth, Tangle, and Tidworth, to Old Sarum. Thence by the two Stratfords, across Vernditch Chase, Woodyates Inn, the Gussages, Badbury, Shapwick, Woodbay Castle, Maiden Castle, Eggardon, Axminster, Honiton, Exeter, Totness, &c. to the Land's End.

" The collateral branch called the RIDGEWAY, ran from Streathly along the hills, by Cackhamsley Hill, Whitehorse Hill, and Ashbury, towards Abury; from whence its course is unknown. Possibly it ran towards Glastonbury. From Elworthy barrows, above Taunton, it passes south-westerly into Devonshire; and from Stretton into Cornwall, it kept along the ridge of hills to Redruth and the Land's End.

" RYKNIELD STREET, or street of the Upper Iceni, said to begin at the mouth of the Tyne, ran by Chester le Street to Binschester, where it joined the Watling Street, and continued with it to Catterick. Then, bearing more easterly, it ran with the present great northern road to within two miles of Borough Bridge, where it left the turnpike to the right, and crossed the Ene to Aldborough. From thence it went by Coptgrave, Ribston, Spofforth, through Stokeld Park, to Thorner, Medley, Falsby, Bolton, Graeshorough, Holme, Great Brook near Tre-

town,

town, Chesterfield, Alfreton, Little Chester, Eggiuton, to Burton, and Wall, (where it crossed the Watling Street.) Thence through Sutton Colfield, to Birmingham, King's Norton, Alcester, Bitford, Sedgebarrow, Tewkesbury, Gloucester, Berry Hill, Herefordshire; and probably by Abergavenny, Brecon, Landilo, and Caermarthen to St. David's.

" The **ERMYN STREET** came from the eastern side of Scotland, and, crossing the Tweed, west of Berwick, ran near Wooler, Hedgely, Brumpton, Brinkburn, Netherwitten, Hartburn, and Rial, to Corbridge, where it joined the North Watling Street. Passing with that way the two great rivers, the Tyne and the Tees, it continued to Catterick, where it divided into two branches.

" The western branch went with the Ryknield Street, as far as Aldborough, and then, leaving that way to the right, proceeded by Little Ousebourn, to Helensford, over Bramham Heath, to Aberford, Castleford, Houghton, Stapleton, Adwick, Doncaster, Bawtry, and probably by Tuxford, Southwell, and over the Trent to Thorp, (where it passed the Foss) Staunton, and Stainby, where it joined the eastern branch.

" This latter branch ran from Catterick by North Allerton, Thirsk, Easingwold, Stamford Bridge, Market Weighton and South Cave, and, crossing the Humber, continued by Wintringham, Lincoln, and Ancaster, to near Witham, when it was reunited with the western branch above mentioned. Both continued to Brig Casterton, near Stamford, Chesterton, Stilton, Godmanchester, Royston (where it crossed the Icknield Street,) Buntingford, Puckeridge, Ware Park, west of Broxbourn, Cheshunt, Enfield, Wood Green, and London. Here it again divided into two branches. The more westerly went by Darking, Coldharbour, Stone Street, and Pulborough to Chichester; while the easterly was continued by Bromley, Holwood Hill, Tunbridge Wells, Wadhurst, Mayfield, and Eastbourn to Pevensey.

" **IKEMAN STREET**, appears to have passed from the eastern side of the island, probably by Bedford, Newport Pagnel, Stony Stratford,

Stratford, and Buckingham (or, as others think, by Fenny Stratford and Winsborough,) to Alcester. It then ran by Kirklington, Woodstock, Stonefield, Astall, and Coln St. Alwin's to Cirencester, Rodmarton, Cherrington, Bagspath and Symonds' Hall. From thence it is said to be continued by Cromehall to Aust, where, passing the Severn, it probably ran through Caerwent, Caerleon, and along the coast by Caerdiff, Neath, and Lwghor, to Caermarthen, and the Irish port at St. David's."

The Foss Way, although adopted through the whole of its course by the Romans, was first, probably, a British road, as it forms a connection between so many of the British towns. It took its rise on the north eastern coast of Lincolnshire, and ran through *Lindum*, Lincoln; *Rata*, Leicester; *Benonis*, Claychester; *Corinium*, Cirencester; *Aquæ Sulis*, Bath; and *Iscalis*, Ilchester; to the great British port of Seaton, in Devonshire.*

"The UPPER SALT-WAY, which appears to have been the communication between the sea coast of Lincolnshire, and the salt-mines at Droitwich, is first known as leading from the neighbourhood of Stainsfield, towards Paunton and Denton; and then running not far from Saltby and Croxton, is continued straight by Warmby and Grimston, to Sedgehill on the Foss. Here it appears to bear towards Barrow, on the Soar; and crossing Charnwood Forest, is again seen at Stretton, on the borders of Warwickshire, from whence it is easily traced to Birmingham, and over the Lickey to Droitwich.

"The LOWER SALT-WAY is little known, although the parts here described have been actually traced. It came from Droitwich, crossed Worcestershire, under the name of the Salt-way, appears to have passed the Avon, somewhere below Evesham, tended towards the chain of hills above Sudeley Castle, where it is still visible, attended by *tumuli* as it runs by Hawling. Thence it proceeds to Northleach, where it crossed the Foss, in
its

* MS. communication of the Rev. T. Leman.

its way to Cole St. Aldwin's, on the Ikeman Street, and led to the sea coast of Hampshire.

" In many places are vestiges of a continued road skirting the western side of the island, in the same manner as the Ermyrn Street did the eastern, of which parts were never adopted by the Romans. There is great reason to suppose it British, because it connects many of the British towns. It appears to have commenced on the coast of Devon, perhaps not far from the mouth of the Ex, and to have gone by Exeter, Taunton, Bridgewater, Bristol, Gloucester, Kidderminster, Claverley, Weston, High Offley, Betley, Middlewich, Northwich, Warrington, Preston, and Lancaster. Here probably dividing into two branches, one ran by Kendal, Penrith, and Carlisle, to the extreme parts of the island, while the other passed, by Kirby Lonsdale and Orton, to Kirby Thure, from whence it continued, under the name of the Maiden-way, by the wall and Bewcastle, into the interior parts of Scotland.

" Besides these, and the separate communications between the different towns, there is reason to imagine that a general road ran round the whole coast of the island, parts of which have been observed near the southern coast of Dorsetshire, particularly from Abbotsbury to the isle of Purbeck; likewise in Hampshire, along Portadown Hill; and from Old Winchester through Sussex, on the tops of the hills between Midhurst and Chichester, to Arundel and Bournemouth. Also in Essex, from Malden to Colchester; and in Suffolk by Stretford, Ipswich, Stretford, and Blythburg, to the banks of the Yar. In Lincolnshire are two branches, one running clearly from Tattersal, by Horncastle, Ludford, Stainton, Caistor, and Somerby; and a second, nearer the coast, from Lowth towards Brocklesby, and both tending to the passage of the Humber, not far from Barton. Also along the principal part of the coast through Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland. On the western side of the island, it appears to have passed on the hills which skirt the northern

northern coast of Devonshire and Somersetshire, and possibly might be traced through Wales and towards Scotland.”*

BRITISH COINS.—The labours of the antiquary are seldom more judiciously directed than to the investigation of COINS, which at once act as the genuine links of history, and exhibit the state of several arts, in the specific nature and the preparation of the material, and in the character of the device, and degree of skill with which the die is cut and the impress made.

It would appear, from the testimony of Cæsar, and the absence of any direct and tangible proof to the contrary, that both the aboriginal and Belgic Britons were destitute of minted money, at the period of that great commander's invasion of the island.† It is believed that pieces of brass and iron bullion, unstamped, and rated by their weight, were then used as the medium of traffic.

* Commentary on the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, Edit. 1809. p. 111—117.

† The passage of Cæsar, on this subject, is so worded as to admit of a doubt, in the opinion of some persons, as to whether the brass money of the Britons was minted, or was mere bullion, valued by weight. Those who adopt a reading to the former effect, cannot adduce any corroborative circumstance founded on fact; and it certainly would appear unlikely that the people who were so rude as to use unstamped iron for money, should at the same time be so refined as to submit their brass to the process of the mint-master. Dr. Plot, in his *natural History of Oxfordshire*; Dr. Borlase, in his *Antiquities of Cornwall*; and Mr. Polwhele, in his *History of Devon*; argue for the probability of the Britons possessing coins, both of gold and silver, before the Roman invasion, although in parts of the island with which Cæsar had no opportunity of becoming acquainted. But it is obvious that a circulating monied medium of traffic is seldom confined to the bounds of one particular state, and is the most difficult of all circumstances to hide from the knowledge of an interested investigator. It may be remarked that the use of unstamped iron for money among the Britons, is not noticed, as an existing custom, by any writer subsequent to Cæsar. So rude a practice must be supposed likely to discontinue shortly after the superior convenience of small minted money was ascertained; and such appears to have been the fact, if we allow the first British coinage to have taken place between the dates of the two Roman invasions.

traffic. Large quantities of the latter, approaching to a square shape, and having a hole in the centre, as if for the purpose of stringing them for the convenience of the trader, have been found in Cornwall, and are supposed to be the iron money of the Britons.*

But the era of Cæsar's invasion was, in every respect, memorable to Britain. His expedition led to a more extended correspondence between the islanders and the inhabitants of the continent; and the increase of trade, and expansion of views, derived from that communication, are evident in the circumstance of several mints being speedily erected by the former people; the active and commercial Belgæ setting the laudable example.

The chief British coins which have been discovered, and may be considered as genuine, were struck during the years which intervened between the first invasion under Cæsar, and the second and more decisive by direction of Claudius. The earliest authenticated coins, which have been found, are those of Cunobeline,† who lived from the reign of Augustus to that of Caligula. It appears that shortly after the art was introduced by the Belgæ, it was eagerly adopted by the principal Celtic sovereigns; and several public depositaries, and numerous private antiquarian cabinets, contain coins bearing impresses ascribed to various British states.

British coins are usually of gold, silver, and brass. In some, the gold is minted without any alloy; but, in most, both the gold and silver are much debased. Some coins attributed to the Britons, are devoid of any inscription, and are merely stamped with the figures of animals, together with unintelligible devices. These were, probably, of the earliest Celtic mintage. But in
general

* Specimens of the perforated iron plates discovered in Cornwall, are engraved in Dr. Borlase's *Antiquities* of that county, and again in Gough's edition of the *Britannia*.

† See an "Essay on the coins of Cunobeline," &c. by Samuel Pegge A. M. in which work thirty nine of those coins are engraved.

general they bear on the face a regal bust, with an inscription; and ~~on~~ the reverse an emblematical device, accompanied also by a legend. In shape they are round, and sometimes flat, but often disked, or concave on one side and convex on the other.

The costume of the ancient British kings, as to their diadem; a portion of attire; and instruments of war and command; is curiously exhibited by their coins. The reverse of those which are of the rudest mintage, often presents an indistinct mass of small implements, or ornaments, unknown as to real name and use. But in the more refined, a mixture of allusions to Roman manners is frequently perceptible. On the reverse of such, are often seen the Janus, the Sphinx, (the favourite device of Augustus,) the Centaur, and the Pegasus. From the occurrence of these figures, it is satisfactorily argued, that the art of minting was introduced to Britain by practitioners from the Roman continent. In confirmation of this opinion it may be observed, that some of the inscriptions are latinized; and the Roman alphabet is used in the legends of all.

The coins of Cunobeline, who is supposed to be the first British sovereign that established a mint, are the most curious, as well as the most numerous, that have been discovered; and have consequently attracted the greatest share of antiquarian notice.—These coins are of gold, silver, and brass or copper; with an alloy of lead or tin. They are all circular, and most have a slight convexity of form.

The style of execution, though far from elegant, is still respectable. On the obverse of many is seen the head of the king, under whose auspices the coins were issued. Others have, on the face or obverse, various emblematical devices, as a horse (the animal most valued by the Britons, from its useful qualities in war, and likewise a symbol of the sun, a British Deity;) the two faced Janus, supposed to allude to the increasing civilization of the country; a griffin; and an ear of corn.—On the reverse part of the same coins is presented a great variety of symbolical designs, as a winged female figure, supposed to be Victory; a
F pegasus;

pegasus; horses in various modes of action, and with many allusive accompaniments (that of a hand sustaining a truncheon being one;) Apollo playing on the harp; a hog and a tree; a workman coining money, several pieces of which appear on the ground.

The legend, or inscription, presents the name of the king, Canobeline, variously spelt and in dissimilar modes of abbreviation, together with the Roman letters CAMV. CAM. (the place at which the coin was minted, *Camulodunum*) VER. (*Verulamium*;) and NOVANIT. or NO. NOVANE, and NOVA. (supposed to signify the capital of the Trinovantes.)

In addition to the above abbreviated words, the British coins, and especially those of Canobeline, often present an inscription which has given rise to much antiquarian discussion. This is the word TASC, or TASCIO, sometimes written with a variation in the last syllable, but uniformly similar in the first, except in one instance, where it is thus spelt, TACIO.

It is not desirable to enter on an investigation of the respective opinions of the different writers, who have deemed the probable meaning of this word deserving of laborious enquiry. The conjectures of two may suffice; the first a professed numismatic essayist, and the latter an antiquarian critic of no ordinary attainments. Mr. Pegge * supposes that the word is the nominal designation, either personal or national, of the Roman-gallic mint master under whose direction the coins were produced: but Mr. Whitaker † observes "that the word occurs too frequently to be that of a mere mint master, however honoured;" and he considers it "to be nothing more than the British and official appellation of the king whose coins exhibit the inscription, and to signify only *the Leader*." In pursuit of this idea, he examines into the presumed source of the word, and remarks that "*Tus, Tuis, Tos, and Toschick* mean the beginning, or head, of any thing,

* Essay on the coins of Canobeline, &c.

† Hist. of Manchester, 2nd. edit. Vol. II. p. 7—12.

thing, in the Irish language; and that *Tuiseach*, and *Taoiseach*, are the Irish appellatives for a commander, to this day." From the latter word he imagines the *Tasc* of the British coins to proceed. If this mode of explanation be accepted, the *Tasc* of the British answers to the *Rex* of the Latin inscriptions.

It is quite impossible to form, at this period, a satisfactory estimate of the quantity of money in circulation, while the privilege of coining was possessed by the native princes; but, from the numerous pieces, of a dissimilar mintage, issued by Cunobeline alone, it is probable that the amount was far from inconsiderable. The comparatively small quantity discoverable in subsequent remote ages, is no proof of an original deficiency, as the circulation of money issued by British princes was severely prohibited by the Romans, after they gained an ascendant in the island.

The subject of British coins has been treated with some contempt, by an able numismatic writer;* and, assuredly, the study of them is less captivating than that of the medals of nations more brilliant in exploit, and favoured more largely with the notice of historians. Still, it is capable of affording rational satisfaction to the investigator of statistics, and to the antiquary.—The authenticity of the greater number of the coins ascribed to the Britons is unquestionable. Many have been found among monuments decidedly British; and, in legend and symbolical embellishment, they plainly evince their original.† As evidences of the progressive data of the arts among the ancient inhabitants of Britain, they are truly valuable; and they are curious, from the circumstance of exhibiting, in unequivocal outlines, many parti-

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culars

* Mr. Clarke, in a letter to Mr. Bowyer, quoted by Gough, in a note to Conjectures on British coins, in the Britannia.

† Specimens of British coins, exhibiting a great variety of impressions, are engraved in Speed; in Camden's Britannia (a corrected plate being introduced in Mr. Gough's edition); in Borlase's Antiq. of Cornwall; in Mr. (afterwards Dr) Pegge's Essay on the "coins of Cunobeline," &c.

culars of the costume of a people, whose manners are little known, and have been too often misrepresented by such superficial historians, as have neglected to unite the researches of the antiquary with the common place task of collating lettered authorities.

CIRCLES COMPOSED OF STONES.—In several parts of England; in nearly every division of Wales; in Scotland; and in many other parts of the British islands; are to be seen circles of unwrought, upright stones, which are commonly recognised under the name of *Druidical Temples*.^{*} These curious vestiges of antiquity are usually found on spots naturally elevated; and one structure often consists of several circles, either concentric, lateral, or in some other mode of disposal indicating an attention to mathematical regularity of arrangement. Similar monuments with those of Britain, and equally void of appropriation in the page of history, are to be seen in Iceland, Norway, Scandinavia, and various parts of Germany. In Sweden, Denmark, and the Western Isles, circles of stone are also frequent.

Amongst other arguments for the great antiquity of these monuments in Britain, it is observed, that in some instances they are crossed and injured by *Roman Ways*; a proof that all reverence for the object of their original destination, was lost before the construction of those roads. Circles of stone appear, indeed, to have been used in the performance of religious and judicial ceremonies, by the most remote nations of antiquity;† and,

^{*} Circles of upright stones occur in the following English counties: Cornwall (in which county, *Beauties*, p. 387. see *the Hurlers*, an extensive Druidical monument;) Cumberland (*Long Meg and her daughters*, p. 146.) Derbyshire; Devonshire; Dorsetshire; Oxfordshire (*Rollrich*, p. 500. et seq.) Somersetshire (*Stanton-Drew*, p. 629.) Westmorland; Wiltshire (the celebrated works of *Avebury* and *Stonehenge*.) Curious circles of stone are abundantly spread throughout both North and South Wales. Relics of the Druids, which are truly interesting, are found in Anglesea, the ancient *Mona*, and the final retreat of the Druidical priests.

† See a dissertation on the high antiquity of this usage, *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. I. p. 133, et seq.

and, under the prevalence of that similarity of manners, which may be traced between nearly all countries in the infancy of society, they were probably constructed by the earliest ministers of the Druidical religion. That many of the vestiges which are still superior to the wear of centuries, and the more destructive assaults of human contumely and avarice, were existing in very high ages of British antiquity, seems evident from the contents of those numerous barrows, which are usually found in the vicinity of circles of stone, and which appear to have been placed in their proximity from motives of reverence and piety.

Although the whole of these monuments possess a striking simplicity of character, they are yet decidedly different in many component particulars. Frequently they are surrounded with a ditch and a vallum, the latter forming the boundary, or being on the outer side. The number of stones is far from being uniform, and in some instances is not more than nine. Dr. Borlase observes, that the greatest number which has reached his notice is seventy-seven;* and he adds, that "the difference in number was not owing to chance, but either to some established rules observed in the construction of these monuments, or referring to, and expressive of, the erudition of those ages. In some places we find them oftener of the number twelve than of any other number; either in honour to the twelve superior deities, or to some national custom of twelve persons of authority, meeting there in council upon important affairs."†

The same writer (who has, perhaps, considered the subject more attentively than any other antiquary, and who certainly ranks among the best authorities for this species of information,) thus notices the plans most prevalent among these monuments; and, on comparing his account with the statements in the "*Beauties*,"

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ties,"

* To leave unnoticed the stupendous monuments of Avebury and Stonehenge, it may be observed, that the circle termed *Grey Yards* (noticed in the *Beauties for Cumberland*, p. 136—137.) consists of *eighty-eight* stones.

† *Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 191.

ties," respecting different stone circles existing in various parts of England and Wales, it appears to present a view of their usual peculiarities of character, equally comprehensive and concise: "The figure of these monuments is either simple or compounded. Of the first kind are exact circles, elliptical or semicircular. The construction of these is not always the same, some having their circumference marked with large separate stones only; others having ridges of small stones intermixed, and sometimes walls, serving to render the inclosure more compleat. Other circular monuments have their figure more complex and varied, consisting not only of a circle, but of other distinguishing properties. In, or near, the centre of some, stands a stone, taller than the rest; in the middle of others is a Kistvaen, whilst a Cromlech distinguishes the centre of some circles. Some have only one line of stones in their circumference; and others have two; some circles are adjacent, some contiguous, and some include, and some intersect each other. Frequently urns" (skeletons, and other funeral deposits) "are found in or near them; and these circles are of very different dimensions. Some are curiously erected on geometrical plans, the chief entrances facing the cardinal points of the heavens. Some have avenues leading to them, placed exactly north and south, with detached stones, sometimes in straight lines to the east and west, sometimes triangular: all evidences of more than common exactness and design."*

In ascribing to these various circles their respective objects of destination, great room is allowed for the speculations of ingenuity; as it is only by a comparison with the alledged customs of other countries, in remote ages, that conjecture is here formed on ground in the least degree satisfactory. That many were intended for religious ceremonials, and that circles of stone formed, indeed, the uniform temples of the Druids (although enveloped in masses of oak, all but equally sacred with themselves) is extremely

* Borlase's *Antiq of Cornwall*, p. 192—193. This extract of Dr. Borlase's valuable publication is in several places altered and abridged, to suit the purpose of the present work.

tremely probable, from analogy of manners. Such appear to have been of Patriarchal usage in the very first recorded ages; and, from its mode of construction, this rude, but venerable species of temple, was, assuredly, well adapted to the tenets of the Druids, who maintained, among other opinions indicative of much grandeur of conception, that the Gods were not to be confined within walls, but were to be worshipped on a spot quite open to the heavens, though separated from profane interference. In confirmation of the very rational conjecture that numerous stony circles found in different parts of this island, were used for religious purposes, it may be observed that in the area of many are discoverable the remains of a Cromlech, or other kind of fabric appearing to have served as an altar, although it is by no means evident that the circles in which such vestiges are found were used for a sepulchral purpose.

But that circles of stone were exclusively devoted to religious uses is quite unlikely, and may, indeed, be denied on a tenable foundation. In attention to that comparison of national manners which is noticed above, it may be observed that the monuments constructed in a Patriarchal age, and at first dedicated simply to religious duties, afterwards became the seats of justice and national council. That a similar union of great solemnities was adopted in regard to the British temples, will appear highly probable, when it is remembered that the priests were also the legislators of the state, and that they sedulously laboured to inculcate a belief of the law proceeding immediately from the Deity, through themselves his ministers. The place of council was probably, also, that of election and inauguration.

It may be remarked, that some traces of the custom of judicial officers sitting on stones, placed in a circular manner, is noticed by Martin in his "Description of the Western Isles;"* and, concerning the election and inauguration of princes in such cir-

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cles,

* "In the Holm, as they call it, in Shetland, there are four great stones, upon which sat the judge, clerk, and other officers of the court." Martin's description of the Western Isles.

cles, it is observed by the historian of Cornwall, on the authority of Wormius, that "the custom of chusing princes, by nobles, standing in a circle upon rocks" (or rather upon stones) "is said to have remained among the northern nations till the reign of Charles the Fourth, and the Golden Bull, A. D. 1356. Some of these northern circles have a large stone in the middle; as the monument near Upsal, in Sweden, on which Ericus was made King of Sweden, no longer since than the year 1396."*

If we are content to illustrate the subject of these curious antiquities by the manners of other countries, we shall find an appropriation for the leading particulars of many circles which are supposed to have been arranged for civil purposes; and on this head may be submitted the following remarks: "When assemblies for council, judicature, and election, were convened, it was the custom either to stand by, or to stand upon, or, thirdly, to sit upon, stones placed round a circular area; and each of these different positions of the body, required a peculiar arrangement of the stones. In the first case, whilst any election or decree was depending, or any solemn compact to be confirmed, the principal persons concerned stood each by his pillar; and, where a middle stone was erected in the circle, there stood the prince, or general elect. This seems to be a very ancient custom, and is spoken of, as such, before the Babylonish captivity.

"It was also the custom to stand upon stones placed in a circular manner, and shaped for that purpose, as so many pedestals to elevate the nobles above the level of the rest; consequently, such stones (however rude) were of different shape, and are, therefore, carefully to be distinguished from the abovementioned columnar stones erect, by the side of which the king and principal persons stood, and upon which it cannot be supposed that any one ever intended to stand. Where we find stones of this kind
and

* Borlase, p. 205. apud Wormius, p. 88, 90. Vestiges of the inauguration stone are noticed in the Western Isles, by Martin, in his description, &c, p. 241; and by King, *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. I. p. 147.

and order, we may pronounce them merely elective, consultory, and judicial, as never intended for the rites of worship.”*

Besides the above important purposes, it is supposed that many of these circular monuments of stone were adapted to other uses, the most estimable of which was the advancement of the science of Astronomy. It is well known that the Druids of Britain are believed, on the testimony of Cæsar, “to have taught many things to their scholars concerning the stars, and their motion.”† From the frequency with which circles constructed by the Druids are placed on elevated and open tracts; and from the circumstance of many being apparently formed on geometrical plans, it has been rationally conjectured that these spherical temples were often used by the learned priests of the early Britons, as theatres of study, and schools in which they imparted astronomical knowledge.‡

It has been frequently ascertained that interments were made within these sacred circles; but that they were not places of ordinary sepulture is evident, as it is unusual to find within them the relics of numerous funeral deposits. Persons favoured with interment on a spot so sacred, had possibly been dignified ministers of religion and dispensers of law.

But circles, probably designed for religious and civil purposes, were not uniformly constructed in so laborious a manner as those noticed above. It is remarked by Sir R. C. Hoare that many earth-works, of a circular form, are dispersed about the downs of Wiltshire,

* Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 204—205.

† Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. VI. sect. 13.

‡ In King's *Munimenta Antiqua* (p. 139—143) are many remarks on this subject, in the course of which the author strains ingenuity of conjecture to so great a length, as to say that there is ground for *fairly suspecting* that, in many instances, the stones of Druidical circles were placed so as to answer the purpose of rude astronomical instruments. Mr. Chapple, likewise, conjectures that erections of stone were used by the Druids for many refined purposes connected with the science of Astronomy. In Polwhele's *Devonshire* are some judicious observations, in reply to the latter writer.

Wiltshire, and chiefly on high and commanding situations. "The slightness of the *vallum* and ditch that surround them, as well as the smallness of their area, clearly indicate them not to have been constructed for any military purpose, but most probably for some civil or religious object. In countries abounding with stone, as in Wales and Cornwall, the circle was defined by rude upright stones; but on chalk hills, where nature produces nothing larger than a flint, or an occasional sarsen-stone, the circle is described by a bank and ditch."*

Such appear to be the most important observations presented by authors, who have bestowed particular attention on the subject of those mysterious circles which are calculated to excite so much curiosity. In regard to the ages in which they were constructed, it has been shewn that some are ascertained to have existed prior to the Roman ascendancy in this island; and, from the similarity which prevails as to general feature, there is fair reason for supposing that all are to be attributed to the hands of the Britons. The occurrence of such monuments in parts of Germany, in Scandinavia, Norway, &c. perhaps merely shews that the people of those countries derived similar usages with the Britons, from the same common ancestors. These circles in Britain have sometimes been supposed the work of the Danes; but they are often seen in districts which the Danes never visited: and it is observed by Mr. King † that we might, on as rational grounds, suppose the circular monuments in Denmark to be the works of the Britons.

But not any of the above remarks apply, in a satisfactory manner, to the two most distinguished ruins of structures composed of rude stone. The interesting and far-famed vestiges of the stupendous

* Hist. of Ancient Wilts. Part I. p. 18.

† Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. I. p. 153.—The following are the principal works consulted in regard to the above article on circles of upright stones: Borlase's Antiq. of Cornwall. Rowlands' Mona Antiqua. Dr. Stukeley's works. King's Munimenta Antiqua. Sir R. C. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire. Polwhele's History of Devonshire.

stupendous monuments of *Avebury* and *Stonehenge*, have uniformly derided the labours and the fancies of those who have endeavoured to investigate their original, and to direct the examiner to their pristine appropriation. The numerous writers who have treated on the subject of these impressive relics, leave it involved in a mysterious cloud, that imparts additional solemnity to the silent gloom in which the monuments are themselves enveloped. For a compendious statement of various surmises regarding the date of their erection, and their intended purpose, I refer the reader to the *Beauties for Wiltshire*;^{*} and confine myself to observing that the most judicious writers agree in referring both monuments to the Britons, although probably erected at periods widely dissimilar. Their amplitude of proportions, and superior dignity of character, suggest the idea of their being intended as metropolitan places of assembly,[†] although the nature of the convocation is unknown, and lost, probably for ever, in the deep shades which have fallen over the more intricate and curious parts of the customs and manners of the ancient inhabitants of this island.

ROCKING STONES, AND ANALOGOUS PHENOMENA.—In Cornwall, Devonshire, Wales, and other parts of South Britain, abounding in craggy rocks, and in the various rude but grand productions of nature incidental to a calcareous soil in the neighbourhood of the ocean, there are found many surprising works which appear to hesitate between nature and art, and are probably indebted to both. Whilst investigating such districts, particular care is necessary to restrain the imagination, that creative faculty

^{*} *Beauties for Wilts*, under the articles of *Avebury* and *Stonehenge*.

[†] Although the population of Britain is described as being divided into numerous tribes, or petty states, one form of religion prevailed amongst all, as an establishment; and it is believed that the ministers of that religion were all subject to one arch priest or Druid. The priests appear, also, to have been the legal arbiters of the country. It seems far from unlikely that the whole of the British nations might resort, for final appeal, both in civil and religious cases, to one or more great universal courts.

faculty which "gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name;" for nature, incumbered, as it would appear, with the tumultuary vestiges of some remote convulsion, often assumes fantastic and imposing shapes, which an ardent mind, intent on the advancement of a favourite hypothesis, may readily shape into the delusive reliques of an unknown idolatry.

But, although there is reason to apprehend that some antiquaries have been occasionally seduced into misconceptions, by the ardour with which they indulged in a chosen pursuit,* it is still evident that, in many instances, the curious eccentricities of nature were improved, and then rendered instruments of superstition, by the ministers of a long forgotten religion. As there is not the slightest reason for believing that such works were undertaken either by the Romans, Saxons, or Danes, they may be securely attributed to the Britons; but as the use of the *Tool* must have been adopted, it is evident that they were performed in the later and more degenerate days of Druidism, when the strictness of the law was lost in an increase of meretricious blandishment and stratagem.

The most important of these presumed reliques of Druidical superstition may be classed under the following appellations:

The *Logan*, or *Rocking stone*;† by which term is to be understood

* See some remarks on this subject in the *Beauties for Cornwall*, p. 453, 509, &c.

† These curious stones are to be seen in several parts of Britain. Examples occur in the *Beauties for Cumberland*, p. 180; and for *Cornwall*, p. 497—8.

In Playfair's *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory*, p. 395—7, are presented some ingenious remarks, intended to shew that the phenomenon of the *Rocking-stone* is often, though possibly not always, merely the curious result of a natural cause; and that many of these presumed Druidical works are, in fact, "nothing else than stones, which have been subjected to the universal law of wasting and decay, in such peculiar circumstances, as nearly to bring about an equilibrium of that stable kind, which when slightly disturbed, re-establishes itself."

Although

understood a stone, generally of immense bulk and weight, placed on so small a centre, and in so exact an equilibrium, that it moves to a certain degree with the application of a very small power, as the touch of the hand; but which could not be thrown down by any common force. Although these may, in some instances, have required little assistance from art, it appears that much labour has been frequently bestowed to render narrow the basis on which the Logan depends, and thereby to produce the effect.*

The *Rock-idol* is the name bestowed by Dr. Borlase on several crags of rock, which exhibit such peculiar features of grandeur and singularity, as to have been probably selected for superstitious uses by the priests of the ancient Britons. Among the most curious of these may be noticed the *Cheese-Wring*, which is a natural combination of eight rude stones, rising one above another to the height of thirty-two feet, and having a very slender bearing between the third and fourth stones. On the top were two *hollows*, or basins, one of which remains. An engraving of this curious pile is presented in the *Beauties for Cornwall*.

Dr. Borlase supposes artificial *Rock-basins*,† and various marks

* Although many rocking-stones may, perhaps, be entirely the works of nature, there is little room for doubting but that art was employed in completing the effect of others. It may be noticed that there are several instances in which the tool has evidently been employed on large masses of rock, as if for the purpose of producing the Logan, although the work is left incomplete.

† By the term *Rock-basin* is understood the hollow indentations often found on the tops of rocks in Cornwall, and sometimes in other districts; and which are supposed to have been used by the Druids. In the *Beauties for Cornwall*, the editor of that portion of the work, noticing the excavations denominated *Rock-Basins*, at *Carn-breah Hill*, observes that they "exist in such numbers, in all situations, as utterly to exclude the hand of man from the great mass; and, therefore, to make some natural, though unknown, process most probable in all." Vide, *Beauties for Cornwall*, p. 509. But, in the *Beauties for Derbyshire*, p. 500, a rock-basin is noticed, "which evidently appears to have been cut with a tool."

marks of superstitious labour, to be discoverable on many other curious knolls of rock ; but it is possible that the indentations taken for artificial traces of a mysterious mode of religious worship, are often merely the works of nature. That the deities of the Druids might be worshipped under the semblance of rocks (the emblems of firmness, durability, and protection) is, however, quite probable ; as a similar superstition can be traced amongst many nations, and as a reverence for the supposed sanctity of certain rocks and stones has been evinced, in a faint degree, by the Irish and Welsh in ages not very remote.*

The same antiquarian writer describes another species of stupendous stone work, which he is disposed to consider as rock-deities of the Britons. These are termed, in Cornwall, *Tollmen*, from the Cornish words *Toll*, a hole, and *Maen*, a stone. They consist of "a large orbicular stone, supported by two stones, between which there is a passage."† The incumbent mass is of a prodigious size, and was probably placed on the subjacent rocks by some great natural convulsion, though the passage beneath may, perhaps, have been assisted by art, and the whole adopted for some use of priestcraft.

I pass the more quickly over these supposed vestiges of a rude superstition, as it is quite impossible to ascertain, with any resemblance of precision, their destined use or appropriation. Not that the conjectures of ingenuity are wanting ; but, in this instance, they impart little interest to the subject on which they are employed. The Rocking-stones *may* have been used in divination, or in imposing on the multitude, by an indication of divine assent or repulsion ; and Rock-basins *may* have been appropriated to the preservation of lustral water ; or to the reception of the blood of victims ; or to the retention of libations. But all these

* For more extended remarks on this subject, see Borlase's *Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 170.

† Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*.—See a description of a celebrated and very curious Tollmen, in the *Beauties for Cornwall*, p. 455—4.

these vestiges are as open to the unsatisfactory chimeræ of fancy, as the hear which frost spreads over vegetation, or the mimic-alps of an autumnal sky; since we are necessarily involved in the gloom of entire ignorance, respecting the particular forms and rituals of an unlettered superstition, of so very remote an existence.

CROMLECHS.*—The *Cromlech* is a rude monument, consisting of several huge upright stones, which act as supporters to a stone placed nearly horizontally. The number of upright stones is very frequently three; but by no means determinately so; and is often not less than six. In a few instances the supporters are still more numerous. The stone forming the top, or covering, is generally of a swelling form; approaching to convexity; and is almost invariably placed in a position more or less shelving. Cromlechs are usually found on spots which are elevated by nature; and are sometimes raised on Carnedd's, or hillocks of an artificial construction. Two are occasionally united, or nearly so; and several may be often seen in the close vicinity of each other, and near sepulchral barrows or carnedd's. They, likewise, occur in the midst, or on the edge, of circles of stones arranged by the hand of art. That these are chiefly, if not uniformly, monuments of the early Britons is scarcely to be disputed;† and that they were connected with the rituals of the Druidical religion would appear to be probable, from the frequency with which they occur in the neighbourhood of vestiges which can be rationally attributed only to the Druids.

Considerable

* Many of these curious monuments are noticed in different volumes of the *Beauties*, and particularly in those for Cornwall, Devonshire, and Wales. A Cromlech in Cornwall forms the Vignette to the second volume of the *Beauties*; and one in Devonshire to the fourth volume.

† Mr. Gough has advanced many arguments in support of a notion that the Cromlechs of Britain were of Danish workmanship; but it is truly remarked in the *Beauties* for Cornwall, p. 389 (*note*) that many of these monuments exist in the most hidden recesses of the Welsh mountains; districts which the Danes never penetrated.

Considerable difference of opinion has prevailed, as to the purpose for which Cromlechs were designed. Dr. Borlase, and several other writers of much reputation, believe them to have been intended as sepulchres; and the former observes "that the supporters, as well as covering stone, are no more than the suggestion of the common universal sense of mankind; which was, first, on every side to fence and surround the dead body from the violences of weather, and from the rage of enemies; and, in the next place, by the grandeur of its construction to do honour to the memory of the dead. Our altar-tombs, at this day, are but a more diminutive and regular Cromleh."* When found at the centre, or on the border of, a sacred circus, the same writer supposes the Cromlech to have "formed the sepulchre of one of the chief priests, or druids, who presided in that district; or of some prince, a favourite of that order."

While Dr. Borlase is decided in believing these monuments to be sepulchral, he admits it as likely that they afterwards became the scenes of the "Parentalia, or where divine honours were paid, and sacrifices performed to the manes of the dead;" but he contends that those rites must have been celebrated at some distance from the Cromlech, as that monument, from the want of sufficient size, and the inclined position of its upper stone, could not have been conveniently used for sacrificial fires.

Mr. King and Mr. Rowlands agree in supposing that Cromlechs, although, perhaps, often connected with the commemoration of the distinguished dead, were not themselves intended for sepulchres; but rather, in such instances, for altars of oblation. In regard to the larger Cromlechs, of which several specimens are noticed in the "Beauties," Mr. King suggests a conjectural appropriation, which, if not convincing, is assuredly ingenious. From the conspicuous site on which they are usually placed, and from the readiness with which the flow of blood might be traced on a slab of stone, large and sloping as is the covering stone of
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* Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 328.

these Cromlechs, he supposes that they were the altars on which human victims were sacrificed, in dreadful attempts at divination.

However chimerical such an appropriation of the larger Cromlechs may be deemed by some readers, there appear fair grounds for supposing that this species of monument, in general, was intended for sacrificial, rather than for sepulchral purposes; and that the Cromlech was strictly an altar.* From the nature of its construction, unless very great constituent portions have been removed from every known Cromlech throughout the kingdom, it could not afford, within its chest-like interior, protection for the deceased human body, either from the insults of an enemy or the inclemency of the weather. The cavity formed by the upright and incumbent stones is, likewise, often dissimilar in shape; and, in the instance of the Cromlech termed Kitt's Cotty House, in Kent, is divided, by the position of the middle-upright, into the resemblance of two cells, but neither of them sufficiently large to receive the body of a man at full length. On the other hand, the interior of a well known Cromlech near Dyffrin House, in Glamorganshire, is not less than seventeen feet in length, and thirteen feet in width.† While the interior is thus unsuited to the purpose of secure sepulture, I must think that the incumbent slab almost declares its object, and is precisely adapted to the solemnization of animal sacrifice.

But that Cromlechs were frequently, though perhaps not uniformly, connected with commemorations in honour of the dead, appears highly probable, from their so frequently occurring in the immediate neighbourhood of Barrows, or Cairns, evidently

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* On a subject entirely open to the exercise of conjecture, the remarks of Tradition may not be unworthy of notice.—A Cromlech in the midst of a circle of stones, in the Isle of Arran (Scotland) is asserted, by the thinly spread and stationary inhabitants of that lonely district, to have been the place “on which the ancient inhabitants burnt their sacrifices in the time of the heathens.” See Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 220.

Beauties for South Wales, p. 662.

funereal; or in some instances forming, indeed, the apex of such tumuli; and the slanting position in which the covering stone, with very few exceptions, is systematically placed, would appear to be well calculated for the slaughter of animals whose streaming blood was sacrificed to the shade of the deceased chieftain, priest, or warrior. Beneath, or in the close neighbourhood of some few Cromlechs, bones have been discovered; but this does not appear to indicate decidedly that even such Cromlechs were raised as funeral monuments; since we may readily believe it likely that pious hands would place the remains of the priest, or of the earnest devotee, near the altar of his faith and religious rituals.

UPRIGHT STONES, SINGLE OR NUMEROUS, BUT NOT CIRCULAR.—In many parts of England and Wales are found, in an erect position, very massy and high stones, either singly or two or three together; and, from their unheewn rudeness and solid character, together with the absence of all tradition concerning them, many of these are supposed to have been raised by the ancient Britons. The custom of commemorating events of distinguished importance by similar natural pillars, is ascertained to have existed in the very first ages of society; and is so simple and obvious a mode of celebration, that we may readily believe it to have been practised by the same early Britons who raised the Carnedd to the memory of the dead, and worshipped the deity in the midst of a stony circle.

An instance of the single stone, probably of British erection, and as likely to be commemorative of some important occurrence, may be noticed at Rudston, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. This pillar is not less than twenty-four feet in height, five feet ten inches in breadth, and two feet three inches in thickness. Three stones, probably erected by the Britons on a similar occasion, occur at Trelech, in Monmouthshire,* and may be adduced as a specimen
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* These stones are noticed in the *Beauties for Monmouthshire*, p. 136—7.

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of the monument consisting of several pillars. These are of unequal height, the tallest being 15 feet above the ground; and they stand too nearly in a right line to have formed part of a circle used for religious purposes.

But, although not constituting portions of a temple, there is reason for believing that large erect stones, placed artificially in the ground, may have been regarded with religious reverence by the ancient Britons, and may, indeed, have been worshipped by them, as representatives of their fanciful gods. A similar species of idolatry is known to have prevailed in the earliest ages of mankind;* and a superstitious regard for these rude monuments (the probable relique of idolatrous veneration) is ascertained to have existed amongst the inhabitants of Britain, even in the seventh century.†

It is, likewise, probable that single stones were often erected as memorials of civil contracts; but the investigator may be sometimes misled if he hastily attribute such erections to a solemn purpose, whether religious or civil, as many of the ponderous stones often seen on heaths, in fields, or by the road side, were, possibly, placed as mere boundary marks; and, perhaps, in ages long subsequent to those now under discussion.

BARROWS; CAIRNS; AND FUNERAL RELIQUES OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.—The funeral monuments of the earliest ages of society, are calculated, by their simplicity of construction, to survive the sculptured stone, and engraved brass, of periods more

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refined.

The editor of that part of the *Beauties* describes the three stones as being probably "set up as sepulchral memorials, or to designate a place of Druidical worship."

* See *Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 162; and *Mona Antiqua*, p. 52.

† *Borlase's Antiquities*, &c. p. 162—163. It is believed that the early Christian missionaries often compounded with the prejudices of the Pagan Britons. Unable to dissuade them from viewing these shapeless, ponderous, stones as objects demanding reverence, the Christian ministers embellished the rude emblems of divinity with the figure of the *cross*, and thus piously diverted the adoration of the heathen into a more sacred channel.

refused. These we know to have consisted, amongst many nations, of heaps of stones, or earth, raised over the body of the deceased; and such we find, from unequivocal testimony, to have been the practice with the ancient Britons.

On many of the downs, the moors, and other waste lands of Britain, hitherto deemed repulsive to the labours of the agriculturalist, are still existing barrows, or tumuli, which sometimes meet the eye in melancholy solitude, but which, in other districts, are piled around in an emphatical profusion, and impart to the surface a wavy roughness, fraught with the truly impressive story of days long past, and otherwise beyond the reach of record.—Beneath these rude heaps lie buried the ancient inhabitants of the island!

The tumuli, or barrows, found in England and Wales* vary much in shape and size, as well as in situation. The greatest variety is, perhaps, to be seen in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge; and Sir R. Colt Hoare † describes the peculiarities of the most prominent, and divides them into classes, in the following manner.

The *Long Barrows* “differ considerably in their structure as well as dimensions; some of them resemble an egg, cut in two lengthways, and the convex side placed uppermost; some are almost of a triangular form; whilst others are thrown up in a long ridge, of a nearly equal breadth at each end; but we find, more generally, one end of these barrows broader than the other, and that broad end pointing towards the east: we also more frequently find them placed on elevated situations, and standing singly; though in some groups is seen one long barrow introduced

* These tumuli are noticed in many parts of the Beauties. Some of the most curious occur in the volumes for Cornwall; Derbyshire; Dorsetshire; Hampshire; Lincolnshire; Kent; and Wiltshire. Cairns, or Carnedd, are frequently described in the Beauties for Northumberland, and for Wales.

† Hist. of Ancient Wilts. Part I. Introduction. In the same place are presented engravings of the most curious varieties of funeral tumuli, existing in the above neighbourhood.

duced amongst the others." The contents of this description of barrow, attest it to be of the highest antiquity amongst those remaining in Britain.

The Tumulus which appears to be most frequently found is termed, by Sir R. Hoare, the *Bowl Barrow*, from its obtuse rotundity of form; and is sometimes surrounded by a slight ditch.

The *Bell Barrow*, "from its elegance of form seems to have been a refinement on the Bowl barrow." It abounds in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge.

The *Druid Barrow* (so named by Dr. Stukeley, and divided into two classes by Sir R. Hoare) was supposed, by the former writer, to have belonged to the ministers of religion amongst the early British; but Sir Richard has "strong reason for supposing that these tumuli were appropriated to the female tribes. The outward vallum, with the ditch within, is most beautifully moulded: in the area we sometimes see one, two, or three mounds, which, in most instances, have been found to contain diminutive articles, such as small cups," &c.

The *Pond Barrow* presents a curious and inexplicable variety. It differs entirely from the others, and resembles an excavation made for a pond, being circular and surrounded by a vallum, but having no protuberance within the area, which is perfectly level. Several of this species of barrow have been dug into, but neither sepulchral remains, nor any other indication of the purpose for which they were designed, has yet been discovered.

The *Twin Barrow* is by no means of common occurrence, and contains, as is denoted by its name, two tumuli inclosed within the same circle. We may suppose that two persons closely united by inclination, or by ties of blood, were here interred.

The small *Conic Barrow* is seen in many parts of the island; and it is observed Mr. Douglas, in his elaborate work, intituled *Nenia Britannica*, "that these tumuli are generally found on barren ground, as commons and moors. When discovered on cultivated land, their cones, or congeries, have been levelled by til-

lage; and it is only by a casual discovery with the plough, that the contents of such interments have been found."* These barrows seldom exceed 33 feet in diameter, and are raised of earth. They are generally surrounded with a narrow trench. The cist in which the body was deposited is of an unequal depth, depending, probably, on the dignity of the deceased, and the sumptuousness of his funeral.

The *Broad Barrow* resembles, in a great degree, the *Bowl Barrow*, but is considerably broader and flatter at the top.

Although the above classification of barrows, and description of their shape, are chiefly founded on observations made in one part of England, it appears that they present a satisfactory compendium of those most usually discovered throughout the whole of England and Wales. The material is generally earth alone; earth mixed with stones; or stones only, heaped together without any other art than that necessary to impart a decided character to the shape of the tumulus. Instances of this latter kind often occur in Northumberland, and in Wales. It may be desirable to remind the reader that tumuli, thus composed of loose stones, are termed *Cairns*, or *Carnedd's*, in contradistinction from such earthy mounds as are denominated *Barrows*.

In point of size, these funeral heaps are as various as in shape. The largest, which often stand alone in solitary grandeur, but are sometimes seen towering in rude majesty over a far-spread group, are of stately proportions, and must have been raised at a very great cost of labour. Of this class the prodigious elevation termed *Silbury Hill* may be adduced as a specimen, which is of the following dimensions: 560 feet in diameter at the base; 170 feet in perpendicular height; and 105 feet in diameter, at the top.† The smallest are not more than 13 feet in diameter.‡

In

* *Nenia Britannica*, p. 1—2.

Beauties for Wilts, p. 716. and *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. I. article *Silbury Hill*.

‡ *Nenia Britannica*, p. 1.

In regard to the nation by which the great majority of these tumuli were formed, it is observed by Mr. King, that "there is very great reason to believe that almost all the Barrows and Cairns we have in this island are British; and that even those which were heaped up in Roman times, and where Roman insignia have been found, were the sepultures not of Romans, but of British officers, or chieftains, in Roman service."*

Since the period at which this opinion was delivered, various fresh data have occurred, from the careful industry with which numerous barrows have been opened in several districts, but particularly in Wiltshire; and the result of each investigation tends towards its establishment for correctness. It must, however, be remarked that in many instances a subsequent deposit occurs, which produces vestigia of much later times, and is sometimes mistaken for the original interment. It is also evident, as is observed by Mr. Whitaker,† that the custom of raising barrows over the deceased, survived the introduction of Christianity. That it continued among many of the Britons after the departure of the Romans is also unquestionable; and, perhaps, it was not entirely relinquished before the middle of the eighth century, at which time Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained leave to make cemeteries within cities.‡ The small earthy mound still heaped over the remains of those who had trodden a humble path in life, is evidently a diminutive representative of the ancient barrow.

The burial places of the *earliest* Britons form the leading subject of the present enquiry. That these have been discovered in many parts of the island is evinced by the rude character, and peculiar construction, of many implements found in the vicinity

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of

Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. I. p. 267.

† History of Manchester, Vol. II. p. 140.

‡ Some remarks concerning the period at which cemeteries were probably first annexed to places of Christian worship, are presented in the section which treats of Anglo-Saxon modes of burial.

of the bones, or ashes. It is highly probable that the greater number of the barrows in Wiltshire are raised over the remains of the early Celtic inhabitants of the island; but no industry of research has enabled any enquirer to ascribe distinct ranges of tumuli, in any county, to a particular tribe, or to a precise historical era.

It is observed by Mr. Whitaker, that "the mode of interment among the primitive Britons, and the primitive Gauls, was either by consigning the remains entire and undefaced to the ground, or by previously reducing them into ashes. The former is undoubtedly the most natural and obvious, and must, therefore, have been the original form of sepulture in the world. The latter is evidently a refinement upon the other, introduced at first, in all probability, to prevent any accidental indignities, or to preclude any deliberate outrages upon the venerable remains of the dead."*

It is satisfactorily proved, by investigations of tumuli in various parts of this island, that the above statement is correct, in regard to the customs prevailing among the Britons; and, on this subject, the purpose of information will be best answered by an abridged extract of Sir R. Colt Hoare's History of ancient Wiltshire: "From the researches made in our British tumuli we have every reason to suppose that the two ceremonies of burying the body entire, and of reducing it to ashes by fire, prevailed at the same time. In each of these ceremonies we distinguish a variety in the particular mode adopted. In the first we have frequently found the body deposited within a cist, with the legs and knees drawn up, and the head placed towards the north. This I conceive to be the most ancient form of burial.

"The second mode of burying the body entire, is proved to be of a much later period, by the articles deposited with the human remains. In this case we find the bodies extended at *full length*,
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* History of Manchester, Vol. II. p. 139.

the heads placed at random, in a variety of directions, and instruments of iron accompanying them.

"Two modes of *cremation* seem also to have been adopted; at first the body was burnt, the ashes and bones collected, and deposited on the floor of the barrow, or in a cist excavated in the native chalk. This, being the most simple, was, probably, the most primitive custom practised by the ancient Britons. The funeral urn in which the ashes of the dead were secured, was the refinement of a *later age*. The bones when burnt were collected and placed within the urn, which was deposited, with its mouth *downwards*, in a cist cut in the chalk. Sometimes we have found them with their mouth *upwards*; but these instances are not very common: we have also frequently found remains of the linen cloth, which enveloped the bones, and a little brass pin which secured them.

"Of these different modes of interment I am of opinion that the one of burying the body entire, with the legs gathered up, was the most ancient; that the custom of cremation succeeded, and prevailed with the former; and that the mode of burying the body entire, and extended at full length, was of the latest adoption."*

The barrows of England and Wales exhibit, at the interior, a considerable dissimilarity of construction, as will be supposed likely from their outward variety of character, from the different tribes to which they belonged, and from the different ages in which they were constructed, even when decidedly British, and probably anterior to the Roman invasion. Some barrows of large dimensions are described as possessing a gallery, or passage, formed of large stones, which leads to a *Kistvaen*, or to several *Kistvaens*, or small roofed places of sepulture. As a specimen of this description of tumulus, may be noticed the barrow termed *Fairy's Toote*, at no great distance from Bath.†

But

* History of Ancient Wilts. Introduction, p. 14.

† Vide King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. I. p. 293—294; and Gent's *Mag.* Vol. LIX. p. 392.

But the interior of the greater number is arranged with more simplicity. In some few instances the earth, or material of which the tumulus is formed, is found in a mass, incumbent on the funeral deposit; but more frequently the remains of the deceased were placed in a *Kistvaen*, or chest, composed of several large slabs of stone, set upright, and protected at the top by a larger slab placed horizontally; or merely in a *Cist*, by which term may be understood an excavation cut in the soil, or chalk, on which the tumulus is raised. Subsequent interments are frequently discovered, and often bear evident marks of having taken place at a period not very distant from the first deposit. Thus, many tumuli acted, probably, as family places of burial.

The skeleton of the ancient Briton, or his inurned ashes, are sometimes found without any article of accompaniment: but there usually are discovered numerous memorials of the simplicity of manners, and superstitious fancies, which prevailed among those who performed his funeral rites.

Mr. Whitaker observes, "that a just, but wildly devious, belief in the immortality of the soul induced the Gauls and Britons to bury many particulars with the body, which the deceased regarded in his life;"* and the truth of this remark is evinced by the disclosure of the sepulchral remains of the latter people. We here find the military arms of the deceased, sometimes half consumed by the flames of the funeral pile; the horn of the stag, or the tusk of the boar, emblems of his success in the chase; the bones of his horse, his dog, and those of other animals favoured by him in his life, or deemed worthy sacrifices to his shade.

The *Urns* discovered in the contiguity of the remains of the ancient Britons appear, from their rudeness of form, to have been made before the use of the turner's lathe was known, and are divided by Sir R. C. Hoare into three classes:†—The *Large Urn*, in which the bones of the deceased when burned were deposited.

* History of Manchester, Vol. II. p. 141—2.

† Introduction to History of Ancient Wilts. p. 25.

posited. *A second kind*, different from the above, both in shape and design, which are most frequently found with skeletons, and placed at the head or feet. It is observed by Sir Richard Hoare, that "a very ancient custom prevailed, and even still is practised amongst savage nations, of depositing articles of food with the dead;" and, as he thinks that the Britons very probably destined these vases for the same purpose, he denominates them *Drinking Cups*. "They are always neatly ornamented with varied patterns, and hold about a quart in measure." *The third species* of vase is of smaller proportions, and is often fantastic in its shape and ornaments. These latter vessels are frequently perforated on the sides; and the investigator of the Wiltshire tumuli is inclined to suppose that "they were filled with balsams and precious ointments, and suspended over the funeral pile."

Amongst the most curious articles, after the above enumeration, may be noticed lance-heads and daggers of brass; stone celts,* in great abundance; arrow-heads, of stone, of flint, and of bone; various personal ornaments, of pure gold, of coloured stone, and of bone; beads of amber, of jet, of glass, and horn; brass pins; and the adder-stone, or *anguinum*, to which it is said the Druids attached a great superstitious value.

Besides

* The reader may be reminded that the article which antiquaries generally attribute to the Celts, and therefore term a *Celt* (for want of a more specific appellation) is an instrument of a wedge-like form, usually of stone, or of brass, or copper. Although antiquaries agree as to the name, they differ much concerning the purpose for which these instruments were probably designed. Some suppose them to be no other than a species of chisel; others think that they were used as sacrificial implements, or as axe-heads for more homely purposes; while a third party believes them to have formed the blade of the British battle-axe. There are engravings of Celts in several of our county histories; and a plate, representing a considerable variety of specimens, is inserted in Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia* (Edit. 1806.) It is understood that Mr. Britton has collected materials for a dissertation on these and other relics of British antiquity, and proposes to publish a volume on the subject, introductory to his work intitled *Architectural Antiquities*.

Besides the tumuli thus appropriated to the inhumation of individuals, or of distinct families, it may be observed, in this place, that it has been frequent, in most ages, for a heap of earth to be raised over the promiscuous remains of the less eminent among those who perish on the field of battle.* These **BATTLE BARROWS** are easily distinguished from undoubted British tumuli, by the vast number of bones which they contain.

BRITAIN SUBJECT TO THE ROMANS.

A new era in the history of Britain commences at the date of the Roman invasion of the island. Scenes of bloodshed, truly lamentable as they relate to the struggles between brave independent tribes, and a foreign enemy stimulated to conquest by ambition alone, usher to notice this period of history; but the achievements of the sword are so quickly followed by the progress of those arts which civilize mankind and dignify human existence, that we are tempted to forget the penalties accruing from subjugation, and to view, in the success of the invader, only the progressive triumph of refinement over degrading rudeness.

I conduct with alacrity the reader to a brief examination of this Historical Era; and, as a necessary subject of preliminary discussion, I present a succinct account of the military operations of the Romans in this country, from the date of the first invasion under Cæsar, to the period at which, in a military capacity, they finally quitted Britain.

Julius Cæsar, who had long prosecuted a war in Gaul for the extension of the Roman empire, directed his ambitious views towards

* This custom has descended even to the times of our fathers; three barrows were raised over the remains of the slain on the field of Culloden, so lately as the year 1746.

wards the neighbouring island of Britain, even whilst his entire success in Gaul was uncertain. He effected his first landing, according to the calculation of Dr. Halley, on the 26th of August, in the year 55 before the commencement of the Christian Era. Without obtaining any important advantage, he quitted the island after a stay of little more than three weeks; hastened, as himself insinuates, by an apprehension of the quick approach of winter.

In the spring of the succeeding year (A. A. C. 54.) Cæsar, who had been making great preparations in Gaul for such an undertaking during the winter, again invaded Britain, and with a formidable power. His army consisted of five legions of infantry, and two thousand cavalry; and was transported in a fleet of more than eight hundred ships. The Britons had before ineffectually struggled to prevent his landing; but they now waited his approach on some rising ground, at the distance of several miles from the coast, and endeavoured to profit by the natural strength of the country, and their knowledge of its recesses. They had prepared for internal defence with vigour and discretion, having placed the sole conduct of the war in the hands of an individual prince, *Cassivellaunus*, or *Cassibellinus*.

This general directed the efforts of the Britons with admirable skill, and his army on several occasions displayed great valour; but a want of lasting unanimity amongst the confederated States, rendered unavailing the wisdom of the chief and the courage of the soldier. The capital of Cassivellaunus fell a prey to the enemy; and this brave prince was under the necessity of suing for peace, and of consenting that Britain should pay a yearly tribute to the Romans, and should deliver hostages, as pledges of good faith.

Thus ended Cæsar's second campaign in Britain, during which he did not penetrate farther into the interior of the country than *Verolam*, the capital of Cassivellaunus. He re-embarked for Gaul in the latter part of the month of September, in the same year in which he entered the island; and it is evident that he
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made no greater a progress towards the conquest of Britain, than consisted in bloodshed and ravage amongst a few of its most exposed states, as he raised no fort, nor left any military force to exact that obedience, which would appear to be inferred from the obligation of paying tribute, into which a part had entered in the name of the whole.*

When relieved from the second hostile visit of Julius Cæsar, Britain remained free from invasion for the term of ninety-seven years. During this period the island continued nominally tributary to Rome, and an occasional interchange of friendly circumstances appears to have existed between the two countries. But the Romans, in their pride of empire, looked with repugnance on an intercourse with any people who were not the slaves of their authority. They often threatened hostility, for the purpose of subjugation; and, in the year of the Christian Era 43, they commenced a war, destined to produce events highly curious and important in the British annals.

In this year, *Aulus Plautius*, by command of the Emperor *Claudius*, led from Gaul into Britain an army which consisted of four

* A new, and very ingenious, view of the political arts practised by Cæsar, in regard to his invasion of Britain, is presented in the history of Hertfordshire, under the article of "Early Inhabitants." It is there observed that Cæsar, "having conquered the whole of the Belgic tribes of Gaul, was probably glad of so favourable an excuse as that of protecting the Celtic nations against the Belgæ of Britain, to extend his dominions over a new world, though he condescends, himself, to give a better reason, *vis.* that of punishing the Britons (meaning, evidently, the Belgic Britons) for the assistance they had sent his enemies on the continent, who, were, indeed, their relations and countrymen. And this explains, at the same time, the alliance which the Celts, on their side, were so ready to make with him against the common enemy."

In another page of the same work, it is observed that "the object of the invasion is plainly proved, by the strong circumstance of the *Celtic nations alone* (the *Iceni Magni*, the *Segontiaci*, the *Ancalites*, the *Bibroci*, and the *Cassii*) who inhabited the country the most open to the irruptions of the Belgæ, immediately sending ambassadors to Cæsar."

four legions, with their auxiliaries and cavalry. Vespasian (afterwards Emperor) was appointed second in command; and in this situation gave the first proof of his extraordinary talents. If we may credit Suetonius, he fought thirty battles, in all of which he was victorious, and took more than twenty towns.

The Britons, divided by faction, and, perhaps, not sufficiently aware of the serious intention of the enemy, failed to take suitable measures for the defence of their coast. But *Caractacus* and *Togodumnus*, the sons of the deceased King Cunobeline, embodied their respective subjects, and opposed the Romans in several battles. They sustained defeat, and *Togodumnus* was slain; but the Britons still remained in arms, and offered no proposals of peace or submission.

The Emperor Claudius soon after arrived in Britain, and took the command of the army. He stayed for a short term only, but received the submissions of several princes, and appointed *Aulus Plautius* governor of the new province. Plautius is reported to have conducted the whole of the war with much success; but his victories appear to have produced little permanent benefit to the design of the invaders.

Ostorius Scapula was named governor of the Roman province in Britain, in the year 50. When he arrived at his command, it appears that the more patriotic of the Britons were so far from a state of terror and retreat, that they were engaged in committing acts of devastation on the nations which had formed alliances with the Romans. He commenced his administration with equal bravery and policy. He defeated the predatory Britons with considerable slaughter; and, as a means of protecting the province from future incursions, he constructed a chain of forts along the northern border of the province, which appears to have been then formed by the rivers Severn, Upper (or Warwickshire) Avon,* and Nen, or Nyne. But an additional measure of
precaution

* In the passage of Tacitus, which forms the authority for this historical assertion,

precaution adopted by Ostorius, that of ordering the inhabitants of every suspected district to surrender their arms, led to a revolt; during which the Iceni, assisted by some neighbouring nations, hazarded a battle, and were overthrown.*

The government of Ostorius was of short duration, but prolific of memorable events. The Silures, under the conduct of the renowned Caractacus, made a desperate struggle for the preservation of their liberty, in the year 51. At this time was fought that celebrated battle in which Caractacus was utterly defeated. He retired for shelter to the court of Cartimandua, Queen of the Brigantes, by whom he was betrayed to the Conqueror. His native majesty of demeanour, when afterwards exposed at Rome, as a captive, in chains, and preceded by his enslaved family, has often employed the efforts of the pen and pencil.

Ostorius Scapula died in Britain, in the year 52; and Claudius appointed *Aulus Didius* as his successor in the government of

section, the rivers noticed in connection with the line of forts drawn by Ostorius, are the *Antona* and the Severn. Mr. Whitaker (*Hist. of Manchester*, Vol. II. p. 259 and note) advances strong reasons for supposing that the river now termed the Upper Avon is the *Antona* of Tacitus.

* The suggestions towards a history of Roman and British politics, in the early stages of the Roman invasion of this island, are thus continued in the erudite work, of which I have ventured (p. 94 note,) to give a previous short extract. "The Celts, whose eyes had been shut to the interested plans of their Roman allies, had assisted Vespaasian actively in the reduction of the Belgic power in the west; but began to be alarmed when they saw Ostorius, under the pretence of defending them against any farther encroachment of that people, erecting posts in their own territories. These, at the commencement, they regarded, perhaps, only as detached works; but they were awakened to their own danger when they saw, by the continuation of the line of forts from the mouth of the Nen towards the banks of the Severn, how completely the two great tribes of the Iceni would be divided from each other, and how, by the intersection of Saltways, the Ryknield, the Fosse, the Watling, and the Ermin Streets, their artful enemies had cut off all connection between the natives of the northern and those of the southern part of the island. The Iceni, therefore, flew to arms." *Hist. of Hertfordshire. Article "Early Inhabitants."*

of the British province. The Silures, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained, continued to oppose the Romans with undaunted bravery; and they now gained for a leader *Venusius*, who had married the infamous *Cartismandua*. This woman was alike faithless to every trust. Her breach of fidelity towards her husband, which was evinced in the most open manner, led to a division of family interest and a civil war. The Romans fomented the quarrel, and lent aid to the queen; but not any events of great historical importance occurred in the progress of this war. *Didius* continued *Proprætor* during the short remainder of the reign of *Claudius*, and for the first three years of *Nero*, his successor in the empire.

In regard to the chief military operations of his government, he appears to have found sufficient employment in endeavours to restrain the incursions of the enemy.

Veranius succeeded *Aulus Didius*, but died in less than one year after his arrival, without performing any action worthy of record.

Suetonius Paulinus, one of the most celebrated generals of that age, was then appointed to the government. Encouraged by some victories which he obtained over different tribes, he invaded, in the year 61, the Isle of Anglesey, a district rendered sacred, in the opinion of the Britons, by the residence of the Archdruid, and which afforded an asylum to the fugitive enemies of the Roman government. The circumstances attending his triumph over the army which opposed him in Anglesey, are stated in that part of the "*Beauties*" which treats of North Wales.* We there find, [and the assertion is supported by the authority of *Tacitus*,] that, by order of *Suetonius*, the sacred groves were cut down, the altars demolished, and many of the Druids were burned in their own fires.

While *Suetonius* was engaged in this conquest, an important war broke out on the continent of Britain. *Prasutagus*, King of
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* *Beauties for North Wales*, p. 143—144, apud *Tacit Annal*.

the Iceni, lately deceased, had adopted the narrow policy of endeavouring to secure the safety of his own family and kingdom, in neglect of the interests of the common cause. In pursuit of this object, he named, in his last will, the emperor as his joint-heir with his own two daughters. The Romans, who appear to have largely partaken at this period of the sanguinary and licentious character of their emperor, Nero, committed the most cruel outrages in consequence of this bequest. The Iceni repaired to arms, under the conduct of *Boadicia*, widow of *Prasutagus*; and were joined by the *Trinobantes*, and some other states, who were almost equally aggrieved by the tyranny of the Roman officers and soldiers. In the absence of *Suetonius*, the allied nations destroyed the settlement of *Camulodunum*; and, shortly after, encountered and defeated the ninth legion. On receiving intelligence of this formidable revolt, *Suetonius* marched his army to London, which city, though not honoured with the title of a colony, was populous and wealthy. He shortly, however, quitted this place, and the Britons entering it, under the command of *Boadicia*, put such of the inhabitants as remained to the sword. *Verulamium* (*St. Albans*) afterwards experienced the same dreadful visitation; and the British army, greatly increased in numbers, and flushed with success, sought the Romans, with a determination to try the issue of a contest in the open field. At this period, A. D. 61, was fought the battle so greatly distinguished in the annals of Britain for the heroic conduct of *Boadicia*, who, finding that the tumultuary valour of her numerous army was not able to cope with the military skill of the legions, preferred death to slavery, and put an end to her miseries by poison.

Though much weakened by the defeat which they sustained under *Boadicia*, the Britons still remained in arms; and, about the end of this year, or in the early part of the year 62, *Suetonius* was finally recalled. Between the date of his recall and the commencement of the reign of the Emperor *Vespasian*, the successive governors of Britain were named *Petronius Turpilianus* & *Trebellius*

Trebellius Maximus; and *Vectius Bolanus*. Each was inactive; and this want of enterprise must be chiefly attributed to the distracted state of politics at Rome.

The comparative tranquillity of the Britons terminated soon after the accession of Vespasian to the imperial throne. *Petilius Cerealis* was the first governor appointed by this Emperor; and, in the year 72, or 73, the Romans under his command made war upon the numerous and powerful tribe of the Brigantes, which they subdued, after several sanguinary battles.

Julius Frontinus, who succeeded to the government in the year 75, carried the Roman arms against the Silures; an enemy difficult of conquest, from the situation of their country, and from their native valour and love of liberty. This brave nation which had often been foremost in opposing the invader, was at length compelled by Frontinus to submit to the power of Rome.

A bright era now occurs in the annals of the Roman connection with Britain. The sword had hitherto been used as the undisguised instrument of ambition and avarice. A great general and wise politician arises at this period, and permanently secures the various triumphs of his arms, by introducing the arts of polished life to the usage of the Britons, and by teaching them to forget the opprobrium of subjugation while emulous of imitating the manners of their conquerors. This was *Julius Agricola*, personally felicitous in having his actions recorded by Tacitus, one of the most eloquent historians of antiquity; famous in adding a large part of Britain to the map of the empire; and glorious in the clemency of his administration.

Agricola entered upon the government of Britain, late in the summer of the year 78. He found the troops retired into quarters; for, up to this period, the war had been prosecuted in fair weather only, and the winter passed in pleasures unconnected with the great object of the invaders. But Agricola perceived the necessity of unremitting efforts against nations which did not fail to recover speedily from defeat; and he immediately drew together a chosen part of his army, and penetrated the country

of the Ordovices, who had recently manifested a hostile spirit. On these people he inflicted a severe and admonitory vengeance; and then proceeded to secure the victory formerly obtained by Suetonius in the Isle of Mona (Anglesey.) As he was not provided with barks, he selected the lighter divisions of the auxiliaries, and caused them to swim over the narrowest part of the Channel. The Britons, confounded by the unexpected boldness of this measure, surrendered the island without resistance.

In the months of deep winter which succeeded the above military operations, this able commander was still labouring at the aim of conquest, by endeavours to produce a sympathy of taste and habit between the tributary and their invaders. On the same system he acted, invariably, during the whole of his government; thus forming, by the introduction of Roman manners and arts, an epoch more important in the annals of the invasion, than any nominal extension of empire produced by the mere achievements of the sword.

In the ensuing campaign, A. D. 79, Agricola conducted the Roman arms northward, and reduced several British nations to obedience. The names of these tribes are not mentioned by Tacitus, the historian on whose authority this part of history depends; but it is observed by Mr. Whitaker, "that the only Britons who now remained unconquered by the Romans, within the present kingdom of England, were such of the Carnabii as inhabited Cheshire; the Sistuntii; the Volantii; and a part of the Gadeni and Ottadini, beyond both. These, therefore, the three first of these at least, were the nations which Agricola attacked in his second campaign, and the names of which his historian unaccountably suppresses."*—To secure these conquests, he built a number of fortresses, which are supposed to have stood on, or near, the tract where Hadrian's rampart, and the wall of Severus,

* Hist. of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 40.

Severus, were afterwards erected; namely, from Solway Firth to the river Tyne.

Agricola made five other campaigns in Britain; but as these were directed against the Caledonians, an examination of them is not essential to the present work. It may, however, be observed that although he obtained several victories over that hardy people, he was unable to effect their entire conquest. For the security of such encroachments as he was enabled to make on their country, he advanced his line of fortifications still farther north, and formed a chain of forts across the narrow neck of land which separates the Firths of Forth and Clyde. In his two last Caledonian expeditions he was attended by his fleet, which now for the first time, sailed completely round Britain;—a voyage of discovery which, perhaps, produced as much subject of conversation and wonder, as the circumnavigation of the globe at a more recent period.

Agricola was recalled from Britain in the year 85. We have seen that he considerably extended the geographical bounds of the empire; and, by the mildness and wisdom of his government, he laid the foundation of a permanent obedience to the Roman sway in the south of Britain, now termed ENGLAND. From the time of his administration, is to be dated a great alteration in the manners of the inhabitants of this district. Roman learning, customs, and fashions met with favour among the conquered; and the adoption of these produced a sociability of intercourse, and a growing unity of interests. While Agricola held command in Britain, three successive emperors filled the throne of Rome; *Vespasian*; *Titus*; and *Domitian*. He was succeeded in the government of the British province by *Sallustius Lucullus*, of whom little is said, but that he invented a lance of a new form, and that he was put to death, by the tyrant Domitian, for bestowing on this weapon the name of the *Lucullean Lance*.

So imperfectly are the actions of the Romans in Britain recorded by their historians, that we are ignorant of the particular transactions which took place during the reign of the Emperor

Nerva, and that of his successor *Trajan*; and even of the names of the officers who were then appointed governors of this province. It is hinted, in general terms, by one writer of antiquity, that the Britons, during those reigns, bore the yoke with impatience; and, indeed, it can scarcely be supposed that they were yet sufficiently familiar with slavery to submit to the varying humours of fresh commanders, without partial opposition. But this spirit of repugnance was displayed with so little violence, that, under the direction of the Emperor *Trajan*, important steps were taken for the improvement of the internal polity of the country. This great emperor was ever intent on works of public benefit; and it is probable that several of the roads, which so materially conduced to the good order of the province, and which have left such impressive vestiges for the admiration of posterity, were formed during his reign.

Hadrian acceded to the imperial power, on the death of *Trajan*, in the year 117. *Julius Severus* was governor of Britain in the early part of his reign, and was succeeded by *Priscus Licinius*.—This Emperor visited Britain in person, but not for the purpose of extending the limits of the province by force of arms. His chief view, in personally investigating this, in conjunction with other provinces of the empire, was such a careful examination into the state of civil and military affairs as might assist in preserving peace on a secure basis. In pursuit of this noble object, he caused a wall of earth to be raised, as an additional defence of the south and conquered part of Britain against its northern and unsubdued neighbours.* This rampart extended from the mouth of the river *Tyne* on the east, to the *Solway Firth* on the west, nearly occupying the line of *Agricola's* first chain of forts.

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* In a note on the *Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester* (Mr. Hatcher's Edit. p. 52.) it is judiciously observed that this rampart of earth was, evidently, nothing more than a line, intended to obstruct the passage of an enemy between the stations, which constituted the real defences of the frontier,

In the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, which commenced A. D. 138, *Lollius Urbicus* was governor of Britain; an able general, and one who was compelled by circumstances to exercise his talents with activity. The Caledonians in the vicinity of Hadrian's wall provoked a war; and *Lollius*, after defeating in several engagements the *Mæatæ*, a tribe which inhabited the level country near the wall, built a strong rampart further northward, and between the Firths of Forth and Clyde.

Similar commotions on the borders of the wall occurred in the reign of the succeeding Emperor, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*; but they were quelled, without great difficulty, by his lieutenant, *Calpurnius Agricola*; and the south of Britain happily remained in a state of tranquillity, the inhabitants intermingling with the Romans by slow but sure degrees, and adopting their arts and polish in the same progress.

The rampart erected in the reign of *Antoninus Pius* proved so inefficient a barrier, that the Caledonians broke through it early in the reign of *Commodus*, who succeeded *Marcus Aurelius*; and being joined by the *Mæatæ*, committed great depredations upon the Roman province. *Ulpius Marcellus*, a general of great vigilance and bravery, was now appointed governor of Britain; and he defeated the confederate nations in several battles. His success exposed him to the jealousy of his tyrannical master, and he was abruptly recalled. The names of his immediate successors are not known; but it appears that they partook of the vicious imbecility which prevailed at the court of Rome. Their incapacity produced great dissatisfaction amongst the legions; and it is observable that the Roman army in Britain had now become so formidable, from its long continuance in the province, that it ventured to send a deputation to the Emperor, remonstrating on the ill conduct of the person who had the direction of military affairs, and who, in the exercise of his function, recommended these unworthy officers. Their complaints met with attention; and *Pertinax*, who was afterwards Emperor, was

sent to Britain, for the purpose of redressing the alleged grievances.

Pertinax met with great difficulties in restoring contented discipline among the tumultuous soldiery, but he, at length, in some measure, succeeded; and then resigned the government, as is believed, to *Clodius Albinus*, who possessed this command in the latter part of the reign of *Commodus*, and throughout the two following short and troubled reigns.

On the death of the Emperor *Didius Julianus*, this general ventured to contend for the diadem. He assumed in Britain the insignia of empire, and led an army, consisting of British Romans and Romanized Britons, to the Continent, where he hazarded a battle, but was defeated, and subsequently destroyed himself in despair; thus leaving *L. Septimius Severus* in undisputed possession of the throne.

The northern Britons did not fail to take advantage of the neglected state of the province, during these struggles for individual power. The Caledonians and *Mæatæ* made destructive incursions on the south, where the interest of the Britons was now completely united with that of their conquerors. *Severus* quickly reinforced the army of Britain, and bestowed the command on *Virius Lupus*; but the troops were either so deficient in number or in subordination, that *Lupus* felt it expedient to purchase the retreat of the enemy by a large sum of money. Such a peace was not likely to be durable. The incursions were repeated in several successive years, with all the ferocity incidental to a border-war; and the Emperor *Severus* repaired to Britain, in person, about the year 207. At this time he was aged, and afflicted with disease; but he entered on the war with alacrity, for the love of military glory lent a youthful ardour even to his latest exertions. In the present undertaking, he is said to have been additionally stimulated by a wish for removing from the dissolute pleasures of Rome his two sons, *Caracalla* and *Geta*. Both these Princes attended him in his expedition; and the events

events of this imperial visit are of considerable emphasis and renown in the annals of Roman operations in Britain.

Severus deputed the government of South Britain to Geta, his youngest son; and proceeded against the allied northern nations, at the head of a formidable army. He passed the wall of Hadrian; and, notwithstanding the natural difficulties presented by the country, and the pernicious opposition of the enemy, who declined meeting him in the open field, but often decoyed his troops into destructive ambushes, he penetrated into the heart of Caledonia, and compelled the inhabitants to sue for peace; which was granted to them only on condition of their relinquishing a portion of territory, and delivering up their arms.

After concluding this peace, Severus marched his army into the northern parts of the Roman province; and it was now that he carried into execution a great and memorable work, some vestiges of which still remain to proclaim his activity, perseverance, and grandeur of views.—Convinced of the inefficiency of Hadrian's rampart of earth, he employed the soldiery in erecting a wall of solid stone, defended by numerous stations for the residence of garrisons; massy towers for the annoyance of assailants; and intervening watch turrets, in which sentinels maintained a regular guard of observation. This wall ran nearly parallel with Hadrian's rampart, at a small distance towards the north; and was in height fifteen feet, and eight or nine feet in breadth. Its length was rather less than seventy four Roman miles; and the whole of this stupendous work, the greatest effort of Roman skill and industry in Britain, is believed to have been completed in two years.*

The exertions of the Emperor Severus are more forcibly entitled to admiration, from the oppressive character of the circumstances, both mental and bodily, under which he laboured.—

Tortured

* For a statement of many opposite opinions, in regard to the history of the wall attributed to Severus, the reader is referred to the *Beauties for Northumberland*, p. 2—7.

Tortured and enfeebled by the gout, he was unable to ride on horseback, and was carried in a litter throughout the arduous northern marches of his troops; whilst even the waning remnant of his life was in continual danger from the machinations of his own son, Caracalla. He died at York, in the year 211, broken hearted, even in the midst of such glory as he most dearly prized, that of victory.

The empire was now divided between Caracalla and Geta. These youthful Emperors returned to Rome, shortly after the decease of Severus; and from the period of their departure, until the year 284, very little is known concerning the political transactions in Britain. A happy paucity of information! since the writers on whose testimony these ages of history depend, believed their duty to consist only in chronicling scenes of turbulence and bloodshed.

This long season of tranquillity experienced an interruption soon after the accession of *Dioclesian* to the imperial throne, in the year last mentioned; and the circumstances connected with the war which then took place are highly worthy of notice. Dioclesian admitted, as his companion in the cares and honours of government, *Maximianus Hercules*. The empire, though divided, was judged to be still too extensive and unwieldy for the ruling power; and two assistants were adopted, under the title of *Cæsars*. The persons thus elevated were named *Constantius* (often termed *Constantius Chlorus*) and *Galerius Maximianus*.

The first efforts of these Emperors, in regard to the Britons, were directed against the piratical Franks and Saxons, who not only captured numerous merchant vessels, but often had the temerity to land on the coast, and plunder the inhabitants. For the protection of the seas against these marauders, the Roman government assembled a powerful fleet in the harbour of Boulogne, and bestowed the command on *Carausius*, an able naval officer, but a man of a faithless and ambitious disposition. When the misconduct of Carausius was ascertained, and it was discovered that he appropriated to his own use the spoil of which he

he divested the pirates, orders were issued for him to be put to death. But he escaped from this danger; and, having an absolute sway over the fleet, sailed for Britain, where he boldly assumed the ensigns of government, and prevailed on the army to support him in his pretensions. The era was propitious, as the Emperors were then perplexed by various distant wars; and the possession of the fleet was a circumstance of preponderating influence in favour of the usurper. He was allowed the title of Emperor, and was permitted to retain uninterrupted dominion for several years.—In this event we first meet with an endeavour to disjoin the province of Britannia Romana from the parent government; and we find that so daring a measure was adopted only by the man who discovered the true defensible strength of the country to consist in its maritime capacities. It is memorable, likewise, that Carausius, in this distracted state of affairs, formed an alliance with the Franks and Saxons; thus introducing the latter people to a close acquaintance with the island on which they afterwards performed a distinguished part.

On a partition of the Roman empire, or rather of the duties of administration, which took place, in the year 292, between the four princes who were united in the government, all the provinces to the west of the Alps were allotted to *Constantius*, who shortly directed his attention towards the recovery of Britain. But this was a task of considerable difficulty, as the usurper had strengthened his fleet to an unprecedented degree, during his quiet sway over the resources of the island; and was, likewise, possessed of several important places in contiguous parts of the Continent. *Constantius* succeeded in wresting from him Boulogne, so formidable on account of its harbour; and commenced, with great activity, the building of ships in different ports of Gaul. While these preparations were in progress, affairs took a new aspect, in consequence of the assassination of *Carausius*; which act was perpetrated at York, in the year 293, by *Allectus*, a confidential officer of the rebel chief. The murderer immediately assumed the purple of Empire and the government

of Britain ; of which he remained possessed, without disturbance, for nearly three years.

The series of operations which led to the discomfiture of Allectus, and the restoration of Britain to the pale of the Empire, is developed with some difficulty, as it chiefly rests for elucidation on the pages of the panegyrist, Eumenius. The following brief statement appears to comprise the more important of the incidents there narrated.—Unwilling to stake the hazard of the war on a battle at sea, Constantius divided his armament into two squadrons, one of which was commanded by himself, and the other by *Asclepiodotus*, the captain of his guards. Although Constantius first put to sea, the squadron commanded by his captain effected the earliest landing. This division passed unnoticed, in a thick fog, the fleet of Allectus, which lay off the Isle of Wight; and its leader debarked his troops on the neighbouring coast of Britain. He then burned his ships, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

Allectus, aware that the only chance of success depended on promptitude of action, hastened to the attack of the Roman army. But his troops consisted chiefly of auxiliaries, and he is said to have evinced little judgment in the mode of leading them to battle. He was defeated and slain. Constantius, in the meantime, landed his force without opposition, and was marching to the succour of *Asclepiodotus*, when he received the welcome intelligence of that officer's success, and the death of Allectus. This one battle terminated the war, except that a body of Franks and Saxons, principally composed of those who had escaped from the field of action, entered London, for the purpose of plundering that city before they quitted the island. But some ships of Constantius, which appear to have missed a direct passage, in consequence of storms or fogs, proceeded up the Thames at this critical juncture; and the troops, disembarking, slaughtered great numbers of the plunderers, and preserved the city from threatened devastation.

The usurpation of *Carausius* commenced in the year 287; and
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he was assassinated in 293. Allectus, his successor, maintained the title of Emperor, and exercised government in Britain, for about three years. It is asserted by Eumenius that the Britons were decidedly averse to the sway of these usurpers, and that they viewed the restoration of the legitimate Roman government with correspondent sentiments of pleasure. This statement will be considered as quite probable, when we reflect on the intermixture of interests, and even of social ties, which must have taken place during the numerous years of peace that the province happily experienced previous to the accession of Dioclesian. The Roman military in Britain appear to have snatched, with illusive ardour, at the new hope of independence of the empire, when it was presented by Carausius; but they evidently found, by the experience of nearly ten years, that such a state of separation was far from desirable.—Allectus could not depend on the swords of the Legions, and was supported by Mercenaries, (by Franks and Saxons chiefly) in the single battle which terminated this bold rebellion. It would, indeed, appear, from succeeding events, that the Roman army in Britain was, in these ages, so nearly in a state of colonization, as to look with distaste on turbulence and ambitious enterprise; whilst the Britons, to the south of the wall of Severus, attached to the conquerors by a love of their arts, and by a growing affinity of manners, viewed the great city of the empire as a golden spot of promise and delight.

Dioclesian and Maximian resigned the imperial dignity about the year 304; and were succeeded by their Cæsars, *Constantius* and *Galerius*. On the division of government which followed this occurrence, Britain was allotted to *Constantius*, who resided in this island, and died at York in the year 306.

Constantine the Great, the son and successor of *Constantius Chlorus*,* was in the city of York at the time of his father's death,

* Constantine was the son of Constantius, by Helena, the first wife of that Emperor. Many writers assert that Helena was a native of Britain; some

death, and he there commenced his bright and auspicious reign; a memorable epoch in the history of Europe at large! The military events connected with the sway of Constantine in Britain are happily few in number, and are confined to a short-lived war, on the borders of the wall, with the *Mæatae*, and the *Caledonians*, who, from about this time, are generally described under the names of *Picts* and *Scots*. When these contests were terminated, by the submission of the refractory tribes, a general peace prevailed throughout the province for the remainder of Constantine's long reign. The blessings of this tranquil era were incalculably augmented by the aid which the governing power afforded to the cause of Christianity; and, through that medium, to an improvement in the morals and manners of the Britons. Constantine died on the 22d of May, A. D. 337.

After the death of this successful ruler, the provinces of the empire were divided between his three sons, Constantine, Constantian, and Constantius. Britain, together with Gaul, Spain, and part of Germany, became the portion of *Constantine*, the eldest of these princes; but he was so far dissatisfied with the arrangement, that he entered on active hostilities, and, in the year 340, invaded the territories of his brother Constantian, but fell into an ambush near Aquileia, and was slain, together with a great part of his army. *Constantian* then seized on his dominions, and thus obtained the government of the whole of the western provinces. He passed into Britain in the year 343, for the purpose of chastising the *Scots* and *Picts*, who had renewed their ancient depredations to the south of the wall; and, if the flattering testimony of medals might be received as satisfactory evidence, it would appear that he inflicted a dreadful and very memorable vengeance

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some supposing her to be the daughter of a British King, and others that she was of a mean origin, and was the mistress of Constantius. Several of these writers affirm that her illustrious son, Constantine, was also born in Britain; but it may be observed that neither of the above assertions is corroborated by the testimony of contemporary authors. See these questions amply discussed in *Morant's Hist. of Colchester*, B. I. p. 28—34.

on the northern tribes. But these passports to fame must be regarded with suspicion, in the latter ages of the empire; and it is observable that Firmicus, who was sufficiently inclined to notice the most attractive points of commendation in regard to this Emperor, confines his encomium to a topic which will appear at present little worthy of ardent admiration. In words, to the following effect, he celebrates the voyage of Constans from Gaul to Britain, at a season when the wind might be expected to blow hard, and the water to be rough; "In winter (which never had been, nor will be done again) your oars triumphed over the swelling, furious, waves of the British ocean."

Constans, who committed many acts of tyranny, and personally sank the prey of frivolous pleasures, was murdered on the continent, in the year 350, through a conspiracy among his principal officers, with *Magnentius*, one of their own number, but of British extraction, at their head. The western parts of the empire, including Britain, submitted to the successful factious leader; but *Constantius*, Emperor of the East, the youngest son of Constantine the Great, speedily marched to revenge the death of his brother. Magnentius was defeated, in a sanguinary engagement, near Mursa, in Pannonia; and, subsequently, quitted his life and pretensions, by self-destruction, at Lyons, in the month of August, 353.

The whole of the Roman empire thus fell under the sway of Constantius, who deputed the administration of affairs in Britain to several successive governors, or vicars, as they were then termed. The only military occurrences of this reign, in which the British province was implicated, relate to incursions of the Scots and Picts. Some formidable irruptions of these people took place in the year 360. *Julian*, termed the Apostate, who was afterwards Emperor, was then intrusted with the government of the western parts of the empire. He sent *Lupicinus*, with some well chosen troops, to the assistance of the imperial army; and the insurgents, who had plunder for their only
object,

object, quickly retired; but had the triumph of securing their booty.

During the short reign of the Emperor Julian, and that of his successor *Jovian*, the inhabitants of South Britain remained free from any serious disturbance; but we now approach the ages in which the Roman sway in Britain is seen gradually declining; and the day is not far distant in which that great people voluntarily relinquish the ascendancy which had been so long preserved with wisdom of action, although the unjustifiable motive of lust of power appears to have operated as the prevailing incentive.

The circumstances which led to this declension, and ultimate fall, of power, are too well known, to require minute notice in the present page. We have seen that the empire had long been found too extensive for a single ruler; and that, like attenuated gold, what it obtained in glitter it lost in solidity.—Pressed, nearly on all sides, by those whom it had subjugated in its florid vigour, the Roman government was no longer able to bestow deliberate attention on this distant province. Its armies in Britain grew restless of control; the Franks and Saxons, enemies rising into power on the decrepitude of Italy, assailed the shores nearest to Gaul, and most exposed to their piracies; while the Britons, artfully trained by their conquerors to habits of peace, except in such instances as were useful to the supply of the Roman levies, were quite unable to defend themselves in the state of allegiance to which they were, probably, well inclined. It is matter of surprise that, in this situation of affairs, the Roman military in Britain did not strenuously endeavour to establish an independent government. But it appears, from the tenour of history, that they refrained from making any serious efforts towards the attainment of such an object.

When *Valentinian* and his brother *Valens* ascended the imperial throne, in 364; the province of Britain was subject to threatening irruptions. On the maritime parts of the south it was plundered by the Franks and Saxons; whilst the north was oppressed

oppressed by a more severe visitation. In the latter direction, the Scots, Picts, and Attacotti, acquiring fresh ardour from the known exigencies of the empire, carried their incursive ravages to a greater extent than on any previous occasion; and not only opposed the Romans in the open field, but obtained some advantages, and slew two of their Generals. These ferocious tribes continued to plunder the province, with impunity, for three successive years. The Emperor Valentinian then sent a considerable army to the relief of South Britain, under the command of *Theodosius*, one of the most successful Generals of that age.

Theodosius was appointed governor of Britain, in the year 367; and his conduct in this high office was equally applauded by the imperial court and by the tributary inhabitants. On his arrival he found that the enemy had penetrated as far as London, then termed *Augusta*, and had there seized a great booty and many prisoners. He divided his troops into distinct parties; and falling upon the northern marauders, thus incumbered with spoil, he compelled them to take to flight, and to abandon the fruits of their expedition. He then set the prisoners at liberty; and, after restoring the greater part of the redeemed spoil to its lawful owners, entered London in just and honourable triumph. He now solicited the presence of *Civilis*, a person of talent and integrity; who was accordingly sent, with the authority of Præfect in Britain, to take charge of the administration of civil affairs. *Dulcitius*, an officer of tried courage, was commissioned, nearly at the same time, to assist him in the command of the army. It is worthy of observation that many Roman officers and soldiers had joined in the ravages of the northern tribes, during the late confused season. The greater number of these, however, returned to their duty, on a proclamation being issued by the General, promising pardon to all who surrendered within a limited time.

Theodosius took the field early in the succeeding year; and, after encountering some opposition, forced the enemy to retire to

the north of the wall of Severus. Anxious to restore the Roman territory to its ancient dignity, he pursued the fugitives still further, and drove them beyond the rampart erected in the reign of Antoninus Pius; which frontier he repaired with considerable labour.

The remaining acts of this able General and wise governor, were chiefly directed towards the internal regulation of the country which he had thus rescued from the devastating hands of its northern foes. Under his direction, many fortified places, which had sunk into neglect during the security of a long peace, were restored to a defensible character; and he encouraged and assisted the Provincials in a repair of the numerous towns which had experienced damage from the late incursions. He, likewise, corrected many abuses in the mode of levying taxes, and materially improved the internal polity and condition of the province. Theodosius quitted Britain in the year 369, honoured with the approbation of the Emperor, and rewarded by the blessings of the people to whom he was so eminent a benefactor.

A profound tranquillity prevailed in Britain for several years subsequent to the departure of the above celebrated commander; but this happy interval of bloodshed was interrupted by an event so disastrous, that the inhabitants felt its ill effects through many successive ages.—*Gratian*, the son of *Valentinian*, ascended the imperial throne in the year 375, and admitted to a nominal share in the supremacy, his brother, then not more than four or five years of age, under the title of *Valentinian the Second*. But, finding himself unequal to the task of governing the whole of the dilated empire, in a period so prolific of difficulties and convulsions, he associated with himself and his puerile coadjutor, *Theodosius*, son of the General of that name who obtained great renown in Britain. The exaltation of this officer took place in 379; but the measure was so displeasing to the ambitious temper of *Maximus*, a General whose valour was well known in Britain, that the latter disdained allegiance, and assumed the purple in this island,

island, A. D. 361. Maximus had married the daughter of a British chief, and was, in other respects, so acceptable to the natives, that they warmly attached themselves to his cause. Their zeal of adherence was soon called into active exercise.—Not contented with the usurped government of a province, Maximus aspired to the possession of the whole western empire; and he assembled a powerful army for this great struggle. The British youth flocked to his standard with so much alacrity, that, when he landed his army near the mouth of the Rhine, he is emphatically said to have possessed in his ranks the flower and strength of Britain.

His first efforts were eminently successful. The Emperor Gratian was betrayed by his troops, and was slain while seeking safety in flight. Maximus then declared *Victor*, (his son by the British lady whom he had married) his partner in the imperial purple; and thus bound the Britons, who now first move with distinction in a martial character beneath the Roman standard, still more closely to the interests of his family. But the prosperity of the usurper and his auxiliaries was only short lived. Theodosius, who ruled the eastern part of the empire, hastened to the succour of his colleague in the throne; and Maximus, after experiencing two signal defeats, was betrayed by his own veteran soldiers, and put to death by the conqueror.

The Britons were not present at the two engagements which decided the fortune of their chosen leader, having been sent into Gaul, under the conduct of Victor, their youthful countryman. But they were speedily attacked, and were defeated with the loss of their General. In this calamitous situation, in a foreign country, exposed to a triumphant enemy, and without ships to convey them home, the fugitive adventurers were so fortunate as to meet with a friendly reception in Armorica, and considerable numbers of them settled there.

The absence of the Romans and their ambitious General, afforded a favourable opportunity to the numerous tribes of freebooters, who were constantly on the alert for depredation. The

province was, consequently, assailed by sea and by land. But a vigorous administration of affairs under Theodosius, now sole Emperor, produced a restoration of tranquillity.

Theodosius (usually termed the Great) died in the year 395, and bequeathed the empire to his two sons, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; the western division being allotted to the latter. Each of these Princes was young; and Honorius, who was not more than eleven years of age, was consigned by his dying father to the care of *Stilicho*, a man of Vandal origin, but much favoured by the deceased Emperor, to whom he had proved a faithful and able officer. Stilicho, although at length suspected of sinister ambitious views, executed his high office, for some time, with strict honour. In regard to the military department of his duty, as connected with this island, he reinforced the army of Britain, and preserved the province from the inroads of the Scots and Picts, with much discretion and success. His conduct in this particular is warmly praised by his poetical panegyrist, Claudian.*

But the time speedily arrived at which the arms of Rome proved insufficient for the preservation of the imperial city; and, in such a season of imbecility and distress, the distant provinces could scarcely entertain a rational hope of succour. The Goths, the Vandals, and other barbarous nations, who had served the Romans as allies in the late struggles to preserve the consistency of the enormous empire, perceiving the growing weakness of the former masters of the world, aspired, under the conduct of *Alaric*, to the pillage and destruction of Rome itself.

I take pleasure in passing unnoticed the political cabals, and contests for individual ascendancy, in neglect of the public good, amidst which the Roman splendour sank to utter decay. It is quite unnecessary to specify, by name, the adventurers who, in quick

* Claud. in laud. Stil. See the verses quoted in the Introduction to Camden's *Britannia*, Article *Romans in Britain*; in Heury's *History of Britain*, &c. &c.

quick and fragile succession, assumed the purple; except as to a few instances connected with the chronological order of events in Britain, and in which the interests of the inhabitants were immediately implicated. The age of heroic enterprise in the Roman province of Britain was now extinct; and the mere antiquary, and the philosophical student of history, look with equal indifference on Emperors who achieved no victories to be recorded by medals, and performed no action illustrative of excellence in talent or moral virtue.

Although opposed by many competitors in different parts of his vast dominions, Honorius remained invested with the chief authority until his decease in the year 423. The dangers to which Rome was exposed by the approach of the barbarians, led to the recall of the additional forces which had been sent into Britain by direction of Stilicho; and this unavoidable measure was followed by an irruption of the Scots and Picts. The Roman soldiers stationed in this island, disdainful of allegiance to a court which could not render them assistance, now elected as Emperor an officer termed *Marcus*. But this shadowy monarch soon fell, through the agency of the very faction to which he owed his elevation; and the soldiery then invested an officer named *Gratian* with the same dangerous honours. *Gratian* possessed a nominal reign in Britain for about four months of the year 408. He was then deposed and murdered; and the command of the army, together with the imperial purple, was bestowed, by a military election, on *Constantine*, who is said to have been chosen on account of his affinity of name with Constantine the Great.

This Constantine, who was elected Emperor by the Roman army in Britain appears to have been a man of sufficient courage, and possessed of an enterprising spirit. He recruited his army with the most hardy of the British youth, whom he speedily trained to the exercise of arms. But, instead of leading his restless forces against the Scots and Picts, a measure which would have found them full employment, and might have

ultimately secured to him the possession of imperial sway in Britain, he conducted them into Gaul, where he contended for the pernicious trophy of unbounded dominion. His efforts were, for a short time, attended with success; but the delusive commencement of his enterprise was followed by quick and fatal reverses. He was opposed by his own General, *Gerontius*; and his army was broken, and himself captured and put to death, in the year 411.

We are now arrived at a period of the British annals which has afforded a subject for some historical scepticism, and critical discussion. The narration of events connected with the Roman sway in Britain has chiefly depended, through several of the preceding sections, on the testimony of Zosimus. But we are now forsaken by that guide; and the remaining particulars, relating to the history of this island, until the era of the Saxon invasion, rely on authorities which are far from conveying entire satisfaction, as they are not of a contemporary date. The most ancient historiographer of this period is Gildas, who wrote in the sixth century. The venerable Bède gives extracts of his work; and labours, but without success, to illustrate it by chronological reduction. Nennius, who wrote in the seventh century, affords little that is acceptable; and the production of Geoffrey has been styled by some a British romance, and was considered as such, even by the critics of an age much less disposed to scepticism in history than the present.

The authority of such writers is, certainly, of so doubtful a nature as to demand great severity of inquisition; but it has been deemed acceptable by many modern historians, and I, therefore, present a succinct narration, founded on the testimony of Gildas and Bède; but shall afterwards notice the critical remarks of a recent very intelligent author.

According to the statement of the former annalists, the British province, weakened at every point, now returned to the obedience of the Emperor Honorius. Some troops were sent from Rome, in the succeeding year, for a reinstatement of good order: but they were speedily recalled, to assist in defending
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the interior of the empire against its barbarous assailants; and the Scots and Picts, who foresaw the fall of South Britain, and waited with eagerness to seize on the riches of its cultivated lands and numerous buildings, then rushed forwards, under the hope of meeting with an easy prey. But Romanized Britain was not yet weakened to extremity. Although deprived of a regular army, the Roman veterans who were connected with the islanders by intermarriage, by the possession of estate, and by habits of long residence, were so numerous, and so well disposed to fight in defence of their homes and property, that a formidable stand was made against the invaders; and they were ultimately repulsed, with loss.

These Roman settlers appear to have derived much assistance from the South Britons, in the opposition thus successfully made to the advance of the northern tribes. But it had been the uniform policy of the Romans to remove, as recruits of their armies in distant provinces, such of the tributaries as they trained to the use of arms; and it must be recollected that Britain had lately been drained of extraordinary numbers of its youth, by the foreign expeditions of the usurpers, Maximus and Constantine. The native population was, therefore, incapable of vigorous and lasting resistance. The northern enemies, on the contrary, were in possession of a youthful military power, bred to war as a trade, and which had never passed beneath the yoke of a conqueror. The irruptions of these hardy and necessitous warriors were repeated through several successive years; and the Roman government was so far from being able to render assistance, that the Emperor Honorius resigned all claim to the allegiance of the provincials, and left them to defend their own cause. The greater part of the British-Romans, convinced of their want of strength to preserve their possessions in tranquillity, now relinquished their lands; and, carrying with them their money and most valuable moveables, repaired to the continent.

Thus abandoned even by the domiciliated portion of their conquerors, and left without either civil or military government,

the Britons are described as constituting, at this juncture, a timid, disorderly multitude, ready to become an easy prey to the first bold invader. The Scots and Picts, as might be expected, took advantage of their helpless situation; and, passing the Firths of Forth and Clyde, plundered the contiguous districts. In this melancholy condition, the Britons supplicated assistance of Rome; and the Emperor Honorius, now more at leisure, in consequence of some successes over the Goths, and probably calculating on the benefits to be derived from future levies of recruits, if the islanders remained tributary, acceded to their petition, and sent a legion to their aid. The Roman arms were again victorious on the theatre of former exploit. The Scots and Picts were compelled to retire with precipitation and great loss. The triumphant legion having thus honourably performed its allotted task, returned to the continent before the expiration of the year in which it entered Britain;—the year 416.

The departure of the veterans was the signal for fresh commotions. Eager for spoil, the tribes to the north of Antoninus's wall again passed the boundary, penetrated the province, and spread the miseries of sword and fire in their progress. Incapable of self defence, the Britons, as before, looked for succour to the head of the empire. The ambassadors who now approached the Emperor are said to have appeared before him with rent garments, and other voluntary tokens of humiliation and distress. Their intreaties met with attention, and a legion was sent to the aid of South Britain, under the command of *Gallio of Ravenna*.

It was again proved that the tribes of the north, so formidable to the South Britons in these ages, were unable to cope with the Roman veterans. Their straggling, predatory bands were defeated with great slaughter; and the survivors fled to their woods and mountainous fastnesses, in dismay. After clearing the south from these ferocious invaders, the legion remained nearly two years in Britain, for the purpose of contributing, by instruction
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and active assistance, all practicable aid to the future security of the inhabitants.

In pursuit of this object, Gallio, convinced that the wall of Antoninus was an insufficient barrier, and that a diminution of territory must be desirable to a weak people, directed that the whole of Valentia (or the space between the walls) should be resigned to the northern nations. The wall of Severus he ordered to be thoroughly repaired, with stone; and this work was performed by the united labours of the legion and the Britons of the south. Having completed the defensible state of the frontier in this direction, he built many forts, and towers of observation, on the coasts towards the south; as that part of the island was often infested by the piratical visits of the Franks and Saxons. He then impressed on the Britons, so long the tributaries of Rome, and still her willing adherents, a knowledge of the military tactics which had enabled a single legion to render them efficient assistance; and, having performed these friendly offices, he exhorted them to exert the courage of free men, and to rely, as such, on their own efforts, since no further assistance could be expected from the distracted government of their former masters.

In the leading particulars of the above narration, Gildas and Bede are followed by Camden, and by several modern writers, amongst whom may be noticed Dr. Henry; but Mr. Turner, in the history of the Anglo-Saxons, dissents from the propriety of an appeal to the "querulous" Gildas, and takes a very different view of the affairs of this important era. According to Mr. Turner, the Britons were so far from renewing a timid allegiance to Honorius, after the death of Constantine, that, "in this extremity, they displayed a magnanimous character; they remembered the ancient independence of the island, and their brave ancestors, who still lived ennobled in the verses of their bards; they armed themselves, threw off the foreign yoke, deposed the imperial magistrates, proclaimed their insular independence, and, with the successful valour of youthful liberty and endangered existence, they drove the fierce invaders" (barbarians, stimulated

lated to the invasion of Gaul and Britain by the traitorous *Gerontius*,) "from their cities.

"Thus," continues Mr. Turner, "the authentic history from 407, is, that the barbarians, excited by Gerontius, burst in terror upon Gaul and Britain; that Constantine could give no help, because his troops were in Spain; that Honorius could send none, because Alaric was overpowering Italy; that the Britons, thus abandoned, armed themselves, declared their country independent, and drove the barbaric invaders from their cities; that Honorius sent letters to the British states, exhorting them to protect themselves; and that the Romans never again recovered the possession of the island."*

It is justly noticed by the above historian, that the narrative of Gildas consists chiefly of declamation, and that the declaimer is less entitled to notice as he has stated nothing concerning the Emperors, or regular succession of transactions, after Maximus; but, as the operating point of his own remarks is founded on individual opinion, ideas of a contrary tendency may, perhaps, arise in the mind of some readers.

Mr. Turner appears to consider it as granted that the Britons were desirous of severing their country from a connexion with Rome, although he admits that they had, in times very briefly precedent, supplicated succour from the empire; and had, indeed, been accustomed to rely for defence on its soldiers. Such a reliance was, in truth, almost unavoidable, when we remember that the policy of the Romans denied military exercise to all provincials, except such as they wished to attach to the legions of the empire on foreign service.

It is very probable that the taxes exacted by the Romans were oppressively heavy; and it is certainly natural for a people possessed of energetic habits, and conscious of sufficient resources, to aspire after, and to seek, independence on foreign control. But it does not distinctly appear that the South Britons were actuated

* Turner's Hist. of the Angle-Saxons, Vol. I. p. 77.

actuated by so noble an energy; and, if destitute of a thirst after liberty, from an inspiring sense of the moral value of that blessing, they were likely, in common prudence, to consider independence as a source of national danger, rather than a public advantage. Harassed by the Saxons, the Franks, and other piratical invaders; and convinced, by long experience, of the evils to be apprehended from the ferocious incursions of the Scots and Picts; a people trained to habits of peace would, politically, court the aid of some warlike, patronising state.

Such was, indubitably, the conduct of the Britons at this trying period. It is not denied that they supplicated assistance from Rome; and, in the absence of any positive proof to the contrary, it will, perhaps, be deemed likely that they obtained it, and that they were greatly indebted to the experienced troops of the empire for the expulsion of their barbarous foes. There had previously occurred many favourable opportunities, from the weakness of the Roman power in Britain, if the inhabitants had been desirous of throwing off that "yoke," which, in the effeminacy of their pacific habits, they appear to have deemed necessary for their safety.

In regard to that "deposition of the imperial magistrates," which is noticed by Mr. Turner, it must be recollected that these officers were appointed by Constantine; and that the removal of them was, therefore, far from indicating a determination not to acknowledge allegiance to the lawful Emperor. It does not appear that we have any direct evidence of the *defection* of the Britons; and, considering their peaceful habits; their dangerous situation, in regard to surrounding warlike and hostile nations; and their various motives for desiring a continued connexion with a people supposed to be capable of affording protection, and to whom they were attached from ties of intermarriage, and from a long nurtured similarity of customs; the reader will, probably, conclude that they were *abandoned* to their affliction, rather than that they seceded in triumph.

I must not, however, quit a subject on which I differ in opinion
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with so respectable an authority as the historian of the Anglo-Saxons, without observing that Mr. Turner, in a subsequent chapter, allows it to be possible that the statement of Gildas is correct, if applied, not to South Britain at large, but merely to particular districts. The following are the words in which he admits this possibility:—"We can conceive, that when the strength of the country was not directed to its protection, but was wasted in civil conflicts, the hostilities of the Picts and Scots may have met with much success; not opposed by the force of the whole island, but by the local power of the particular civitas, or district invaded, they may have defeated the opposition, and desolated the land of the northern borders: with equal success, from the same cause, the western regions of Britain may have been plundered by the Scots, and the southern by the Saxons. Some of the maritime states, abandoned by their more powerful countrymen, may have sought the aid of Ætius, as they afterwards accepted that of the Saxons; but we think the account of Gildas applicable only to particular districts, and not to the whole island."*

It is uniformly supposed, by writers best entitled to credit, that the Romans finally quitted Britain in the year of the Christian era 446; which was five hundred and one years after their first descent upon the island, and four hundred and three years after their first settlement in the country.†

From the above compendious view of the military operations of the Romans in Britain, it will appear that their greatest difficulties in effecting a settlement in this island, occurred in the first stages of their ambitious enterprise. And, from this circumstance, it may be justly inferred, that their ultimate success depended more on the efforts of mind than on the exercise of the sword.

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* Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. I. p. 86.

† See some conclusive remarks on this subject in Whitaker's History of Manchester, 4to. edit. Vol. II.; and Hoxley's Britannia Romana, p. 75.

It is not expedient to enter, in this place, on the forms and minute regulations of the government which the Romans established in Britain; but it may be observed, that the leading principle in their disposal of power throughout the provinces, as in the parent-state, consisted in a union of the civil and military authorities under one great executive head.

The *Political Divisions* of the Roman territories in Britain demand more explicit notice.*

In the early steps of the Roman ascendancy in Britain, the subdued parts were simply divided by the conquerors into two districts, termed the *Upper* and the *Lower*. Antiquarian writers (for to that class of authors the discussion of this subject is now confined) differ as to the portions of the island comprehended in those terms. Camden considers the *higher part* of Britain to signify the southern, and the *lower* the northern; supposing the line of demarkation to lie about the Humber, or Mersey. Mr. Horsley reverses this plan, on the authority of Cæsar, who expressly calls the southern the lower. Mr. Whitaker, in contradiction to both, asserts that "the true division is into eastern and western, the legions at Caerleon and Chester being placed by Dio in the higher Britain, and that at York in the lower; and Pliny placing Ireland *super Britanniam*. Roman Britain," Mr. Whitaker further observes, "is naturally broken into east and west; a chain of hills running from the highlands of Scotland, and joining to the peak of Derby, the moorlands of Staffordshire, Edgehill in Warwickshire, and the Chiltern in Buckinghamshire."†

I leave unnoticed the periods at which subdivisions occurred, and the policy which dictated them; and present a statement of the districts into which Britain was allotted by the Romans, when in the plenitude of their power, in respect to this island.

Britain, when the Romans attained their utmost landmark of territory,

* Allusions to these are of frequent occurrence, in such pages of the "Beauties of England and Wales," as treat of the general history of particular districts, or counties.

† Hist. of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 98. (note.)

territory, was divided into six provinces; but one of these (entitled *Vespasiana*) consisted of districts beyond the rampart of Antoninus, and was held by an uncertain tenure, on account of the refractory dispositions of the northern tribes. It was finally relinquished by Caracalla.

Roman-Britain, as to the parts which were subject to the entire ascendant of the Romans, and were contentedly influenced by their laws, and pervaded by their customs, was divided into five provinces, which were thus named :

BRITANNIA PRIMA.

BRITANNIA SECUNDA.

FLAVIA (OR FLAVIA CÆSARIENSIS.)

MAXIMA (OR MAXIMA CÆSARIENSIS.)

VALENTIA.

Britannia Prima comprehended all the country that lies to the south of the Thames, to the east of the Severn, and to the south of a line drawn from Cricklade, or its vicinity, upon the one side, to Berkeley, or its neighbourhood, on the other; and included, according to Mr. Whitaker, "eleven nations of the Britons, and contained about thirty-six stations."*—The following English counties were comprised in this division of Roman-Britain: Kent; Sussex; Surrey; Berks; Hants; Wilts; Dorset; Somerset; Devon; and Cornwall.

Britannia Secunda consisted of the country beyond, or to the west, of the rivers Severn and Dee; and contained three tribes of the Britons, and about twenty stations.† The counties of Hereford and Monmouth, and the whole of Cambria, or North and South Wales, were comprehended in this province.

Flavia, or *Flavia Cæsariensis*, comprised all the central regions

* Hist. of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 92.

† For the number of original tribes and stations, presumed to have been included in this province, I am indebted, as in the former instance, to Mr. Whitaker, whose statements are founded on those of Richard of Cirencester.

regions of the island, being limited by the two above named provinces on the south and west, and by the rivers Humber, Don, and Mersey, upon the north. It included, according to the historian of Manchester, about eight tribes, and fifty stations. The great extent of this province is best explained by an enumeration of the counties into which it is now divided:—Middlesex; Essex; Suffolk; Norfolk; Cambridge; Huntingdon; Northampton; Bedford; Herts; Buckingham; Oxford; Gloucester; Warwick; Worcester; Stafford; Shropshire; Cheshire; Derby; Nottingham; Lincoln; Rutland; and Leicester.

Maxima, (or *Maxima Cæsariensis*) was bounded by the two seas on the east and west; by the wall of Severus on the north; and by the rivers Humber, Don, and Mersey, on the south. It comprised three tribes, and about thirty stations, besides the line of forts at the wall.—*Maxima* is now divided into the counties of Lancaster; York; Durham; Westmoreland; and Cumberland.

Valentia comprehended the whole of the country between the two walls, and contained five tribes, with ten stations. The only parts of the province of *Valentia* that require notice, in a topographical survey of England and Wales, are the large and fine district now denominated Northumberland, and a small portion of Cumberland.

The TOWNS established by the Romans in Britain were divided into four classes: *Municipal*; *Colonial*; towns under the *Latian law*; and *Stipendiary towns*.

The *Municipium* ranked highest in the scale of civil privileges, and was, indeed, favoured with a degree of freedom not to be expected in the city of a conquered country, and which was bestowed with a cautious hand, but with an exquisite refinement of policy. The constituent character of this class of settlements is satisfactorily expressed in the following excerpt:—"Municipia were towns whose inhabitants possessed, in general, all the rights of Roman citizens, except those which could not be enjoyed without an actual residence at Rome. They followed their own laws and customs, and had the option of adopting or rejecting

ing those of Rome."* It will be readily supposed that *Municipia* were chiefly occupied by Roman inhabitants. Two cities of this description are mentioned by Richard: *Verulamium* (St. Alban's) and *Eburacum* (York.)

It was the good policy of the Romans, to plant colonies in every country successfully visited by their arms. These settlements were of different kinds, each distinct class being entitled to dissimilar rights and privileges; but we are destitute of information concerning the rank occupied by those of our own country. In regard to the general character, and beneficial tendency, of such establishments, it has been observed, "that the soldiers were thereby rendered more eager to make conquests, of which they hoped to enjoy a share: the veterans were at once rewarded for their past services at a very small expence, and engaged to perform new services in defence of the state, in order to preserve their own properties: the city of Rome, and other cities of Italy, were relieved from time to time of their superfluous inhabitants, who were dangerous at home but useful in the colonies: the Roman language, laws, manners, and arts, were introduced into the conquered countries, which were thereby improved and adorned, as well as secured and defended."†

The first Roman colony in Britain, was fixed by Claudius at *Camulodunum* (Colchester;) and eight others were subsequently planted, at Richborough, London, Gloucester, Bath, Caerleon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and Chester. It will be noticed that bodies of colonized soldiery were, thus, carefully placed along the eastern and western sides of the island.

Ten cities under the *Latian law* are named by Richard of Cirencester. In the valuable commentary on the work of Richard, it is observed, that "the Latian law consisted of the privileges granted to the ancient inhabitants of Latium. These are not distinctly

* Rosini *Antiq. Rom.* b. x. c. 23. as quoted in Hatcher's edition of the *Itinerary, &c.* of Richard of Cirencester.

† Henry's *Hist. of Great Britain*, Vol. I. p. 341.

distinctly known; but appear principally to have been the right of following their own laws, an exemption from the edicts of the Roman Prætor, and the option of adopting the laws and customs of Rome.”*

The ten cities which are said by Richard to have been favoured with the communication of the *Jus Latii*, are *Durnomagus* (Castor on Nen) *Cataractonis* (Catteric) *Cambodunum* (Slack) *Coccium* (Blackrode) *Lugubalia* (Carlisle) *Ptorotone* (Burghead) *Victoria* (Dealgin Ross) *Theodosia* (Dumbarton) *Corinum* (Cirencester) *Sorbiadunum* (Old Sarum.)

Stipendiary towns were such as paid their taxes in money, in contradistinction from those which gave a certain portion of the produce of the soil, and were called *Væctigales*.† Richard enumerates twelve stipendiary towns: *Venta Silurum* (Caerwent) *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester) *Venta Icenorum* (Castor, near Norwich) *Segontium* (Caer Segont) *Maridunum* (Caermarthen) *Rata* (Leicester) *Camtiopolis* (Canterbury) *Durinum* (Dorchester) *Isca* (Exeter) *Bremenium* (Riechester, Northumberland) *Vindonum* (possibly Egbury Camp, Hants) and *Durobrivæ* (Rochester.)

Such were the classes into which the Romans divided their towns in Britain; and the thirty-three instances of various kinds given above, are mentioned by Richard of Cirencester, as those which were most celebrated and conspicuous. But he informs us that the total number of important towns in Romanized Britain, was not less than ninety-two; and there is reason to believe that it was indeed much greater. Mr. Whitaker asserts that “Britain, from the southern sea to the firths of Forth and Clwyd, at the close of the first century, possessed a hundred and forty towns in all.”‡ Richard expressly observes that he has commemorated only such as were greatly distinguished.

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* Hatcher's edit. of Richard of Cirencester, p. 68. apud Rosini.

† Rosini, as quoted in the commentary on Richard of Cirencester, p. 69.

‡ Hist. of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 323.

The progressive advantages derived by the Britons, from this intermixture of population with their polished invaders, are unquestionable, and truly splendid; although, as a nation, they were subject to some humiliation and to many penalties. We view, indeed, the progress of mind in every step of the conquering legions; and, whilst contemplating so attractive a picture, subjugation itself loses all deformity of aspect.

Inspired by the lessons of Roman industry, the inhabitants even of deep inland districts now placed their neglected soil under the operation of the plough; and so successful were the efforts of agricultural labour, that Britain soon exported, annually, large quantities of corn, and assisted greatly in supplying with grain the Roman armies on the continent.

The manufacturing arts accompanied the cultivation of the British soil; and commerce received a new and powerful impulse. Fresh ports were opened; and the Briton, aroused from the slumber of sylvan inactivity, was instructed in the natural wealth and mercantile capacities of his country.

Induced, by precept and example, to prefer social interchange to sullen and ferocious seclusion, he quitted by slow degrees his gloomy embowered retreat, and entered on the joys and confidence of busy congregation. The city arose on the site of dark woodland huts; and the Briton was courted, even by his conquerors, to become its inmate.

The motive which suggested this persuasion towards urbanity, might be merely political and selfish; but its instruments of action were noble, for they consisted in a communication of such arts as dignify life, and render society desirable, by exhibiting its courtesies.

The Roman language, and its stores of literary treasure, were imparted to the rude natives of Britain with sedulous care; and thus, with an abruptness almost unprecedented in the annals of nations, a profound ignorance of letters received, at once, the illumination of the highest efforts of philosophy and correct taste. With the literature of Italy was introduced a relish for the elegant indolence

indolence of the portico and the bath ; a fondness for delicate attire ; and a love of these social parties in which eloquence, classical learning, and the graces of personal deportment, obtained opportunities of exercise and distinction.

A transition so speedy resembles the change of scenery in histrionic exhibition. The Britons, indeed, by their quick adoption of the refined notions of their conquerors, would appear to have avoided the tedious process of many stages usual with the cultivation of the human mind ; and to have passed, at once, from the gloom of barbarous life to a familiarity with that standard mass of lettered intelligence, which forms the proudest acquisition of the scholar at the present day.

These rapid improvements in art and science, were necessarily productive of a striking change in the general face of the country. Large tracts were cleared of their unprofitable burthen of thickly matted trees ; and the increasing towns and villages were rendered easy of communication by lines of solid road, formed in attention to the principle of those great military highways, which, under the guidance of the Romans, intersected the island in various directions, and which will shortly meet with particular notice, as the most distinguished vestiges of this important era. It will be readily supposed that the domestic architecture introduced by the Romans communicated hints for improvement in the British style of building ; whilst public edifices for legislative purposes now first adorned the cities of the Britons.

With the familiar customs of the Romans was adopted, by a great part of the conquered inhabitants of this island, their system of theology ; and the vast circular temple, placed deeply in the mysterious sanctity of thick woods, was now abandoned for temples of hewn stone, situated in the midst of towns, and decorated with sculptured devices. This first remove from an extreme rudeness of divine worship, was quickly succeeded by the introduction of Christianity. The enlightening beams of this beneficent religion were communicated to Britain, according to the opinions of those who have most attentively considered the

subject, before the close of the first century. Their diffusion, however, was gradual; and the poverty of the early Christians debarred them from adorning the country with edifices proportioned in splendour to their religious zeal. The chief, or, perhaps, the only tangible religious relics of this era, which have descended to the present day, are connected with the votive piety of heathen Rome.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN BRITAIN.*

ROMAN STATIONS, AND CAMPS OF VARIOUS KINDS.—Independent of a consideration of their roads, the most important vestiges

* The contents of the map which accompanies this section of our work, are briefly explained by a *table of references*. In that table it is shewn that each of the Roman roads mentioned in the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, together with numerous recent discoveries of roads not noticed either by Richard or Antouine, are laid down, and expressed by lines of a different character and colour. A reference is, also, afforded to such STATIONS as are mentioned by Richard; and to many stations, and camps, not noticed by that useful writer. The whole is the result of actual investigation, chiefly made by the Rev. Thomas Leman, to whom this work is indebted for a contribution of the original drawing, containing such discoveries as have been made since the appearance of Mr. Hatcher's edition of Richard of Cirencester.

It is confidently presumed that a satisfactory view is thus presented of such vestiges of Romanised Britain, as have been ascertained to exist, at the present day, by positive local examination.

In addition to the explanation contained in the table of reference, it is necessary to present an enumeration of the stations laid down in the map; and, to attach to each its Roman name, according to the opinion of the antiquary by whom the design for the map is contributed.

I first enumerate the stations mentioned by Richard of Cirencester; and subsequently, present an enumeration of such stations and camps as are not mentioned by Richard;—prefixing to each the figure by which it is correspondently denoted in the body of the map. But it will be observed (as is explained in the table of reference) that the stations mentioned by Richard are marked, in the map, with *Italic figure*; whilst those not mentioned by

Richard

vestiges of the Romans consist in the remains of their castrametations, which are seen in many parts of this island, and curiously

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vary

Richard (and to which, in the following list, are prefixed Roman characters,) are designated, in the map, by *Uprights*, or *Print figures*. The last mentioned list is classed in counties, ranged alphabetically, in attention to the plan adopted in describing counties in the Beauties of England and Wales.

Stations mentioned by Richard of Cirencester.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 Rlutupis, <i>Richborough</i> | 31 Starius Amnis, <i>on the Stour</i> |
| 2 Darovernum, <i>Canterbury</i> | 32 Cambretonium |
| 3 Duroseum, <i>Ospring</i> | 33 Sitomagus |
| 4 Durobrivæ, <i>Rechester</i> | 34 Venta Cenom, <i>Caster near Norwich</i> |
| 5 Londinium, <i>London</i> | 35 Camboricum, <i>Cambridge</i> |
| 6 Sulomagus, <i>Brockley hill</i> | 36 Durolispons, <i>Godmanchester</i> |
| 7 Verulamium, <i>Verulam</i> | 37 Durnomagus, <i>Caster</i> |
| 8 Forum Dianæ, <i>Dunstable</i> | 38 Isinnis, <i>Ancaster</i> |
| 9 Magiovinium, <i>near Fenny Stratford</i> | 39 Lindum, <i>Lincoln</i> |
| 10 Lactorodum, <i>Towcester</i> | 40 Argolicum, <i>Littleborough</i> |
| 11 Isanta Varia, <i>Burntwalls</i> | 41 Danum, <i>Doneaster</i> |
| 12 Tripointium, <i>near Lilburn</i> | 42 Legiolium, <i>Castleford</i> |
| 13 Benonia, <i>High Cross</i> | 43 Eboracum, <i>York</i> |
| 14 Manduessedum, <i>Mancster</i> | 44 Isurium, <i>Aldborough</i> |
| 15 Etocetum, <i>Wall</i> | 45 Cattaracton, <i>Catterick</i> |
| 16 Pennocrucium, <i>on the Peak</i> | 46 Ad Tisam, <i>Pierce Bridge</i> |
| 17 Uxaconium, <i>Red hill, Okenyate</i> | 47 Vinovium, <i>Binchester</i> |
| 18 Uriconium, <i>Wroaster</i> | 48 Epiacum, <i>Lauchester</i> |
| 19 Banchorium, <i>Banchor</i> | 49 Ad Murum, <i>Halton Chester</i> |
| 20 Deva, <i>Chester</i> | 50 Alauna Amnis, <i>on the Coquet</i> |
| 21 Varis, <i>near Pont Rhyffin</i> | 51 Tueda Flumen, <i>on the Tweed</i> |
| 22 Conovium, <i>Cuer Hân</i> | 52 Ad Vallum, <i>The Wall</i> |
| 23 Segontium, <i>Caer Segont</i> | 53 Curia |
| 24 Hereri Mons, <i>Tommen Y Mur</i> | 54 Ad fines, <i>Chew Green</i> |
| 25 Mediolanum, <i>Clawdd Goch</i> | 55 Bremenium, <i>Riechester</i> |
| 26 Rutunium, <i>Rowton</i> | 56 Corstopitum, <i>Corbridge</i> |
| 27 Durositum, <i>near Rufford</i> | 57 Vindomora, <i>Ebchester</i> |
| 28 Cmsaromagus, <i>near Chelmsford</i> | 58 Derventio, <i>near Stamford bridge</i> |
| 29 Canonium, <i>near Kelbedon</i> | 59 Delgovicia |
| 30 Camulodunum, <i>Colchester</i> | 60 Pretarium, <i>Flamborough head</i> |
| | 61 Calcaria, |

vary in strength, and care of construction, from the temporary earth-work thrown up in haste, and perhaps within sight of the enemy,

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|--|--|
| 61 Calcaria, <i>Tadcaster</i> | 92 Varis, <i>Fores</i> |
| 62 Cambodunum, <i>Slack</i> | 93 Ad Tuessim, <i>Cronall on Spey</i> |
| 63 Mancunium, <i>Manchester</i> | 94 Tamea, <i>Braemar castle</i> |
| 64 Fines Maximæ et Flaviz, <i>Stretford</i> | 95 ——— <i>Barra castle on Ila</i> |
| 65 Condate, <i>Kinderton</i> | 96 In Medio, <i>Inchtuthill</i> |
| 66 Portus Sistuntiorum, <i>Freckleton</i> | 97 Brocavinocis, <i>Brougham</i> |
| 67 Rerigonium, <i>Ribchester</i> | 98 Ad Alaunam, <i>Lancaster</i> |
| 68 Alpes Peninos, <i>Burrens</i> | 99 Coccium, <i>Blackrode</i> |
| 69 Alicana, <i>Ilkley</i> | 100 Mediolanum, <i>Chesterton</i> |
| 70 Lataris, <i>Bowes</i> | 101 Salinæ, <i>Droitwich</i> |
| 71 Vataris, <i>Brough</i> | 102 Glevum, <i>Gloucester</i> |
| 72 Brovonacis, <i>Kirby Thur</i> | 103 Corinum, <i>Cirencester</i> |
| 73 Vorreda, <i>Plumpton Wall</i> | 104 Aquæ Sulis, <i>Bath</i> |
| 74 Luguballia, <i>Carlisle</i> | 105 Ad Aquas, <i>probably Wells</i> |
| 75 Trimontium, <i>Birrensworke hill</i> | 106 Ad Uxellam, <i>probably Bridge-water</i> |
| 76 Gadanica | 107 Isca, <i>Exeter</i> |
| 77 Corium | 108 Ad Abonam, <i>Bitton</i> |
| 78 Alauna, <i>Kier</i> | 109 Ad Sabrinam, <i>Sea Mills</i> |
| 79 Lindum, <i>Ardoch</i> | 110 Statio Trajectus, <i>Severn side</i> |
| 80 Vittoria, <i>Dealgin Ross</i> | 111 Venta Silurum, <i>Caerwent</i> |
| 81 Ad Hiernam, <i>Strageth</i> | 112 Isca Colonia, <i>Caerleon</i> |
| 82 Orres, <i>on the Tay above Perth</i> | 113 Tibia Amnis, <i>on the Taaf</i> |
| 83 Ad Tavum, <i>near Invergourie</i> | 114 Bovium, <i>Exenny</i> |
| 84 Ad Æsicam, <i>Brechin on South Esk</i> | 115 Nidum, <i>Neath</i> |
| 85 Ad Tinum, <i>Fordun</i> | 116 Leucarum, <i>perhaps Lughor</i> |
| 86 Devana, <i>Norman Dykes</i> | 117 Ad Vigesium, <i>Castle Flemish</i> |
| 87 Ad Itunam, <i>Glentmailin on the Ithen</i> | 118 Ad Menapiam, <i>St. David's</i> |
| 88 Ad Montem Grampium, <i>near Knock hill</i> | 119 Verlucio, <i>Highfield near Sandy lane</i> |
| 89 Ad Selinam, <i>on the Cullen, near Deskford</i> | 120 Cunetio, <i>Folly farm, near Martborough</i> |
| 90 Tuesis, <i>on the Spey, near Rellie</i> | 121 Spinæ, <i>Spene</i> |
| 91 Plurotone, <i>Burgh head</i> | 122 Calleba, <i>Silchester</i> |
| | 123 Bibracte |
| | 124 Bultrum, <i>Usk</i> |
| | 125 Gobannium, |

enemy, to the regular station, guarded by walls which have, in some instances, proved triumphant over the assault of more than

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sixteen

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|--|--|
| 125 Gobannium, <i>Abergavenny</i> | 153 Brige, near <i>Broughton</i> |
| 126 Magna, <i>Kentchester</i> | 154 Sorbiodunum, <i>Old Sarum</i> |
| 127 Branoganium, near <i>Lentwardine</i> | 155 Venta Geladia, <i>Gussage Cow Down</i> |
| 128 Blestium, <i>Monmouth</i> | 156 Durnovaria, <i>Dorchester</i> |
| 129 Sariconiam, <i>Berry hill</i> | 157 Moridunum, <i>Seaton</i> |
| 130 Ad Antonam, on the <i>Avon</i> | 158 Darius Amnis, on the <i>Dart</i> |
| 131 Alauna, <i>Alcester</i> | 159 Tamara, on the <i>Tamair</i> |
| 132 ——— <i>Chesterton</i> | 160 Voluba, on the <i>Fowey</i> |
| 133 Ratis, <i>Leicester</i> | 161 Conia, on the <i>Fal</i> |
| 134 Venromentum, <i>Willoughby</i> | 162 Sylva Anderida, <i>East Bourne</i> |
| 135 Margidunum, <i>East Bridgeford</i> | 163 Ad Fines, <i>Brougham</i> |
| 136 Ad Pontem, near <i>Thorpe</i> | 164 In Medio |
| 137 Crococolana, <i>Brugh</i> | 165 Ad Abum, <i>Winterton</i> |
| 138 Vindomis, near <i>St. Mary Bourne</i> | 166 Ad Petuarium, <i>Brough</i> |
| 139 Venta Belgarum, <i>Winchester</i> | 167 Ad Fines, <i>Temple Brough on the Don</i> |
| 140 Ad Lapidem, <i>Stoneham</i> | 168 ——— <i>Tapton hill, near Chicesterfield</i> |
| 141 Clausentum, <i>Bittern, near Southampton</i> | 169 ——— near <i>Pentridge</i> |
| 142 Portus Magnus, <i>Portchester</i> | 170 Derventio, <i>Little Chester</i> |
| 143 Regnum, <i>Chichester</i> | 171 Ad Trivonam, <i>Berry farm in Branston</i> |
| 144 Ad Decimum, on the <i>Arun</i> | 172 Brinavis, <i>Black Ground near Chipping Norton</i> |
| 145 Anderida Portus, <i>Pevensey</i> | 173 Ælia Castra, <i>Alcester, Oxfordshire</i> |
| 146 Ad Lemanum, on the <i>Rother</i> | 174 Dorocina, <i>Dorchester, Oxfordshire</i> |
| 147 Lemanianus Portus, <i>Lymne</i> | 175 Tamesia, on the <i>Thames</i> |
| 148 Dubra, <i>Dover</i> | |
| 149 Regulbium, <i>Reculver</i> | |
| 150 Madus, on the <i>Medway</i> | |
| 151 Vagnaca, <i>Barkfields in Southfleet</i> | |
| 152 Noviomagus, <i>Holwood hill</i> | |

Stations and Camps, not mentioned by Richard of Cirencester.

- Bedfordshire*
- I Sandy
- Berkshire,*
- II Lawrence Waltham
- III Roundabout, near *Bagshot*

- Buckinghamshire.*
- IV Chipping Wycombe
- Cambridgeshire.*
- V Shelford

Cornwall.

sixteen centuries.—The remains of these places of defence are of such high antiquarian interest, and are so frequently noticed in almost

<i>Cornwall.</i>		<i>Durham.</i>	
VI	Bossens, in St. Erth	XXXVI	South Shields
VII	near Stratton	XXXVII	Chester le Street
<i>Cumberland.</i>		<i>Essex.</i>	
VIII	at Moresby	XXXVIII	near Sturmere
IX	— Ellenborough	XXXIX	Dunmow
X	— Pap Castle	XL	Chesterford
XI	— Old Carlisle	XLI	Harwich
XII	— Whitbarrow	XLII	On the Blackwater
XIII	Bew Castle	<i>Gloucestershire.</i>	
XIV	Netherby	XLIII	Bourton on the water
XV	Lidd'e Mount	XLIV	Dornton
XVI	at Castlesteads, in Castle Sowerby	XLV	Lydney
XVII	— Mawbrugh	XLVI	near Cross-hands
XVIII	— Ponsonby	XLVII	near Dowdeswell
XIX	— Whitestones	<i>Hampshire.</i>	
XX	— Eakmeal	XLVIII	Buckland, near Lymington
XXI	— Cuningarth	<i>Herefordshire.</i>	
XXII	— Kirkland	XLIX	Brandon camp, near Lentwardine
XXIII	— Hardknot	<i>Huntingdonshire.</i>	
XXIV	— Bainscar	L	Newton
<i>Derbyshire.</i>		<i>Lancashire.</i>	
XXV	Buxton	LI	Colne
XXVI	Brugh	LII	Overborough
XXVII	Melendra Castle	LIII	near Rochdale
XXVIII	at Parwick	<i>Leicestershire.</i>	
XXIX	— Chesterfield	LIV	Medbourn
XXX	— Pentrich	LV	Rathby
<i>Devonshire.</i>		<i>Lincolnshire.</i>	
XXXI	Countesbury	LVI	Ludford
XXXII	Hembury Fort	LVII	Horncastle
<i>Dorsetshire.</i>		<i>Norfolk.</i>	
XXXIII	Isle of Portland	LVIII	Taesborough
XXXIV	St. Anne's hill, west of Christchurch	LIX	Caister
XXXV	Poundbury		

almost every volume of the "Beauties of England and Wales," that it appears desirable to present a comprehensive view of the modes

LIX Caistor
LX Brancaster
LXI Castle Acre

Northamptonshire.

LXII Irchester
LXIII Wadenhoe
LXIV Cottestock
LXV Woodford
LXVI Cotton Mill

Northumberland.

LXVII Whitley Castle
LXVIII on the river Reed

Nottinghamshire.

LXIX Southwell
LXX Combs

Oxfordshire.

LXXI Stonefield

Rutland.

LXXII Brig Casterton

Shropshire.

LXXIII Chesterton

Somersetshire.

LXXIV Ilchester (*Ischalis*)
LXXV near Burrington

Staffordshire.

LXXVI Rocester

Suffolk.

LXXVII Ixworth
LXXVIII Icklingham
LXXIX Burgh Castle
LXXX Creting
LXXXI Walton
LXXXII near Lawshall

Sussex.

LXXXIII Rowlands Castle
LXXXIV near Pulborough
LXXXV near Portslade

Westmorland.

LXXXVI Watercrock
LXXXVII Ambleside

Wiltshire.

LXXXVIII Woodyates Inn
LXXXIX Wanborough Nythe
XC Easton Grey

Worcestershire.

XCI Worcester

Yorkshire.

XCII At Addle
XCIII Maiden Castle, on Stain-
more

XCIV near Pickering
XCV — Whitby
XCVI — Askrig

WALES.

XCVII Holyhead, Isle of Anglesey
XCVIII near Beaumaris,

Anglesey

XCIX C. Gai, near Bala, Merion-
ethshire

C Penalt, near Machynlleth

CI Caer Sws, Montgomeryshire

CII Gaer, near Montgomery

CIII Flint

CIV Caergwrle, Flintshire

CV Holt, Denbighshire

CVI On the Y than, Radnorshire

CVII Llanio-isau, Cardiganshire

CVIII Llanvair-ar-y-brin, Caermar-
thenshire

CIX Gaer,

modes of constructing and occupying a fortress amongst the Romans, together with many other particulars, calculated to convey clear ideas of the character and history of Roman stations in Britain.

The term *Station* applies to such *castra stativa*, or fixed camps, as were used for the permanent quarters of detachments of the Roman forces. Horsley observes, "that the word *statio* is used in Cæsar, Tacitus, and other good writers, for the duty of soldiers upon guard, or for the men that were employed in this duty. But, in the later times, it is, by a metonymy, applied to the fort, or place, where the soldiers lodged, or were on their duty." This mode of confining the meaning of the word to a fortress, instead of extending it to a town, as is usual with many writers, is approved by Mr. Reynolds (*Introduction to the Itinerary of Antoninus*, p. 9.) But an indistinctness in the reception of the term appears still to prevail. It is certain that, in some instances, the castrametation remained peculiarly appropriated to the troops in garrison, while a town, in the immediate neighbourhood of the fortress, was gradually formed by the buildings raised for the purposes of traffic and security. But, in many other examples, the stationary castrum itself afforded a place of residence to the trader who sought commerce and protection from the military; and thus, in itself, became a town or city.—It

seems

CIX Gaer, near Brecon
CX Cwm du, Brecknockshire
CXI near Newcastle, Caermarthenshire

Stations and Camps, on, and near, the walls of Antonine and Severus.

CXII Cousins house
CXIII Newcastle
CXIV Benwel hill
CXV Rutchester
CXVI Halton Chesters

CXVII Walwick Chesters
CXVIII Carrowburgh
CXIX House-steeds
CXX Little Chesters
CXXI Great Chesters
CXXII Caervoran
CXXIII Burdeswold
CXXIV Cambeckfort
CXXV Watchcross
CXXVI Stanwick
CXXVII Burgh
CXXVIII Drumbargh
CXXIX Boulnein

seems probable that such intermingled circumstances of inhabitation, within the walls of a fortress, chiefly occurred in camps like Silchester, formed on the spacious, but irregular, site of a British settlement.

It is well known that the Romans, in all their wars, were particularly careful, and evinced great judgment, in the choice of the site on which they encamped their troops. The skill with which they improved on the natural strength of the situation chosen on these occasions, is sufficiently evident from the security with which their armies reposed, in the interior of so many hostile countries.

The Roman camps are usually divided into two classes; *Castra hyberna*, and *Castra æstiva*. The former, which were merely, in the first instance, designed for the winter quarters of the invading army, were often adopted as stationary, or garrison, posts, when the district in which they were situated became tributary. These were sometimes placed on the site of British settlements; in which case, the irregularity of form that prevailed amongst the Britons, who chiefly looked to natural advantages for the attainment of local strength, was preserved by the more scientific Romans.* But, in camps originally laid out by themselves, the figure was, almost invariably, *square* or *oblong*; sometimes having the angles obtuse, or rounded off. When a deviation occurs from this form of castrametation, the cause will be obvious, in some very peculiar circumstance of natural strength, or convenience, which is gained by the partial sacrifice of regularity.

In

* It is observed by Mr. Whitaker (*Hist. of Manchester*, Vol. I. p. 44) that the fact of Roman towns being frequently placed on the site of British fortresses, "is abundantly shewn by the British names of the stations in the Roman Itineraries; near three fourths of the stations bearing British names, and thereby evincing themselves to be erected upon the sites of British fortresses. The latter were generally planted upon such ground as an intimate knowledge of the country recommended; and such, therefore, as the policy of the Romans could not but approve."—Instances of irregularity of form, obviously arising from the adoption of a British site by the Romans, may be noticed in Silchester, Kentchester, Bath, Canterbury, &c.

In respect to the usual character of the site chosen for Roman encampments, the following remarks of Horsley may be received as satisfactory: "There is nothing that the Romans seem to have had a greater regard to, than the convenience of a river, and perhaps, too, the additional strength which it afforded. For the benefit of the meridian sun, which they must need who came from so much warmer a climate, they usually had their stations and outbuildings on the north side of the rivers, and on a gentle declivity. In some instances they chose higher ground, for dryness and prospect. And, as oft as they could, they seem willing to have joined these together."*

From these circumstances of configuration and locality of site, the Roman camp, as to its general character, may be readily distinguished from that of the other nations connected, in a military capacity, with this island. In a subsequent page it will be shewn that the castrametations formed by the Romans were frequently adopted, and altered, by the different invading powers which succeeded that people in an ascendancy over the British. But, still, the remains of Roman castra, free from marks of innovation, and venerable in the ruinous character imparted by abandonment and time only, occur in nearly every part of Britain.—The antiquary regards them with curious attention; nor are the pleasures of such a contemplation confined to him who values the relics of other days, merely because they are antiquities. The splendour of Roman story has awakened many of the nobler sensations in the mind of the general student. It became familiar with us in the class books of our boyhood, and mixed with our early sympathies. There are few who view, for the first time, a castrametation assuredly Roman, without a thrill of exquisite pleasure at beholding, free from the necessity of foreign travel, a memorial of the people who spread civilization in the same progress with victory, and bestowed a knowledge of the useful

* Horsley. Brit. Rom. p. 109—110.

useful and elegant arts, as a compensation for the severities inflicted by their arms.

The following extract of Josephus may not be unacceptable to the ardent views of such an examiner, since it traces the castrum of the Romans, even to the halt of the legion which might form an intrenchment for the security of a Cæsar, or an Agricola, in the repose of adventurous marches.—It, indeed, peopled to the imagination such extensive works, now dreary, and overgrown with wild shrubs or moss; and conveys, in vivid imagery, distinct notions of the general bustle which prevailed at taking possession of the camp, and of the excellent order with which affairs were afterwards disposed:

“ As soon as the Romans have marched into an enemy’s land, they do not begin to fight, till they have walled their camp about; nor is the fence they raise, rashly made, or uneven. Nor do they all abide in it: nor do those that are in it take their places at random. If it happens that the ground is uneven, it is first levelled. Their camp is square by measure; and carpenters are ready, in great numbers, with their tools, to erect their buildings for them.

“ As for what is within the camp, it is set apart for tents; but the outward circumference hath the resemblance to a wall; and is adorned with towers at equal distances; whilst, between the towers, stand the engines for throwing arrows, and darts, and for slinging stones; and there they lay all other engines that can annoy the enemy, all ready for their several operations.

“ They also erect four gates, one at every side of the circumference; and those large enough for the entrance of beasts, and wide enough for making excursions, if occasion should require. They divide the camp within into streets, very conveniently; and place the tents of the commanders in the middle: but, in the midst of all, is the General’s own tent, in the nature of a temple.

“ In short, the whole appears to be a city, built on a sudden;
with

with its market place, and place for handicraft trades; and with seats (or stations) for the officers, superior and inferior: where, if any differences arise, their causes are heard and determined.

"The camp, and all that is in it, is encompassed with a wall; and that sooner than one would imagine;—by the multitude and the skill of the labourers. And a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, (i. e. six feet,) and its breadth equal.

"They live together in the camp, by companies. And each company hath its wood, and corn, and water, brought to it as is needful. And they neither sup nor dine as they please themselves singly; but all together.

"When they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives a sound: and instantly they take down their tents, and all is made ready for their march. When the trumpet sounds again, they lay their baggage suddenly upon their mules, and other beasts of burden, and stand as at a place of starting, ready to march. At the same time setting fire to their camp.—And when the trumpet sounds a third time, a crier, standing at the General's right hand, asks them thrice, *whether they are ready*. On which they, all lifting up their right hands, answer, *we are ready*; and march forth directly, without noise, and keeping their ranks."*

In addition to the lively, but general, terms of the above description, it is desirable to examine into the particular arrangement of the Roman camps; and to complete, as far as may be practicable, the mournful pleasure arising from a contemplation of such ruined works, by stating the modes in which the out-lines were fortified, and the interior divided and occupied.

The *regular and great stationary camp* was encompassed by
a lofty

* King, apud Josephus de Bello Jud. lib. III. cap. 5. sec. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. It will be obvious that this description more immediately applies to the temporary camps formed by the Romans on their marches; but it elucidates, in a curious and satisfactory manner, many of the operations usual with them in the general commencement of military works.

a lofty and massive wall, composed of stone, or of mingled stone, flint, and brick; and was further defended by a deep single, or double fosse. A correct idea of the general character of the wall surrounding such a castrum, may be formed from the following notice of a portion still remaining at *Richborough*, in *Kent*, one of the best preserved, and most curious, of these military vestiges: "On approaching the ruins the eye is struck with the magnificent appearance of the north-eastern wall, which is, on the outside, in some parts near 30 feet high from the ground, and in many others about 23. Its thickness at bottom is in general from 11 to 12 feet; but it is, in some parts, even 13 feet. A manifest proof that they did not, in those days, build by so regular and exact a rule as has been the custom in modern times.* Its contents, also, are a proof of the same fact:—For it is constructed, indeed, of regular facings of alternate rows of squared stone and brick on the two outside surfaces; but, within, between these two uprights, it is composed merely of chalk, rubble, and flints, flung in carelessly, with cement, or mortar, spread over them at proper distances, so as to sink into the whole mass; in which respect it exactly resembles walls constructed by the Romans in many other places.

"The outside of this wall is very beautiful to the eye, as well as magnificent. It is composed (as far as now remains) in general, of seven great and fair distinct rows of stone, each of them very nearly four feet thick:—and each of them consisting, in general, of seven courses of separate stones.

"These great courses of stone are separated from each other by six smaller courses of bricks, composed each merely of a double row of bricks, that are about an inch and a half, or an inch and three quarters in thickness, but are of very different breadths, from eight inches to a foot; and of very different lengths, some being fourteen, some sixteen inches long, and some seventeen
and

* It may be observed that the Romans were quite neglectful of minute precision in disposing the form and lines of their camps. The sides are often of an unequal length; and not straight, or set square.

and an half. *A variation of dimensions to be met with in other Roman structures.*—In the old wall of Verulam was a brick very nearly two feet in length; and there is one at Dover near three feet in length.”*

On the line of massy wall by which the camps were enclosed, are sometimes discovered the foundations, or remains, of circular towers. These frequently occur at the angles, or on each side of the gate. But it may be observed that the towers usually appear to have been added to the walls after their first erection; and it is probable that the generality of Roman stations in Britain were originally constructed without such means of defence.

The number, position, and names of the *Gates* of Roman camps are indistinctly stated by ancient writers; and this want of perspicuity has given rise to considerable differences of opinion amongst the moderns.† In number they appear to have been four: the *Prætorian gate*, which was situated in the front
of

* *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. II. p. 6—7—8. It will be recollected that Roman bricks vary in composition as well as in dimensions. The colour of some is a fine deep red, throughout the whole substance; and these, perhaps, are the most prevalent. Others are red only on the outside, and exhibit a less valuable blue material within. Some are yellow. It is observed that the clay of which they are composed is generally found to be finely tempered, and well kneaded and burnt. A table, shewing various sizes of Roman bricks discovered in this country, according to the respective statements of several modern authors, is given in *Archæologia*, Vol. II. p. 185.

† In the following view of the arrangement of a Roman camp, I have adopted the outline of General Roy, so well known as an experienced engineer and judicious antiquarian writer. For opinions directly in opposition to this received plan, the reader is referred to *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. II. p. 13; 143, &c. The whole subject is, indeed, obscure; and is even yet quite open to discussion. In prefacing his plan of a Roman camp, as presented in the “*Military Antiquities*,” General Roy observes, “that, as Polybius is silent with regard to the number, names, and situation of the gates, recourse has been had to Livy and Vegetius; and the plan accordingly formed in the manner that seemed most consistent with what all the three have related of it.” *Mil. Antiquities*, p. 46.

of the camp; the *Decuman* gate, which was on the opposite side to the *Prætorian*, and derived its name from its width, or capacity of allowing ten men to march through it abreast;* and the two *Principal* gates, which were situated one on each side of the oblong encampment, and were not of equal importance with the *Decuman*, but probably derived their name from their situation at the extremities of the principal street of the camp.

The camp, thus formed in outline, and entered by four convenient gates, was internally arranged with great judgment and care. The accounts handed down by Polybius, and other contemporary historians, have been discussed, with some difference of view, but with equal zeal and industry, by General Roy and by Mr. King.† From the digested statements of these writers, compared with each other, and elucidated by appeals to their authorities, may be presented, with a confident probability of accuracy, the following particulars.

When the outlines were complete, the standard, or eagle, was raised on the spot chosen by the General as the site of his tent; which was usually placed on the highest ground, for the purpose of convenient inspection and command. The staff of the standard was the ruling point of admeasurement; and around it was marked off a square piece of ground, assigned for the occupation of the consul, or general, and styled the *Prætorium*, from the Latin custom of bestowing the title of *Prætor* on general officers. According to General Roy, each side of this square space was two hundred feet, or one hundred feet from the centre; but Mr. King contends, and with considerable force of argument, that the

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Prætorium

* Such appears to be the fact, in the opinion of the majority of writers. General Roy (*Military Antiquities*, p. 50.) supposes, on the contrary, that the *Decuman Gate* acquired its name from the circumstance of the offenders being led through it for punishment, when any particular corps, or number of soldiers, was decimated, or punished in the instance of every tenth man, in consequence of misbehaviour in the field, or other disorderly conduct.

† *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain; and Monuments Antiqua*, Vol. II.

Prætorium was, in fact, four hundred feet square. The Prætorium contained the consul's tent, with a neighbouring *Sacellum*, and *Augurale*;* and a parade, or court, for the assembling of the officers. In forming it, particular care was taken that the four sides should be parallel to the front, rear, and two flanks of the camp.

A line was then drawn before the Prætorium, and parallel to it, at the distance of fifty feet, running entirely across the camp. Within this boundary, to the right and left of the Prætorium, were placed the tents of the twelve tribunes, six on each side; the space between their tents being occupied by their horses and attendants. Beyond the tribunes, and equally divided on each side, were placed the tents of the twelve præfects of the allies. The tents of all these officers were so pitched, as to have the main body of the legions in their front.

Beyond this line, or, rather, beyond the fronts of the above tents, at the distance of one hundred feet, was drawn another line, to the whole breadth of the camp; and the interval between both, formed the chief street of the camp (called *Principia*, or *Principalis*) having the principal gates at its two extremities. This street was levelled with great care; and here the whole army was mustered previous to a march.

Leading in a straight direction, from the central point of the front of the Prætorium through the body of the camp, was constructed another street, fifty feet in width. On the sides of this street were placed the Roman cavalry; those of the first, or eldest, legion being on the right, and those of the second, or youngest,

* It is curious to observe that, in numerous instances, a Christian church is found to have been erected on, or near, that part of the site of Roman camps formerly occupied by the Prætorium, and probably engrossing more particularly the portion once appropriated to Pagan rites of worship. The first Cathedral of St. Paul's in London, "was built nearly on the spot where must have been the Roman Prætorian camp; and this has continued to be the situation of all the three succeeding Metropolitan fabrics, to the present time." *Parentalia*, p. 271.

youngest, on the left. Each troop occupied a space one hundred feet in breadth, and extending one hundred feet along the street; and every manipule of foot (that part of the army being encamped directly behind the cavalry) was, likewise, allowed one hundred feet in length for its accommodation, reckoning by the line of the principal street.

At the distance of five hundred feet (the space occupied by five troops, or maniples) from the *Principia*, ran, parallel with that great thoroughfare, a street fifty feet in width, which stretched across the whole encampment, and was called *Quintana*. Beyond this intersecting way, were placed the other five troops and maniples; and their last line formed the extremity of the camp.

On the right and left of the *Triarii* (the veteran foot, encamped behind the cavalry of their respective legions) two streets, each fifty feet broad, extended from the *principia* to the front of the camp, or that part most distant from the *Prætorium*.* On

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* So indistinctly known are many particulars concerning the Roman art of castrametation, that modern writers differ in opinion as to which must be termed the front, and which the rear of the camp.—In defence of the plan adopted above, General Roy (*Military Antiquities*, p. 47.) presents the following, among other remarks:—

“With respect to the front of the camp, Polybius expressly says that the tents of the tribunes were pitched so as to have the *prætorium* behind, and all the rest of the camp, that is to say the whole body of the army, before them; on which account that side where the legions were placed, was called the front. In tracing the five direct streets, he says that they began at that space, of one hundred feet in breadth, before the tents of the tribunes (the principal street) and ended at what was called the front of the camp. In assigning the quarters for the extraordinary foot, he tells us that they were placed behind the extraordinary cavalry, fronting towards the intrenchment and rear of the camp. From all which, it is very plain that Polybius understood that side to be the front of the camp, where the bodies of the legions were placed, and that opposite to it, behind the *prætorium*, *quæstorium*, &c. to be the rear.”

This opinion of General Roy is strongly controverted by Mr. King (*Munimenta*

the sides of these streets were placed the *Principes*, who were double in number to the *Triarii*, and had, therefore, a space allowed them, one hundred feet in breadth as well as in length.

On the right and left of the *Principes*, looking outwards, were stationed the *Hastati*, who being of the same numbers were allowed the same extent of ground. This latter division of the army fronted two other, and more outward, streets; each being fifty feet broad, and running to the whole length of the encampment.

On the opposite sides of the above streets, were quartered the cavalry of the allies. These are well known to have been thrice the number of the Roman cavalry; but, as one-third part of them was stationed near the *Prætorium*, there remained, on each side, no more than six hundred of the allied horse, who appear to have been usually encamped in double maniples; and to each division occupied by them two hundred feet in depth was, therefore, appropriated.

Contiguous to their own cavalry, but with their front towards the vallum, or rampart, of the intrenchment, were stationed the allied foot;* who were equal in number to the Romans; but, as
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menta Antiq. Vol. II. p. 14, 15, *note*;) but, although he offers some ingenious comments on the mode in which the General renders Polybius, and on some instances of ancient history which he adduces in illustration of his arguments, the reader will, probably, remain unshaken in an adherence to the former writer, if he carefully examine the authorities on which the argument must definitively rest.—It is curiously observed by General Roy (p. 50, of the same section which contains the above extract) that, "So much of the Roman method is yet retained by all nations, that, in encamping their troops, the private men are constantly placed in the front; behind them the subalterns; then the captains; and, in the rear of these, the field officers."

* According to General Roy, the horse and foot of the allies were encamped back to back, without any intervening street. Mr. King, on the contrary, supposes that a regular street, 50 feet in breadth, was formed between these bodies of troops on either wing. Thus, the former writer, makes *five* streets only to have passed through the camp, from front to rear; while,
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one fifth part of them (together with the above-named portion of the horse) was encamped near the Prætorium, they had no more than the breadth of two hundred feet allowed them in this place. And it is evident, that such a space was just equal to that allowed to the Hastati, and Principes, of the Roman legions. At the head of their respective troops and maniples, were placed the tents of the centurions, which tents faced the streets.

Having thus disposed of the area to the front of the Prætorium, it remains to notice the distribution of ground on the right, left, and rear of that part of the camp.

It is plainly evinced by the description of Polybius, that immediately behind the Prætorium ran a street 100 feet broad, which proceeded entirely across the camp, and was parallel with the tents of the Tribunes. Between this street and the Tribunes' tents, it is evident that there was a space of the same breadth with the Prætorium, on each side; and it appears that those spaces were occupied in the following manner. On one side was formed an area, termed the *Market-place* by some writers; but, perhaps, with more propriety, styled the *Forum* by others; for we are certainly to consider this area as the place in which public business was transacted and justice administered, rather than as a mart for the disposal of edible articles. On the opposite side of the Prætorium, was a quarter assigned to the *Quæstor*; and near him, were the repositories of arms, clothing, and provisions.

L 3

Beyond

in the opinion of the latter, the number of ways which passed in that direction was seven. This difference will be perceived, on referring to the engraved plans of Polybian Roman camps, in their respective works. Except as to the exercise of speculative ingenuity, both writers depend on the testimony of Polybius, whose words on this subject have been variously translated. According to Mr. King, "the plain translation is simply—all the five ways being finished—which only implies all the five ways belonging to the legion itself;—and this even leads us to conclude that there were, also, other ways, or streets, belonging to the allied troops;—or, at least, leaves us at liberty to do so."—The reader will, perhaps, be of opinion, that the liberty of conjectural conclusion is the utmost result to which these words are subject, if strained beyond the simplicity of their actual import.

Beyond these places of public use were quartered the *Ablecti*, or select horse of the allies, forming the consul's guard; together with the *Evocati*, and volunteer horse. Still further distant, were placed the *Evocati*, and volunteer foot; and, at the extremity of the whole body, and with their front towards the intrenchment, were stationed the select foot of the allies, likewise making the guard of the consul.

From the central part of the *Prætorium*, a street, 50 feet in width, was carried in a direct line to the neighbouring gate, which, according to the above plan, we must term the Decuman gate.

On both sides of this street were encamped the extraordinary horse of the allies; and behind them, or nearer to the intrenchment, were placed the extraordinary foot of the same division of the army. The stations of these forces were on the rear of the whole camp, and the spaces which remained, on their right and left, were appropriated to the lodging and accommodation of such strangers as the various business of policy, or war, might lead to visit the army.

Thus were the inmates of the Roman castrum disposed;* and between the tents and the intrenchments, on each side of the camp, was left a space of 200 Roman feet. It is stated by General Roy, "that this esplanade was of great use, not only for the easy going out, and coming in, of the legions, and their forming readily behind the rampart for its defence; but, likewise, for placing the cattle, and booty of all kinds, taken from the enemy, which was guarded there during the night. By this means, too, the troops in camp were farther removed from the enemy's darts."†

In regard to the particulars of individual allotment, it appears, from

* In some instances, the lines of street laid down by the Romans are still perceptible, in the thoroughfares of the English city or town. In no place is this more evident, than in Chester, which city produces numerous other curious vestiges of a Roman arrangement. See Beauties for Cheshire, p. 195, et seq.

† Roy's Military Antiquities, p. 45.

from that curious fragment of Hyginus which has much assisted in explaining many circumstances of the Roman art of castrametation, and which was first introduced to the general notice of British antiquaries by General Roy,* that for every tent a space of ten feet was allowed, with the addition of a foot, all round for the convenience of pitching it. To this was added a space, of equal length with the tent, and five feet in breadth, for the deposit of arms; and a space of the same length, and nine feet in breadth, for the bat-horses. One of these tents was usually allotted to eight men.

The following circumstances, although of no striking importance, may be noticed, as they assist in bestowing animation on our ideas of the Roman encampment. One manipule of the *Triarii*, succeeded by others in regular turn, constantly watched round the General's tent. Four soldiers, placed two before and two behind, attended as a guard of state, the tent of each Tribune; and the tents of the Præfects were attended by a similar guard, amongst the allies. The entrenchments of the camp were constantly watched by the *Velites*; and ten of the same light and agile soldiers held guard at every gate. To preserve on the alert the whole of those who watched the camp, four soldiers, chosen from the *Equites*, went the rounds, one at every watch; and this surveyor of the guard commenced his duty on the sounding of a trumpet at the tent of the first centurion of the *Triarii*, and took with him some companions in arms, to bear witness to the truth of the report which he made to the Tribunes on the following morning.

The above description of a Roman castrametation applies to the consular camp, for two legions, with their auxiliaries, amounting in the whole to about 19,200 men; and the account of its internal arrangement is according to the *Polybian* mode of encampment, or that which prevailed in early ages, conspicuous for vigorous simplicity of tactics, and strictness of discipline.

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A method

* Military Antiquities, No. II. p. 176.

A method of encamping, which differs from the above in many particulars, afterwards grew into practice, and has been handed down to posterity by *Hyginus*, who lived under the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian. A variation, as to external form, observable in this latter system, is chiefly referable to such lines of intrenchments as were made for the use of the temporary camp; but many dissimilarities of internal organization apply to the regular station as well as to the hasty earth-work. It is observed by General Roy,* "that, in the time of Marius, the military affairs of the Romans, no doubt, suffered a very considerable change. How far this immediately affected their ancient system of castrametation it is impossible to determine; perhaps, at first, the difference in this respect was not very great, and though the distinction by maniples of hastati, principes, and triarii, might have wholly ceased, yet the entire cohorts might, for a long time after, have preserved their position in the camp."

Between that period, however, and the ages of mature imperial power in which Hyginus lived, it is certain that further, and more important alterations had taken place. To pass over various minutiae respecting the disposal of the troops, it may be sufficient to notice the following circumstances, which affect the size and the proportions of the Roman castrametation.

Hyginus describes a complete imperial army, as consisting of three legions with their auxiliaries; and, consequently, the camp for its reception was divided into three parts. These were not exactly of an equal length, but each extended to the whole width of the area. The Hyginian camp, (or that which prevailed in the time of Hyginus, and is described by him) differs from the Polybian, in general features of outline; it usually being, instead of nearly, or quite square, one-third more in length than in width. The length of an imperial camp for three legions is stated by Hyginus to be 2400 feet; and the width 1600 feet. When the camp was longer than this proportion, it was termed *Classica*, "because, then

* Military Antiq. p. 177.

then, the ordinary signal given by the *buccinum*, or bugle-horn, at the front of the *prætorium*, could with difficulty be heard at the decuman gate; and, therefore, a general charge, or sounding of all the martial music together, seems to have become necessary." The Hyginian camp is rounded at the angles, or corners.

In regard to the fortifications, the ditch was five feet broad at top, and three feet deep. The rampart is described as being eight feet broad, and six feet high; so that the soldiers (as is observed by General Roy) who were drawn up along the work for its defence, appear to have stood only one and a half, or two feet at most, above the common surface of the ground; having a small parapet, or breast-work, before them. The gates were usually four in number, as was the practice with the Polybian camps; but when the imperial army, on a great occasion of the state, consisted of five or six legions, two additional gates were formed at the ends of the *quintan* street. In this description of camp, the principal street was 60 feet broad, as was, also, the *prætorian* street. The *quintan* street was 30 feet in width; and a thoroughfare of similar dimensions, termed the *sagular* street, ran completely round the camp. But the width of the two latter streets was increased to 40 feet, in the instance of the army exceeding the number of three legions. The interval between the tents and the intrenchment on the exterior of the camp, was 60 feet broad in every direction; and it may be here observed that, in this mode of encamping, the legionary troops were generally placed nearest to the rampart.

The Hyginian camp differs, in a marked manner, from the Polybian, in respect to the situation of the *Prætorium*; which, in this form of encampment, was very long and narrow, and was placed nearly the centre of the general area, with the Forum and the *Quæstorium* immediately below it, and the *Sacellum* and *Augurale* in its front. The *Prætorium* was not less than 720 feet in length, and was sometimes as much as 220 feet in width.

Such appear to be the leading particulars of dissimilarity between the Polybian and the Hyginian, or the consular and imperial

perial modes of encamping; and the above brief account of a large exemplar of each class will apply, in general characteristics, to the less capacious imitations which were formed, in various degrees of size, for smaller bodies of troops, as expediency might demand. The superior simplicity which prevails in the design of the more early camp, will be obvious on the slightest view; and it must be remembered that military discipline so greatly declined among the Romans, for some time previous to the fall of the empire, that *Vegetius*, writing in the fourth century, does not scruple to assert, that not only was the custom of fortifying a camp laid aside, but the very method of doing it entirely lost.*

From the notice already taken of the Roman castrum, may be deduced a general notion of its internal organization, in regard to the distribution of troops, and the system of discipline by which the camp was regulated. Respecting such as were adopted for STATIONS, some few remarks have been submitted in a previous page, and it is now desirable to make some additions to what has been there said.

Immediately on subduing a fresh tribe, or petty British nation, these judicious conquerors fortified such primary posts as were well suited to the purpose of their future operations; and established secondary posts, to secure a line of communication. It has been already remarked that the sites of British towns were frequently adopted for the use of the Roman station; and, in other instances, the castrum for the abode of the conquering troops, was often placed in the close neighbourhood of such ancient towns. Where the British site was adopted, the irregularity of outline remained, although strengthened by the Roman art of fortification; and it is still in many places discernible, and imparts a decided character to this species of Roman town. But, when these celebrated planters of military population acted free from the restraint of a previous outline, they bestowed on the
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* Introduction to the Itinerary of Antoninus, by the Rev. T. Reynolds, p. 10.

new town their favourite shape of castrametation, and uniformly made it square, or oblong.*

In ascertaining the precise locality of such Roman stations and towns as were distributed throughout Britain, we have for our principal guides the Itineraries of Antoninus and Richard.† From the Itineraries alone we are, indeed, enabled to trace with any resemblance of accuracy, the sites of many Roman settlements in this island; and it may not only prove interesting, but appears to be indispensably necessary, to present some observations concerning the methods usually adopted in fixing the sites of the towns specified in those curious works.

The writers who first cultivated, in this country, a taste for the study of antiquities, relied on a mode of ascertaining the sites of Roman towns, which is proved, by more mature consideration, to be unsatisfactory, if not supported by circumstances of a less disputable character. With them, the resemblance of a name was deemed of primary and arbitrary importance; and an explanation of names to suit the evident, or conjectural, circumstances of locality, was, likewise, esteemed a criterion of predominating influence, where an actual resemblance of letters and sound could not be discovered. The errors arising from this system have been clearly proved; and the mistakes of Camden, who, under the guidance of such a persuasion, places Camulodunum at Maldon, and Ad-Pontem at Paunton, may be noticed, as instances of its precariousness, if not of its entire fallacy.

In regard to the modern name by which a place of known antiquity is distinguished, it may, however, be received as a standard of frequent, and almost of general, operation, that where the word *Chester*, *Caster*, or *Cester*, occurs, either as the whole, or
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* Specimens of regular Roman towns may be seen in *Colchester*, *Winchester*, *Caerleon*, *Caerwent*, &c.

† To the information conveyed by the Itineraries must be added that of the *Notitia Imperii*, and the *Chorography of the Anonymous Ravennas*; both which works are noticed in our List of Books connected generally with England and Wales.

as the part of an appellation, it declares that town to have been fortified and inhabited by the Romans. It is certain, that the Saxons, likewise, often preserved the first syllable, or more, of the Roman name, with a termination of their own.* Even the partial coincidence of name will, therefore, be admitted as fair and desirable collateral evidence; but, for primary groundwork of information, the judicious enquirer will look to other sources.

That the Roman towns in Britain were numerous, and of considerable celebrity, is sufficiently evinced by the Itineraries; and there is reason for supposing that they were, in fact, much more numerous than is generally believed. But it will appear far from surprising that, comparatively, few local vestiges, even of the names by which the majority of such towns were distinguished, should have been preserved until the revival of learning, when we remember the savage ferocity with which the Roman cities were razed, and annihilated, by the nations which succeeded to that ascendancy over the Britons, which was so long possessed by the imperial government.†

So comprehensive was the policy, and so persevering the industry, of the Romans, that these towns, however numerous they may be supposed, were all united and rendered easy of access by
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* See observations to this effect in Nichols's *Leicestershire*, Vol. I. p. 148; and in Reynolds's *Introduction to the Itinerary*, &c. p. 58.—In the latter work are given numerous instances of such a practice among the Saxons.

† In a note, by the Bishop of Cloyne, on the introduction to Reynolds's edition of the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, occur the following remarks, concerning the spirit which generally pervaded the tribes who triumphed over the arms of Rome:—"The barbarian conquerors of the Roman provinces destroyed the cities, defaced the works of art, and even seem in some instances to have cut up the roads. When the strong and flourishing city of Aquileia was taken, it was immediately levelled with the ground, and the triumphant barbarian boasted that, in three days after its capture, he had galloped his horse, without stumbling, over the spot where the town had stood. The wonder is, then, that we find such evident traces of many of the Roman towns in Britain at this day, not that some have intirely disappeared. Several of these towns shew marks of fire in their ruins."—*Iter, Britanniarum*, &c. p. 32.

lines of solid road. The existence of a Roman town, therefore, implies that of a contiguous Roman thoroughfare. Frequently, the town is situated on the direct line of the road; whilst, in other instances, the road deviates from the straight course so invariably pursued by the Romans, without the occurrence of such an inducement, or the intervention of great natural obstacles; or throws off a branch for the purpose of a communication with the town. But the want of discernible vestiges of a Roman road, near the site of a town supposed to have been occupied by that people, is no positive argument against the identity of such a site; on account of the alterations in thoroughfares effected by many successive ages, and in consideration of our defective knowledge of the number and direction of the numerous roads constructed by the Romans. This exception, however, does not relate to the usual situation of the chief military posts. It will be found that the regular stations are, in general, placed on the great roads, at nearly equal distances; which, in the majority of stages, do not exceed twenty miles, the length of a single march.

It does not appear necessary to state, in this Introduction, the whole of the different criteria, for ascertaining, according to rules best approved by experience, the locality of such towns, or stations, as are noticed in the Itineraries of Antoninus and Richard. Those rules may be seen very judiciously enumerated, and explained, in the commentaries on the respective Itineraries, published by the Rev. Thomas Reynolds and by Mr. Hatcher; but it may be here observed, in attention to a remark contained in the latter work, that, "after the Romans had established their power, and completed their system of internal communication, they, undoubtedly, lessened the number of their garrisons, to avoid either too great a division of their force, or to reduce that part of it which was necessarily stationary." Hence, we may sometimes consider the direction of the road, and the general distance, "as sufficient data for determining a station, or stations, either when they were situated between two considerable fortified points, or when covered by others on every side; because it is probable
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such posts were merely temporary, and were dilapidated, or demolished, even before the decline of the Roman power."²

The distance must, indeed, be received as the chief standard of consideration, in researches concerning the site of the Itinerary towns, as it is almost the only clue to discovery afforded by those works. But the most interesting, and, perhaps, the only indubitable proof of an ancient Roman town or station (*if not of the temporary and deserted kind noticed above*) certainly consists in the discovery of antiquities, of a Roman original. In numerous instances are seen remains of the wall which surrounded the town, or of the baths and other buildings used by the inhabitants; and fragments of brick and tile are often strewed, in surprising abundance, over the ploughed field where once stood the Roman city! This is particularly the case at *Silchester*, in Hampshire; it may be here remarked that the high preservation and great extent of the walls, together with the luxuriant existence of various scattered denotations of former dwellings, combine to render *Silchester* one of the most impressive instances of a depopulated and forsaken Roman station, that is, perhaps, to be found amidst the ruins of this once-mighty empire.—Such vestiges as are there seen (including coins, which are found in great numbers on almost every spot occupied for a length of time by the Romans; and inhumed urns, the repositories of the ashes of the colonists,) are often necessary to the entire conviction of the judicious enquirer, while the contemplation of them forms the most pleasing reward of his labours.

The usual character of such Roman antiquities as are most frequently discovered, will meet with brief notice in a subsequent page; but it must be observed, in this place, that, whilst we consider the occurrence of such antiquities to be nearly the sole undoubted proof of the former existence of a Roman town, it is to be remembered that the mere discovery of a bath, a pavement, or other vestiges of domestic life, does not absolutely argue

² Commentary on the Itin. of Richard, &c. Edit. 1809, p. 106.

argue that a town formerly stood on such a spot; as the Roman officers were accustomed to indulge that taste for rural scenery, so conspicuous among the most polished of their countrymen, by the construction of villas, in recluse, but picturesque, situations.

The subject of such circumstances as usually denote the site of a town, formed or adopted by the Romans, may be closed with the following observations from the pen of Mr. Reynolds: "Remains of Roman military works are very common;—their stations, or winter-quarters, adjoining to several principal towns; and their summer-camps, upon hills, or elevated situations, near them. In some places, the former remain to this day, very visible from their old intrenchments; but, in others, their ancient forms are obliterated by the British, and Saxon, or Norman, castles which generally occupy a part of the site of them. An ancient castle, or the ruins of one, seems very good probable proof that a Roman station may have first occupied the same ground; at least, in such towns as are known to have existed in those times."^{*}

Having thus endeavoured to convey a distinct idea of the character of the great stationary town, when arranged for lasting occupation, and secured by walls and massy turrets, it remains to notice such EARTH-WORKS as were indubitably constructed by the Romans, for military purposes. These are of frequent occurrence in most parts of the island, and are readily distinguished by their shape (the square, or oblong, constantly used by Romans, unless circumstances of natural strength, or convenience, induced a partial deviation) and by the other peculiarities of fortification, noticed in previous pages as being usual with the Romans.

It will, indeed, create little surprise to find so frequently these vestiges of Roman earthen-ramparts, when we remember that it was the invariable practice of their armies to enclose themselves within

^{*} *Iter Britanniarum*, p. 56.

within an intrenchment, consisting of a rampart and ditch, wherever they halted, when in an enemy's country, if only for a single night. It is unquestionable, likewise, that some of their military *stations* were fortified simply by earth-works and palisades.

In regard to strength of intrenchment, the camps of the Romans exhibit a considerable variety; the cause of which may be readily supposed to arise from the degree of danger apprehended. It is observed by General Roy, that the castra in which the Romans made no great stay, have, in general, "only a weak intrenchment, the ditch being about eight feet broad, and six feet deep; with a parapet behind it, four or five feet in height. The camps of a more lasting nature, in which they continued for a considerable space of time together, and perhaps even used again and again, have a broader and deeper ditch, and a rampart proportionably stronger."

But the castrametations of the Romans are, in some instances, of a character not comprehended in either of the above descriptions. The most prominent and curious variations consist of camps in which the want of natural strength, on certain exposed sides, is remedied by the formation of multiplied fosses of a great depth, with ramparts of a correspondent height between them;† and of such small earth-works as are found on elevated, or open, situations, near other Roman military works, and are confidently supposed to have acted as posts of observation, being thence termed *exploratory camps*.

Mr. Whitaker observes, on the authority of Vegetius,‡ that the Romans appear to have frequently constructed small fortresses in the vicinity of their stations, for the protection of their cattle

* Military Antiq. p. 42.

† These deviations from common practice chiefly occur in camps formed by Agricola, in the north. Vide the plates, and erudite letter-press accompaniment, in General Roy's work on the Military Antiquities of the Romans.

‡ Hist. of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 231, et seq. apud Vegetius, lib. iii. c. 8, &c.

cattle in the pastures, and the security and accommodation of their convoys on the roads. This remark, founded as it is on the testimony of Vegetius, may enable the investigator to account for the remains of small works, near those of a large Roman camp, when so situated as to render it improbable that they originally formed part of a castrametation used for exploratory purposes.

The most stupendous military vestige of the Romans in this island, falls under no head of classification, and is equally peculiar, surprising, and magnificent.—It will be readily apprehended that I allude to the rampart usually denominated the *wall of Severus*;* that strong and lofty barrier, which the Romans constructed from sea to sea, as a protection for the allied inhabitants of the south against the ferocious, unconquered, tribes of the north. This great line of defence extends from the mouth of the river Tyne, on the east, to Solway firth, on the west; and, in its progress over the long tract of intervening country, formerly exhibited curious instances of the Roman art of fortification, in regular stations, guarded by walls and ditches; and in castella and turrets, placed along the wall at given distances. It is now rapidly approaching to a state of utter demolition. Its turrets and castella are no more; but the site of these, and of the stations, is often discernible, from an inequality in the surface, or an occasional trace of foundation. A Roman road accompanied this great work.

ROMAN ROADS.—Conspicuous in every branch of political œconomy, the Romans evinced peculiar grandeur of design, and unrivalled skill and industry, in the construction of their roads. Aware that the progress of civilization, through its several degrees, even to the last refinements of politeness, depended greatly

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* For a description of the wall of Severus, and some particulars respecting its history, the reader is referred to the *Beauties* for the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.

on a facility of interchange, they, in an early age, and with an obvious policy, rendered communication easy in the neighbourhood of the seat of empire. In succeeding periods it became a point of family competition to impart grandeur to these great channels of traffic; and the name of a benefactor was united with the beauty and durable character of the thoroughfare which was constructed by his liberality. Such were the well known Appian and Flaminian ways.

This great people were actuated by the same spirit of policy, in the organization of their foreign conquests.—Often disregarded even by their own historians, the precise steps and extent of their victories would, perhaps, be little known to modern ages, if they had not marked the advancement of their sway by roads, evidently formed with so much patient labour as to evince a security of inhabitation. In no province of that powerful empire which once engrossed the whole of the European world, are the vestiges of these great works more frequent than in Britain. They are discovered in every district of the island that was visited by the imperial arms; and, whilst they point to the extent and locality of the Roman population in Britain, they afford documents equally interesting to the antiquary and the historian.

It has been found impossible to ascertain the exact periods at which these roads were constructed. Dr. Stukeley conjectures that the *Ermyn* (or, as he terms it, the *Hermen*) street was that first formed; and he attributes the work to the reign of Nero;* while Horsley contends that most of the military ways in Britain were probably laid down by Agricola;† and in such an opinion the latter ingenious author has been followed by many antiquarian writers. But it would certainly appear to be likely that the first road adapted to military passage, by the Romans in Britain, was that which led from Richborough, on the track of the British Watling Street, to London; as that road presents the
line

* *Itin. Cur.* p. 6.

† *Brit. Rom.* p. 387.

line of their earliest victories in this island. Accessions of road were probably made by different commanders, on the attainment of new conquests; and, thus, each successful legate is entitled to a portion of the merit, arising from the completion of works so great and regular.

The disputable priority of the Roman station or its attached road, has also constituted a subject of antiquarian discussion, and is thus noticed by Mr. Whitaker: "In a country like this, where forests must have risen, and morasses have spread, betwixt station and station, roads must have been nearly as necessary as stations, and were certainly, therefore, nearly cotemporary with them. As the Romans prosecuted their conquests within the island, they must, also, have multiplied their stations, and extended their roads. The stations were certainly prior, and the roads were the channels of communication between them. Many of the stations must have necessarily commenced during the very conquest of the country; and all of them at the conclusion of it. And the roads could not have been constructed till the first, or second, summer after both."*

It has been already observed, in my notice of the vestiges of the early Britons, that several British roads were adopted by the Romans, and improved by that people, according to the modes of their greater experience and superior skill. The principal of these have been enumerated in that section of the work; but, when we remember the great number of British towns which were retained by the Romans, and fortified by them as stations or settlements, we may readily believe that many roads, now supposed to be purely Roman, were really formed in the line of previous British trackways. If it were possible for this conjecture to be satisfactorily authenticated, the result would be curious and highly interesting; as it would tend towards the enlargement of our notions, respecting the civil arrangements of the first known inhabitants of this island.

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* Hist. of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 118.

The most distinguished and estimable feature in the arrangement of roads made by the Romans, is their continuance in a direct course, or in as straight a line, from place to place, as natural circumstances will permit. The Romans worked with the hand of conquest, and private objections were of little avail when preferred by the tributary. The unenclosed state of Britain, at least in districts remote from the southern coast, likewise favoured the attainment of such a directness of course, without any important injury to the possessions of a tribe, or of individuals.—But the claims, or feelings, of discomfited nations were of little consideration with the invaders, while laying out the track of such great military thoroughfares, as were intended to assist in completing the task of subjugation. All but such natural obstacles as were quite superior to the efforts of human skill and labour, yielded to their perseverance: and we find (to use the words of a writer whose remark is founded on actual investigation) “that all Roman roads run invariably in a straight line, except where they meet with some *local* impediment, such as a steep mountain or a deep ravine; or where they bend out of their general direction, to approach or leave a station, or to throw off some vicinal road.”*

It will be readily apprehended that extraordinary labour was bestowed on the construction of roads, which have proved so durable.—The Roman military road in Britain, consisted of an artificial fabric, composed of chalk, pebble-stones, or gravel, raised to a considerable height above the level of the natural soil. These materials were often brought from a distant tract of country; and instances are yet to be seen of the road rising to the height of ten feet, in a crest of emphatical but deserted grandeur. The occurrence of so great an elevation was most frequent on heaths, covered with low, stubbed, (or pollard) oaks; and it is conjectured by an ingenious writer on the subject of Roman antiquities,

* Rev. Mr. Lemon, on the Roman roads, &c. Introduction to Nichols's Hist. of Leicestershire, p. 149.

quities, that such was the aspect of a great part of Britain, in the early periods of the Roman ascendancy; and that the forest trees in the vicinity of a great military thoroughfare, were thus decapitated to facilitate the security of an army on its march, by revealing the recesses of the surrounding country, and precluding the danger of surprise.*

The most considerable of the Roman ways were paved with stones; but it would not appear to be likely, as is conjectured by Mr. Whitaker, that none, except such as were so paved, were intended for the transit of carts and waggons. Where the surface did not consist of large paving stones, it was composed of gravel; and the durability of the road was greatly assisted by excellent drains, disposed with much care and judgment.†

From the preceding observations, the reader will scarcely fail to imbibe a favourable idea, as to the skill and perseverance exercised by the Romans, in the construction of their principal mediums of communication. But it is desirable to notice some objections which have been made to this persuasion, especially as they proceed from so respectable a pen as that of the historian of Manchester.

After asserting that the chief excellence of the Roman roads consists in the directness of their course, Mr. Whitaker observes that these roads "appear not to have been constructed upon the most sensible principles, in general." In support of this opinion, he notices certain points of two roads in Lancashire, in one of which the road is "a mere coat of sand and gravel, the sand very copious, and the gravel weak, and not compacted together

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with

* No motive, but that of obtaining a view of the adjacent tract of country, and thereby preventing the danger of a sudden attack from ambushed natives, has been ascribed as the probable cause of the Romans' raising their roads to so great a height, even on a firm soil not subject to floods. Vide remarks on Roman roads, prefixed to the Hist. of Hertfordshire.

† For more copious information concerning the construction of Roman roads, the reader is referred to Bergier's *Histoire Des Grands Chemins De L'Empire Romain*, &c.

with any incorporated cement." In the other instance, the road "is only a heap of loose earth and rock, laid together in a beautiful convexity, and ready to yield and open on any sharp compression from the surface. Such," continues Mr. Whitaker, "could never have been designed for the passage of the cart and waggon, as they must soon have been furrowed to the bottom by the wheels, or crushed into the ground by the load, and rendered absolutely impassable by either. But for these rough services they were not intended.—Both of them, though the one was constructed for the great western way into the north, and the other was the line of communication between Chester and York, were plainly intended merely for the walker, the rider, and the beast of burden.

"The only roads that seem to have been designed for the waggon and the cart, are such as were regularly paved with boulders. But as this alleviates not the censure upon the narrowness of the roads, so the paving of them is obviously an awkward expedient at the best. And this appears sufficiently from those boasted remains of the Romans, the Appian and Flaminian ways, in Italy, which are so intolerably rough and hard that the travellers, as often as they can, turn off from them, and journey along the tracks at their borders."*

The circumstance of many of the Roman roads in Britain having continued to the present time, and some in excellent preservation, Mr. Whitaker supposes to have arisen chiefly "from the early desertion of such particular roads by the Britons and Saxons; new ways being laid, for new reasons, to the same towns; or the towns being destroyed, and the ways unfrequented." He concludes his objections in the following words: "But had they been always laid in right lines, always constructed with a sufficient breadth, and never paved with stone; had the materials been bound together by some incorporated cement; and had they been all calculated to receive carts and bear waggons, they must

* Hist. of Manchester, p. 228.

must still be acknowledged to have one essential defect in them. They almost constantly crossed the rivers of the island, not at bridges, but at shallows, or fords, some of which nature had planted, and others art supplied. And, in this state of the roads, the travelling upon them must have been infinitely precarious, regulated by the rains and controuled by the floods."*

These opinions are entitled to respectful consideration, as they proceed from a writer who is often eminently judicious in his remarks. But it would appear that Mr. Whitaker, when treating generally of Roman roads, hazarded theoretical speculations founded on local and circumscribed inspection.—Deriving my information from a learned correspondent, who has personally investigated the principal Roman roads throughout Britain, and who has greatly assisted in elucidating this branch of antiquarian research,† I venture to assert, with boldness, that it was scarcely possible for more skill and judgment to have been displayed in such works, than were evinced by the Roman engineers, in drawing the line to avoid all local inconvenience, or in completing the road when the outline was thus carefully formed. Mr. Whitaker's objection, as to the want of compactness in construction, may, perhaps, have arisen from the notice of some particular point, in which the road was not completed according to the original intention; or, as is more probable, from the view of a tract where the surface had been removed by innovation. That the principal roads were, originally, of great width, is unquestionable, although, in many instances, they have been made narrow by the depredations of those who have removed the soil from both sides; as may be clearly perceived in the Foss-way near

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Bath.

* Hist. of Manchester, p. 439. Dr. Stukeley (Itin. Cur. p. 72.) views this presumed defect in so different a light, that he praises the Romans "for making few bridges, as liable to decay, and for laying fords with great skill and labour, many of which remain firm to this day."

† The Rev. Thomas Leman, whose literary favours I have already frequently acknowledged.

Bath.—It may be observed, that the Appian and Flaminian ways were rough, only when out of repair, and neglected.

But in no part of his objections has Mr. Whitaker fallen into a greater error, than when he asserts that the Roman ways crossed rivers at *Fords* only, and not by *Bridges*. It is observed by the accurate examiner to whom I am indebted for the points of this reply to the remarks of Mr. Whitaker, that his investigations have produced only one instance in which there is an appearance of having been originally a ford, and not a bridge; and, even in this instance, a doubt remains as to whether that which appeared to be an artificial ford, might not have been the foundation of a bridge.—The bridges having been destroyed by the barbarians, who succeeded to the Romans, we may readily suppose that the people who still continued the course of such mutilated roads, turned to the next ford; and, hence, the compulsory deviation may have been mistaken for the original track. Instances of such an unavoidable dereliction of ancient pathway, may be seen on the road from Sarum to Dorchester, and on the road from Cambridge towards the banks of the Nen.

It must be noticed, as a curious and strongly marked feature, that the Romans invariably constructed tumuli, or barrows, on the sides of their great roads in Britain. These “are found on every eminence in the line of road, unless they have been since destroyed; and, generally, the two successive ones in sight of each other (as the direction, probably, by which the engineer originally laid out the road) as well as at all those places where any vicinal road branched off from the great street, or paved way, to some dependant camp or inferior station.”*

It will be seen, from the notices presented in different volumes of the Beauties of England and Wales, that the present state of the Roman roads varies much in different counties. Extensive vestiges of the bold round causeway, which was constructed along the principal lines of these ways, are still perceptible in
many

* Observations on the Roman roads in Leicestershire, &c.

many parts of the island; while, in others, all traces are obliterated by the operation of the plough; or all marks of Roman workmanship are lost, in the alternate traffic and repairs of successive ages.—In tracts, however, where the ridge has been removed, but the road deserted as a channel of traffic, the former line of transit is frequently discovered, by the failure of the corn or grass; and, on penetrating the soil, to the depth of a foot or more, the ancient paving is often found, in a massy bed beneath the reach of the husbandman's ploughshare.

Whilst enumerating the most prominent marks by which the remains of Roman roads are generally to be distinguished, it may be desirable to present the following observation of the writer to whose discrimination I am so greatly indebted in several preceding pages.—In regard to the investigator of Roman ways, who is intent on tracing the line, or continuation, of a particular road, "great caution must be used, lest the person should be misled by roads having *the same name* with the one he is exploring; as generally all roads, or lanes, *leading to such general road*, are called by the name of the great road, or street, itself. Thus, at Leicester, the lane which leads to the Foss is called the Foss: thus, at Cirencester, the great road which comes from Winchester by Wanborough, in the part *near Cirencester* [through which the Foss itself passes] is called *The Foss Road*, though in a contrary direction from the general bearing of the Foss. And the *same* road near Winchester is called the *Ikenield Street*, though in a quite contrary bearing to that great British way, *because it led to it*. Many other instances may be given, because such mistakes exist about every station."*

It may also be noticed that the lines of the great public Roman roads are generally accompanied by towns, or villages; bearing names significative of their former situation on a well-known and important highway; as *Stretton, Stratford, Streatley*, &c. or appellations

* Rev. Thomas Leman on Roman roads, &c. Nichol's Leicestershire.

appellations compounded of the word *Street*, or *Strat*, and another name, as *Ufford Street*; or of the British word *Sarn*, as *Sharnford*, or *Sharncliffe*.

It is said by Camden, on the authority of Ulpian and Frontinus, that the Romans gave to the great roads the name of *Vie consulares*, *Prætorie*, *Militares*, *Publicæ*, *Cursus publici*, and *Actus*; or consular, prætorian, military, and public ways. A concise definition of their distinctive character is presented by a modern writer in the succeeding words: "They were, in fact, the public roads of those times, and distinguished from the common roads, by being formed, and covered with proper materials of different kinds for the convenience of travellers, as our present public roads are."

Besides the great public ways, formed and preserved under the care of the Roman government, minor, or *Vicinal*, roads, leading between respective military stations and towns, intersected this island in every direction. Many of these have been traced by antiquarian zeal, and the course of the most important is noticed in different volumes of the "*Beauties*," and is delineated in our map; but it is observed by the Bishop of Cloyne, in a note on the History of Leicestershire, that Roman Britain probably contained many more roads, as well as towns, than has been generally imagined. And such would, indeed, appear to be the fact.—When it is remembered that we depend for our notions of the Roman population of Britain, or at least for our estimate of the chief Roman stations and towns, on the itineraries of writers who do not profess to penetrate and display the whole of Roman Britain; we may believe, without scruple, that we ordinarily imbibe a deficient idea of the number of Roman towns, and places of inhabitation, in this island. The remains of multifarious Roman residences, in places remote from tracts noticed by the itineraries, indeed prove this fact, without any labour at correlative demonstration. And, since we know the value placed by this active and polished people on a facility of communication, we may justly conclude that their roads
equally

equally exceeded in number the common standard of calculation; and that many ways really originated with the Romans, which now bear few decisive marks of their customary mode of construction.

Four of the great public, or military, ways of the Romans, were distinguished above the others at a very early period. The laws of Edward the Confessor comprehend regulations concerning the four great highways named "*Watling-Stræte, Foss, Ikenild-Stræte, and Erming-Stræte*;" and it has been generally supposed by historians that the above legal enumeration acted safely as a guide to the antiquary, and that Britain was, in fact, intersected by four principal roads only, each of which formed one long single line across the island.

But it is evident, on a more minute investigation, that such an opinion was founded on too narrow a principle. Mr. Reynolds, in his introduction to the Itinerary of Antoninus, increases the number to six, and is willing "to describe them, not as consisting of single lines only, but as dividing themselves into several branches, each of which it is not only natural, but very convenient, to consider under the general name which has hitherto been confined to a single line."*—But, if the work of this pleasing commentator had resulted from ocular examination, rather than from ingenious theory, he would have found cause for believing that even the augmented number which he has adopted, is much too limited.

It is, indeed, proved by the labours of those judicious antiquaries who have, in late years, directed their attention to this interesting pursuit, and have profited by opportunity and leisure, in reducing the argument to the only satisfactory test [that of personal investigation] that it must be futile to name any definite number of principal roads; as positive traces of such, with remains of attendant stations, are discovered in various directions unknown to theoretical writers, and quite distinct from the
four

* *Iter Britanniarum*, &c. p. 63.

four great ways rendered celebrated by the laws of Edward the Confessor.* There is, likewise, fair reason for supposing that, from the late period at which this branch of antiquarian enquiry has been seriously and judiciously adopted, many such roads must have been obliterated by the increasing cultivation of the country.

It is not necessary to attempt, in this place, the arduous task of ascertaining the progress of these numerous causeways, through the particular districts of the island which they visited, in their straight and bold course. Their frequent appearance, in various parts of every county, is noticed in the respective volumes of the *Beauties of England and Wales*; and to those pages, aided by our map of Roman Britain, the reader is referred for more minute information concerning their present state and probable bearing.

But it is desirable to offer a few observations, in regard to those roads of Roman construction, which have fortuitously obtained a pre-eminent celebrity, and are rendered familiar, as to name, by the notice which they have received from the laws of Edward the Confessor, and by the attention of early historians.

It will be remembered that the Romans, in forming their roads throughout this island, usually adopted the trackways of the ancient British inhabitants, as to the leading objects of their destination, although they improved on their course, by straightening the winding lines of their precursors. It may, indeed, be received as unquestionable, that nearly all the principal British ways were adopted by the Romans, with the exceptions of the eastern part of the Icknield Street, and the Saltways.—Thus, three of the great “streets”† mentioned in the laws of the Confessor,

* The correctness of this assertion will not be denied, on an inspection of the map of Roman roads and stations in Britain, attached to this section of our work.

† The Roman roads are termed *Stratzæ*, or *Streets*, by Bede; and the term has been adopted by succeeding writers.

fessor, and thence treated with so much distinction by antiquarian writers, were, assuredly, raised in the line of previous British thoroughfares; and I have already noticed the probability of the fourth [the Foss] having also been first laid out by the original possessors of the country.—Many particulars, as to the course of these roads, and their connexion with the towns of ancient Britain, and with some principal stations of the country, when under the Roman sway, may, therefore, be obtained by a reference to the account of *British Trackways*, given in a previous section.

It cannot be recollected, without surprise, that the real length of the *Roman mile* has not been ascertained, by any of the numerous learned persons who have bestowed attention on that subject. So utter is the wreck of that empire, which once measured all Europe with its own foot and pace, and divided kingdoms by the arbitrary marks on its standard rule!

Arbuthnot, in his comparison of ancient and modern measures, has adopted the opinion of several previous writers of eminence, and considers the proportion between the old Roman mile and the English mile, as 967 to 1000. General Roy supposes that eleven English miles will make 106 feet more than twelve Roman. Burton, on the contrary, thought the Roman foot, or standard measure of length, larger than the English.—Drawing his estimate of the Roman mile from the distances noticed between different towns by Antoninus, as compared with the measures of the present time, Mr. Reynolds, in his Introduction to the Itinerary of Antoninus, conjectures that the ancient Roman mile, and the modern English, were, in fact, measures of the same length.

It will obviously occur to the reader, that the point in dispute might be decided in a simple and easy manner, by measuring the distance between two milliary columns on any known Roman road. But it is to be lamented that such a mode of decision has hitherto proved impracticable, in regard to this island. So far from the existence of two Roman mile stones having been
ascertained

ascertained, in their original situations, on the same road, only one has been found on a site accurately known to have been that which it first occupied. This is the milliary discovered near Leicester, and noticed in the *Beauties* for that county.*

The destruction of these curious road-marks of Roman measurement, has not been so general in France and Italy. Many milliary columns still exist in those countries; and it is observed, in the *Commentary* on the *Itinerary* of Richard, that *Denville* has adduced three instances in Languedoc, in which the distances between them, when accurately measured, afford an average of 754 toises and two feet. This result is confirmed by a comparison with the Roman foot, still preserved in the capitol; "but, unfortunately, such a mensuration does not lessen the difficulties of the English antiquary; for the distance between any two of our known stations, if measured by this standard, disagrees, in almost every instance, with the numbers of the *Itineraries*. Different conjectures have been advanced, to solve this difficulty. One, supported by the respectable opinion of Horsley, is, that the Romans measured only the horizontal distance, without regarding the inequalities of the surface; or that the space between station and station was ascertained from maps accurately constructed. This idea receives some support, from a fact acknowledged by every British antiquary, namely, that the *Itinerary* miles bear a regular proportion to the English miles on plains, but fall short of them in hilly grounds."†

After a notice of military antiquities, the chief vestiges of the Romans in Britain may be classed under the following heads: TRACES OF DOMESTIC STRUCTURES, INCLUDING TESSEL-LATED PAVEMENTS; COINS; ALTARS; AND OTHER INSCRIBED STONES, AND PIECES OF SCULPTURE; SEPULCHRES, AND FUNERAL VESSELS.

AN

* *Beauties* for Leicestershire, p. 333—335. See, also, an *Essay* on this Milliary, by the Rev. G. Ashby, in the introductory volume of Nichols's *Hist. of Leicestershire*.

† *Commentary* on the *Itinerary* of Richard, p. 108.

An extensive dissertation on each of these classes of Roman antiquities, is incompatible with the scheme of this Introduction; but I present some succinct remarks, calculated to convey general notions respecting the whole; and append a reference to some few pages of the "*Beauties*," containing a description of interesting specimens.

When we contemplate the great labour bestowed by the Romans on those public ways throughout Britain, which they either entirely constructed, or adopted and improved; and remember the massy character of the walls by which many of their settlements were surrounded; we are induced to suppose that vestiges of Roman grandeur, connected with religious ceremony, with the official solemnities of magisterial decision, or even such as relate merely to domestic architecture, must be frequently discovered in an island which they so long victoriously occupied. But enquiry disappoints this expectation. In fact, scarcely any relics of their great public edifices, commensurate with our ideas of Roman magnificence, now exist, or are satisfactorily noticed in antiquarian record; while the vestiges of their domestic architecture are chiefly confined to indistinct traces of the ground plan, and some few particulars of internal arrangement.

This paucity of tangible vestigia, or defect in circumstances of ocular demonstration, is considered, by many writers on the subject of the Roman occupation of this island, not to imply a probable deficiency in actual grandeur. But others have viewed it as a fair cause of scepticism; and Mr. King, in his *Munimenta Antiqua*, has ventured on a protest of unequivocal disbelief. This antiquary contends, that if the Romans had really constructed in Britain many splendid structures of stone and brick, "some other distinguished fragments must have remained, as well as those few that have, from time to time, actually been discovered, at Bath; or preserved at Dover; or at Leicester; or in the walls of the *Castra* at Richborough, Portchester, and Pevensey; or near the great wall of Severus."*

The

* King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. II. p. 162.

The same mode of reasoning is adopted by Mr. Essex, who remarks, "that it may be doubted whether all that has been said of those fine structures which in the Roman times adorned Britain be true; there being no remains of temples or porticos, nor of the bases, shafts, or capitals of the columnus which once adorned them."*

It is scarcely necessary to observe that Mr. King, although always a writer of considerable research, and often of great discrimination, was subject to the guidance of certain favourite notions, which were so firmly impressed on his mind, that he laboured, on sentiment, to humble or to exalt, according as the subject of discussion clashed, or coincided, with his prevalent feeling. The degradation of the *pagan* Romans was, probably, with such a writer, an achievement gratifying to conscience; and the relish which he had imbibed in his youth for classical elegance, in vain interposed a persuasive towards moderation.

It is, however, probable that the Roman structures in Britain were much inferior to such as may be expected by the enquirer, who forms his ideas of Roman magnificence on a consideration of the buildings which adorned the seat of empire. The Romans inhabited Britain as a foreign colony; and those who expatriated for its colonization were chiefly of the military profession. Assuredly, it was not to such a spot that the distinguished Roman artist would repair for the exercise of his skill. But the conquerors occupied the southern parts of the island for so long a term, and were so intent on evincing to the Britons a due notion of their superiority in the elegancies of life, that it would be with difficulty we supposed no structures, at once of imposing splendour and probable durability, were raised by them, in districts contentedly subject to their sway.

A reference to writers who flourished in the ages of Roman ascendancy, or in periods not far distant, is obviously desirable in the adjustment of a contrariety of opinions on this subject.

Such

* *Archæologia*, Vol. IV. p. 79.

Such opportunities of appeal are not frequent, but the information derived is of considerable weight.

Tacitus, when noticing the prodigies which were said to have preceded the destruction of Camulodunum, the first Roman colony in Britain, mentions the fall of the *statue of Victory*, in the *hall of public business*; and the dismal cries which were heard in the *theatre*. The *temple of Claudius*, in this devoted city, is noticed in a subsequent passage of the "*Annals*," as a building of great eminence; and it is well known to have been of sufficient dimensions and strength, to induce the garrison to take shelter there from the assault of Boadicia and her numerous army.

The same writer informs us, that Agricola anxious to communicate Roman customs to the Britons, instructed and assisted them "in the building of houses, temples, courts, and market-places. By praising the diligent, and reproaching the indolent, he excited so great an emulation among the Britons, that, after they had erected all those necessary edifices in their towns, they proceeded to build others merely for ornament and pleasure; as porticos, galleries, baths, banquetting-houses, &c."*

The testimony of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, although it bears reference to so low a date as the reign of Henry the Second, is entitled to attentive consideration. In a topographical notice of *Caerleon*, he observes that "this city was handsomely built of brick by the Romans; and many vestiges of its former splendour may yet be seen. Immense palaces, ornamented with gilded roofs, in imitation of Roman magnificence; a tower of prodigious size; remarkable hot-baths, relics of temples; and theatres enclosed within fine walls, parts of which remain standing. You will find on all sides, both within and without the circuit of the walls, subterraneous vaults and aqueducts; and, what I think worthy of notice, stoves, contrived with wonderful art, to transmit the heat insensibly through narrow tubes."†

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* Tacit. Vita Agric. c. 21.

† Translation of Giraldus by Sir R. Colt Hoare, Vol. I. p. 103—4.

Mr. King supposes the descriptive terms of Giraldus to be founded on a comparison between the buildings of the Romans and those of the "rude, unpolished, Britons;" and while he allows the superiority of the former, he still considers them not to have risen above a mediocrity of character. The *turrim giganteam*, or tower of prodigious size, mentioned by Giraldus, he believes to have been not properly of Roman construction, but some great *round keep*, more likely to have been the work of the Normans.*

On the other hand, Mr. Lysons considers the account handed down by Giraldus to be of considerable importance; and observes that "there is reason to believe very considerable remains of the Roman buildings in Britain existed as late as the reign of Henry the Second, when the greater part of them were destroyed for the purpose of erecting churches, castles, and other edifices, out of their materials; many of them had, doubtless, been before destroyed, for the same purpose, by the Normans."†

Although Mr. King may, possibly, be correct when he supposes the great tower at Caerleon to have been in reality, a Norman keep, we still find, in the memorable description of Giraldus, a notice of fragmentary buildings which, from their strongly-marked character, were unquestionably Roman. Here we trace the positive former existence of splendid vestiges, which have now entirely disappeared.‡

The wear of years, and the destructive assaults of sordid hands,
almost

* *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. II. p. 182.

† *Account of Roman Antiquities at Woodchester*, by Samuel Lysons, F.R.S. and A.S. p. 19.

‡ A curious instance of the known existence of important Roman buildings, and of the almost total absence of ornamented vestigia, occurs in a Discourse by Mr. Gale, inserted in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. XXX.—The object of this essay is the communication of intelligence respecting two inscriptions found at *Launcester*, in the bishopric of Durham; and it appears, from one of these, that Gordian the Third erected *balneum cum basilica*. But undistinguished "great heaps of rubbish and ruins," only, were found in the vicinity of this commemorative inscription.

almost insensible in operation (but, however slow, still more fatal in effect than the conquering battle-axe and firebrand) must, in themselves, have proved sufficient to annihilate the rich fragments of a host of Roman cities, in the course of thirteen centuries. From these causes we find the walls and the roads of the Romans decomposed through the greater part of their tracks, and the materials gone, far beyond the keen eye of antiquarian research. This effect has taken place, even in situations of little traffic; and the superior injuries likely to have been inflicted on more busy spots, will be readily admitted. Independent of a system of destruction so slow in progress, the ruin produced by the severity of the barbarous tribes which conquered the Roman provinces, was often overwhelming and complete.—The savage *Gottila*, after taking Rome, was prepared with engines for the annihilation even of the imperial city itself; and was prevented from carrying such a design into execution, only by the generous remonstrances of Belisarius.

For actual intelligence of the Romans having constructed numerous magnificent buildings in Britain, it is certain that we chiefly depend on the assertions of Tacitus. But the natural probability of the circumstance is so great, as almost to amount to rational conviction. In regard to the disappearance of nearly all fragments of such edifices, the following remark may, perhaps, be deemed of some weight.—The principal connexion of the Romans with this island, was, through many ages, of a military cast; and we have still several instances remaining of the great strength with which they constructed their fortifications. When we reflect on the large number of their military works, so strong and well-calculated to brave the assaults of time, which have yielded to petty depredation, and are no more; we may readily imagine that the vestiges of buildings for civil purposes, were not likely to survive the shock of so many centuries, but have lost their character under the hands of the mason, or have sunk to entire obliteration in the wear of more sordid uses.

Nor are we entirely destitute of proofs, that edifices of con-

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siderable splendour were really erected by the Romans in this island. At Bath [*Aquæ Sulis*] have been discovered, and are there preserved with due care, many fragments of decorated stone buildings, consisting of parts of columns, pediments, cornices, friezes, &c. The most considerable portions of these are supposed to have belonged to two temples, of much architectural elegance; one being of the Corinthian order.* Few disputants will contend for the probability of such structures being confined to one Roman station, however great its importance.

The discoveries made at Woodchester prove that the Romans used columns, and various sculptured ornaments, even in their provincial *domestic* architecture. The remains of building there developed, would appear to proclaim, decisively, the substantial and superb character of the Romo-British villa of a superior class. Accident has, likewise, disclosed the fragments of other villæ, though of a less important description; and we are justified in believing, with the judicious illustrator of the antiquities at Woodchester, that the plans of many more might yet be traced, although their superstructures are defaced in Britain, beyond the example of any other province of the Roman empire.†

TRACES OF DOMESTIC STRUCTURES, INCLUDING TESSELLATED PAVEMENTS.—It will be perceived, from the above remarks, that few vestiges of the domestic buildings of the Romans, evincing an attractive degree of splendour, are recorded to have been discovered on the site of their principal *cities* and *towns* in Britain. The remains hitherto known to have been disclosed, are, indeed, chiefly confined to mutilated hypocausts and tessellated pavements.

* See an account of these interesting vestiges, in a publication by Mr. S. Lysons, intituled "Remains of two Temples, and other Roman Antiquities, discovered at Bath;" also in Warner's "History of Bath," &c. In the former work, are restored elevations of those parts of the buildings to which the fragments relate.

† See many remarks on the subject of Roman domestic architecture, in Mr. Lysons's account of Roman Antiquities at Woodchester, &c.

ments. The encroachments of subsequent buildings, have precluded all hope of ascertaining the extent and character of even one *domus*, or town-dwelling, throughout the whole of the cities formerly occupied by the Romans; and the principal traces of their domestic structures are discovered in places at a considerable distance from their stations.

In sequestered situations—in the sheltered valley, or on the well-wooded brow of upland—are often found vestigia of domestic buildings, unquestionably formed and inhabited by that polished people. The Romans, from the time of Lucullus, down to the days of their descendants now living, have evinced a partiality for occasional abodes, of a retired and rural character. Such a taste appears to have been conspicuous in the Roman officers who commanded in Britain; and the remains of many of their villæ have been discovered, in the recent ages favourable to antiquarian record.

Several modern writers have used much labour to prove that the country seats of the Romans, in Britain, were of a character far from agreeing with our prevalent ideas, respecting the habitual magnificence of that people.* And it would appear probable that many of the rural dwellings, constructed only for the purpose of occasional retirement, in a remote province of the empire, might not be raised with laborious care, or formed of the most durable materials. Mr. King argues that these buildings were only light fabrics of wood, as the tessellated pavements so frequently found entire amongst their ruins, must, inevitably, have been destroyed by the fall and havoc of any weighty substance, when the superstructure was violently razed

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* Foremost amongst such writers is Mr. King, who petulantly observes "That in most instances, a Roman Quæstor, or Tribune, sitting in his *toga*, in his movable *sellæ*, in a room paved with dull, dark, and, at best, ill-looking mosaic work, did not, after all, appear with much more real splendour, as to any advantages from the refinements of civilized life, than an old Scotch Laird, in the Highlands, sitting in his *plaid*, on a *joint-stool*, or on a chair of not much better construction, in the corner of his rough, rude, castle-tower!" *Monimenta Antiqua*, Vol. II. p. 164.

The *Exedra* were large rooms, which are supposed to have been surrounded with seats, and used for conversational purposes.

The *Pinacotheca* were picture-rooms; and Vitruvius directs them to be made of an ample magnitude.

The halls, courts, and porticos, formed distinguished portions of the Roman villa. After passing the vestibule, the visitor entered the *Peristylum*, which was a large court, or area, surrounded by a colonnade. Beyond this division of the structure was the *Atrium*, or hall; which was surrounded by a paved portico. The *Tablinum* is thought to have been a place appropriated to the preservation of the family records.* The *Cavædia* appear to have been sometimes large halls, and sometimes open courts, in the interior parts of the house, communicating with several suites of rooms, and in many respects resembling the atria.† The *Porticus* is well known to have been an open parade, ornamented with pillars, and used for the exercise of walking. The *Crypto-porticus* was an enclosed gallery, in which the Romans walked, and took other exercise, during inclement seasons.

The houses of the Romans, from the time of Nero, were chiefly warmed by *Hypocausts*, or subterraneous flues, with funnels through the walls. It is observed by Mr. King, that "these hypocausts, with their flues, for the conveyance of heat, were of two kinds: sometimes they were constructed of small pillars, either square or round, a little more than two feet high, and placed sometimes about one foot asunder, and sometimes nearer, supporting the tiles or stones, on which was laid the cement for forming the tessellated floor of the apartment;—and sometimes they were constructed of flat stones, or of tiles, laid one upon another, each projecting a little further than that under it, and by that means forming something like an arch, so as to have the space of each flue between them much narrower at the top than at the

* Newton's Vitruvius, p. 136.

† Roman Antiquities at Woodchester, p. 17,

the bottom, leaving, indeed, not more than six inches at the top, on which either a tile, or flat stone, was laid across, as the first foundation, either for a stucco, or tessellated pavement.

“ When the pillars were of *brick*,* those that were square were composed of flat bricks [about eight or nine inches square] laid one upon another, with mortar between;—and those that were round were composed sometimes of flat round tiles, laid just in the same manner, and sometimes of semicircular tiles placed two in each row, with their flat edges put together, only so as to have the joining of the two tiles in one row, placed alternately at right angles with the joining of those immediately beneath them.†”

The Romans also warmed their houses by means of brasiers or chaffing-dishes, and *cassini*. The latter word has by some writers been supposed to signify a fire-place, with a chimney, like those of modern dwellings. But no such erection has been hitherto discovered among the remains of a Roman building. ‡

Tessellated pavements have been discovered in many parts of this island.§ The Romans greatly delighted in this species of ornamented floor, which succeeded, as we are informed by Pliny, to the old *painted pavements*, which had their origin in Greece. So desirable was this mosaic work considered in the arrangement
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* Brick was the material most frequently used; but in many instances the pillars are found to have been formed of hewn stone.

† *Monumenta Antiqua*, Vol. II. p. 183.—The same writer observes, that many inconsiderate antiquaries have been accustomed to attribute every hypocaust, when the discovery of such a relic took place, to a *Roman bath*; whereas many unquestionably appertained to dwelling apartments.

‡ Vide *Roman Antiquities at Woodchester*, p. 8, and the authorities there quoted.

§ Discoveries of tessellated pavement are noticed in numerous volumes of the *Beauties of England and Wales*. The undermentioned pages contain descriptions of curious specimens: Dorsetshire, p. 511—514; Essex, p. 325; Gloucestershire, p. 572, et seq; *ibid*, 598; Leicestershire, p. 332; Lincolnshire, p. 679; London and Middlesex, Vol. I. p. 95—97; Monmouthshire, p. 171—172; Northamptonshire, p. 216; Oxfordshire, p. 425—6; Wiltshire, p. 316—17; *ibid*, p. 698.

of such buildings as were inhabited by the elevated and wealthy, that considerable quantities of tesserae [the small dies of which the pavement is composed] formed a part of the baggage of a regular army, and were laid down in the principal apartments of the prætorium.

The tesserae which compose the majority of such mosaic pavements as are discovered in Britain, are, in general, nearly cubes, of about half an inch square. But they are by no means invariably of that size. Some, which, are of mere brick, and were used for the coarse work of ordinary apartments, are considerably larger; while others are of very small dimensions, and were employed in filling up the minute parts of such pavements as were worked with laborious care and delicacy. They are of various colours; and, in many instances, appear to have been formed of stones dug from the neighbourhood of the building in which they were placed, with the addition only of small dies of brick, to produce a strong shade of red, and of a hard calcareous stone, of a bright white hue, bearing some resemblance to Palombine marble.

The tesserae, or dies, were embedded in cement, and placed on prepared strata of different kinds, [as rubble-stones; or blended sand, clay, and loose pieces of brick;] with brick-work for the foundation of the whole.

The mosaic-work was disposed in a great variety of patterns, which sometimes consisted merely of ornamental involutions, as the vitruvian scroll, the labyrinth-fret, and the guilloche; but were more frequently descriptive of heathen deities, or other allegorical figures allusive to war, love, and the pleasures of the chase. The execution of the figures is usually very coarse; and an elegance of taste is chiefly displayed in such mosaic pavements as consist of fanciful ornaments, unconnected with attempts to represent the human, or any other natural, figure.

Inscriptions have been frequently found on tessellated pavements in several other parts of Europe, but have been only rarely discovered in Britain. The first discovery of this nature was made by Mr.

Lysens,

Lysons, at *Woodchester*; and the same gentleman has been so fortunate as to reveal, for the gratification of the antiquary, a second inscription in mosaic-work, at *Frampton*, in *Dorsetshire*. It will be observed by the readers of the *Beauties of England*, that neither of these inscriptions contains any reference to the dates at which the respective villæ were erected, or to the persons by whom they were occupied.

ROMAN COINS.—The coins of the Romans rank among the most interesting vestiges of the ascendancy of that great nation, in Britain. These relics, indeed, constitute a distinguished memorial of the former sway and busy population of the Romans, in all places which were included within the bounds of their mighty empire; and are found in great abundance, by the operation of the plough, or spade, either scattered loosely through the soil, or repositied for security in urns and other receptacles. They are, also, frequently dug from a concealment amidst the foundations of buildings.

The exuberance with which they are discovered in Britain, is manifested by very numerous pages of the "*Beauties*;" but it is evident that the topographer, whilst confining his enquiries to England and Wales, is chiefly concerned with such as bear an immediate relation to our native island; and these will be found to be only few in number. It may, however, be desirable to remind the reader of some circumstances generally connected with the coinage of Rome; as the collecting of medals forms one of the most elegant branches of antiquarian employment.

In regard to the material of which they are fabricated, Roman coins are chiefly of three sorts; brass, or copper; silver; and gold.* The first material was that of earliest use, and long remained

* Many coins are found of lead, iron, or copper, finely plated with gold or silver, and are evidently the performance of Roman forgers. That coins legitimately composed of lead were very anciently in circulation at Rome, is, however, unquestionable; but only few are discovered with imperial impressions, and those are supposed to have been mere trial-pieces.

mained the sole metal of which the money of the Romans was composed ; but silver and gold were both adopted, more than two centuries before the Christian era.

In shape they are roundish, but seldom perfectly circular ; and, in point of size, they vary from a diameter of three inches, to that of one-fourth of an inch. Those of the larger size are termed medallions. The brass imperial coins, which are by far the more numerous, are of three sizes, *large*, *middle*, and *small* ;* the distinctions, as to size, being ascertained by the size of the head stamped on the obverse, rather than by the breadth and thickness of the coin itself. The *large* brass, as vestiges of antiquity, are considered the most valuable of all Roman coins, on account of the great size of the portraits and figures, and the beauty of the types and the execution.—The class of coins termed *middle* brass, is found in the greatest numbers, but is much inferior to the first size, in interest and in elegance of workmanship. The series of the *small* brass comprises many very curious and estimable coins.

Little discrimination is now made between the brass and copper coins of the Romans, although, when used as a circulating medium of traffic, the brass was considered to be double in value to the copper. This want of attention arises from that fine rust which is peculiar to these metals, when repositied in particular soils, and in which the best specimens of ancient brass and copper coins are beautifully encased. This rust is of various colours, and, when really produced by time, is as hard as the metal itself, and acts as a natural varnish, which preserves the most delicate touches of the impression, more effectually than could have been done by any artificial means.

The silver imperial coins are so numerous and complete, that they

* Such are the classes into which they are arbitrarily divided ; the *large*, being about the size of our crown, and the *middle* that of our half-crown ; while the *small* comprehends all brass coins not larger than our shilling. But it will be noticed that the brass coinage of Rome gradually declines in size from the time of Severus.

they are not held in extraordinary esteem by the fastidious medallist. Coins in this metal, are frequently dug up with large spots of green, blue, or red rust; all of which are injurious to the value of the specimen. They, likewise, from lying in a soil subject to particular vapours, acquire a yellow tarnish, which has deceptively inclined many persons to suppose that they had been gilt. The Roman silver was generally alloyed, for the purpose of hardening it.

The imperial coins of gold are deemed so truly precious, that the purity of the metal is one of the least considerations in estimating their value. We here see the arts of medallion invention and execution carried to an admirable height; and the metal is highly favourable to the perpetuation of such exquisite workmanship, as it is superior to all rust, except the iron-mould acquired from lying in a soil impregnated with iron.

The impress on all these classes of coins is interesting equally to the historian, the antiquary, and the general lover of science. Before I bestow on this subject a few brief notices, the reader may be reminded, in the lively and elegant words of Addison, "that, formerly, there was no difference between money and medals. An old Roman had his purse full of the same pieces that we now preserve in cabinets. As soon as an emperor had done any thing remarkable, it was immediately stamped on a coin, and became current through his whole dominions. It was a pretty contrivance to spread abroad the virtues of an Emperor, and make his actions circulate. A fresh coin was a kind of a gazette, that published the latest news of the empire."*

Until the time of Julius Cæsar, the portrait of a living personage had never been stamped upon a Roman coin; but, from that period downwards, the medals of the empire present a gratifying succession of portraits, often of exquisite workmanship,
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* *Dialogues on Medals*, Bishop Hurd's edit. p. 439.—Medallions are ordinarily supposed to act as an exception to this remark, but Mr. Pinkerton doubts whether many medallions might not have been circulated as money. Vide *Essay on Medals*.

and evincing, in the strength of their character, a probable closeness of resemblance. On the coins of the upper empire,* the face is exhibited in profile, a style of representation well adapted to the dimensions of a medal; but, in those of the lower Emperors, this custom was frequently abandoned; and here, to use the satirical words of Addison, "you find abundance of broad Gothic faces, like so many full moons, on the side of a coin."

While the obverse is enriched with the portrait of a Roman Emperor, [then, in reality, the monarch presiding over all Europe] the reverse presents a device, finely emblematic, or commemorative of some event of importance to the Roman nation, and thence to the civilized world at large. We here find represented, and often with great beauty, deities, and personifications allusive to peculiar virtues presumed to be displayed by the Emperors, or by the people subject to their rule. Any extension of the empire, or victory conducive to that event, was promptly stamped upon a coin, to gratify the patriotic pride of the Roman citizens, and to blazon to posterity, the achievements of their armies.† Nor were military actions alone deemed worthy of notice upon the coinage; any great work of an honourable peace obtained a place on these lasting medallic tablets; and the reverse

* The reader may be reminded that the era termed the Upper Empire, is considered to have commenced under Julius Cæsar, and to have ended about the year of Christian reckoning, 260. The lower empire embraces a period of near 1800 years, and terminates at the capture of Constantinople. All the imperial medals, till the time of the Palæologi, are deemed antique.

† Mr. Addison, [Dialogues on Medals, &c.] expatiates, at some extent, on the judgment shewn by the ancients, in causing the record of great events, for the information of posterity, to be stamped on brass and copper, as the less valuable metals in common esteem, rather than on gold and silver, which are so tempting to the destructive hand of avarice. Although similar devices were impressed on the more precious substances, it is indeed sufficiently evident that not any opportunity was neglected of perpetuating actions of renown, by commemorating them on coins likely to be valuable with future ages for the device and legend, rather than for the intrinsic value of the metal.

reverse of many coins was thought to be satisfactory and complete, when it presented an image of security, as the fortified gateway observable on several which relate to Britain.

The legends are remarkable for a sententious brevity, for an amplitude and grandeur of meaning expressed with the least possible expenditure of words. In these, and in the device, it will scarcely be doubted but that a flattery, most contradictory to sober truth, often prevailed; and few will avoid a smile on seeing Caligula and Nero styled the fathers of their country, and Vitellius the restorer of the city of Rome. Still, in many instances, the Roman medals would appear to present an honest echo of public approbation; and it will readily be allowed that they are greatly assistant to history, in regard to the arrangement of events, dates, and biographical particulars.

It has been observed that the Roman coins bearing an immediate relation to Britain, are comparatively few in number. Camden [who must be considered, as to efficiency of intelligence, the parent of British topographical history] has presented a series, into which, according to the remark of Mr. Gough, "he has admitted several coins, which have no other relation to Britain than that the Emperors to whom they belong had something to do here."^{*} Mr. Walker, in Bishop Gibson's edition of the *Britannia*, has added six more; but still, if such a criterion be received as the standard of adoption, it is certain that even such an addition is much smaller than might be made, with superior industry or opportunities. Mr. Gough, in his edition of Camden, gives a plate, which "professes to exhibit only such Roman coins as bear any evident marks of relation to this country." The coins presented in Mr. Gough's plate are twenty eight in number; but, certainly, do not comprehend all which have a real and immediate relation to British affairs.

It is remarkable that we have only one *colonial coin* of Britain. As engraved by Camden, this single instance belongs to Claudius;

^{*} Gough's Edit. of Camden, p. 116.

Claudius; and, according to that writer, we learn from the inscription "that Claudius was, for some success in Britain, in the 12th year of his reign, saluted Imperator the 18th time; and that a colony was then settled at Camulodunum." On the reverse is the device of a man driving a cow and a bull, in allusion to the Roman custom of marking the site of the walls of an intended settlement, by a plough drawn by a cow and a bull, yoked together.*

Medals, allusive to Britain, occur in each of the three metals used in the Roman coinage. Among these will be noticed a coin of Claudius, who is termed by Roman authors the conqueror of Britain. This coin is rare in gold, and is still less frequently found in silver. The bust of the Emperor is adorned with the laurel crown. On the reverse is the inscription *DE BRITANNIS*, and a triumphal arch, with trophies; "which Vaillant refers to his expedition hither, A. U. C. 796, A. D. 43; and his pompous triumph over the Britons, for which the arch here represented was erected to him, in the 9th region of Rome, in his 6th tribunate, A. U. C. 799, A. D. 46."† Over the arch is the statue of the Emperor, on horseback, between two trophies of British arms.

Many of the other coins relating to Britain, were also struck in commemoration of victories obtained by different Emperors, or their Generals; as Antoninus Pius, Commodus, Caracalla, and Severus. On the reverse of these are seen various emblems of triumph; as a winged figure of victory, sustaining a palm branch and shield, and sitting on the shields of the conquered Britons; two

* Mr. Gough (Edit. of *Britannia*; notes on Roman coins) observes, that he has not been able to find where Camden and Burton met with this coin. It has not been turned up at Malden, or Colchester; nor is it mentioned by Vaillant, Patin, or Ooco. The same writer adds, "that Claudius's 12th tribunate answers to his being the 26th time Imperator; not, as Camden reads it, 18, in a character unusual on coins."

† Notes on the Roman coins in Gough's edit. of Camden; where see an engraving of this curious medal.

two winged Victories, writing on a shield hung to a palm-tree, and two captives below, with their hands tied behind them. Sometimes, two triumphs are celebrated on the reverse of one coin; as in the instance of a medal struck by Commodus, where a figure is represented sitting, and holding two trophies, one in each hand.

But the coins most interesting, from their connexion with our native country, are those which contain a *personification* of *Britannia*. Several such coins are preserved; and it is highly curious to enquire into the characteristics with which the polished Romans would invest our island, and the degree of esteem in which they held this country, on a scale of comparison with their other provinces.

The enquiry is by no means gratifying to national vanity, or even satisfactory to fair patriotic prepossession. On the Roman medals, every other province is emblematically complimented for some circumstance of natural wealth, or of artificial produce. Thus, Africa is quoiffed with the elephant's head, and attended by the bull, and by other emblems allusive to wealth in agriculture. The fruitfulness of Egypt is denoted by a basket of wheat; while Spain supports an olive branch; and Gaul is declared to be rich in flocks, by an attendant sheep. And all these figures are of a graceful form, and are in soft, pacific, attitudes.

But Britain is represented with no encouraging token of richness of staple, or urbanity of manners. In a medal of Antoninus Pius, noticed by Addison, she is seated upon a globe, which stands in water, "probably to denote that she is mistress of a new world, separate from that which the Romans had before conquered, by the interposition of the sea."* In her hand she bears a Roman ensign, the galling indication of her being a conquered province. On another coin of the same Emperor,† she

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* Dialogues on medals, &c. p. 425.

† Both of these medals are engraved in the plate *Nummi Romani*, Tab. III. of Gibson's Camden. One is also engraved, and both are noticed, in Gough's edition of the same work.

is sitting upon a rock, with a spear and shield, to attest her military disposition; but, still, with a Roman ensign in her hand, the badge of subjugation. It will, likewise, be observed that she is so thinly and penuriously clad, as to approach to a state of semi-nudity; while the other figures are enwrapped in robes of comfort and value. She is, also, destitute of the grace and gentleness conspicuous in personifications of the other provinces.

But the reader will recollect that the conquests of Antoninus Pius, in regard to which these coins were undoubtedly struck, related to the north of Britain; and the extreme poverty of aspect in the personification, therefore, applies chiefly to districts which few designers of medals, even in more prosperous ages, would think of representing by a figure very warmly clad, and provided with a cornucopia.

On a very rare brass coin of Claudius, the titular conqueror of the south, the personification of Britain bears in the left hand a basin, which is supposed to contain pearls; but it is remarkable, that, when the same coin occurs in gold, this basin, with its supposed offering of natural treasure, is omitted.—Still, in the medals of Claudius, and of Hadrian [whose knowledge of Britain was confined to the same southern part of the island] we see Britannia in a more comely attire than in those of Antoninus, although she still bears marks of poverty, when compared with the well-dressed female forms, representing other provinces.

To speak in the language of a Medallist, *the Britannias* [or coins presenting personifications of our country] are very scarce and valuable. Mr. Pinkerton, in his judicious "Essay on Medals," has engraved ten of these coins; and it does not appear that above four more exist; neither of which varies much from those represented in his work, and described, as to their leading features, in the present pages.

Amongst the medals relating to Britain, which are admitted into a Roman series, none have caused so much discussion as those of *Carausius* and *Allectus*. The story of these successive usurpers

usurpers of imperial power, has been briefly noticed in our compendium of historical events relating to the ascendancy of the Romans in Britain; and allusions to it occur in several pages of the "*Beauties*."* *Carausius* is the favourite hero of many Medallists; and his reign [certainly an era of some consequence in the naval annals of Britain] affords numerous curious and rare medals, particularly in the small brass; but the cool investigator will, perhaps, deem the labours mis-spent, which have extended through several volumes, in enquiries concerning the medallic history of this adventurous Emperor, even when the name of his wife, *Oriuna*, is added to the sum of interest.†

The curiosity is naturally excited, as to the cause of the great abundance in which Roman coins are found, in the various situations noticed in a previous page; and I must own that, in my opinion, not any conjectures yet presented are fully satisfactory. In regard to such coins as are discovered enclosed in vessels, and buried in the earth, it has been supposed that it was a usual practice with the Romans to hoard their money in such a situation,

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and

* The leading particulars of this eventful story are stated in the *Beauties* for Oxfordshire, p. 536.

† It is observed by Mr. Gough that the subject of *Carausius* and his coins has been exhausted in the following works: "*Histoire de Carausius, Empereur de la Grande Bretagne, &c. Par. 1740.*" 4to. Dr. Stukeley's "*Medallic History of Carausius, 1757, and 1759.*" 2 vols. 4to. His "*Palæographia Britannica, No. III. On Oriuna, wife of Carausius, 1752.*" 4to. "Two Dissertations on Carausius, Emperor of Britain, together with that of his supposed wife and son; a third, also, of him and his successor Allectus, with a letter to Dr. Stukeley on the first volume of his *History of Carausius*," 4to; and "Further observations on Carausius and Oriuna, 1756," 4to. The two last were by Dr. Kennedy, physician to the Middlesex hospital, who possessed a collection of the coins of Carausius, amounting to 256 specimens, nine of which were of fine silver. The controversy was closed by an anonymous history of Carausius, or "an examination of what had been advanced on that subject by Genebrier and Stukeley, &c. 1762" 4to.—In Gough's edit. of Camden, Plate Roman coins, are engraved two of the coins of Carausius, from a plate in the work of Dr. Kennedy.

and the following two lines of Horace are adduced in support of the supposition :

Quid juvat immensum te Argenti Pondus, et Auri
Furtim defossa timidum deponere Terra ?

Sat. Lib. I. Sat. I.

It is observed, that the servant in the Gospel, who did not trade with the talent entrusted to him, went and digged in the earth, and hid his Lord's money. The following remark appears of considerable weight, in respect to the discovery of vessels containing coins in subterranean situations: " Among the military, it seems likely that the method of burying money would be pursued in general; for, as the Roman forces were paid in copper money, called therefore *Æs militare*, a service of any duration would occasion such an accumulation of this ponderous coin, as could not be carried about by the soldier, with any convenience, in his numerous excursive marches. The surest mode, therefore, of securing his treasure until he returned to his garrison, would be to deposit it in a spot known only to himself. But, as it frequently happened that these veterans died before they had an opportunity of revisiting their hoards, the knowledge of them would be necessarily lost with their owners, and they would continue in the places where they were originally deposited, until accident, or curiosity, again brought them to light."*

Camden attributes the abundance in which these coins are found, to the imperial edict which prohibited the melting down of ancient money.

It may be safely supposed, that the whole of the Roman money discovered in Britain, was not actually left in the soil, or in other places of secretion, by the Romans themselves. Kennet [in general so judicious in his remarks] is certainly subject to

* *Iter Britanniarum*, &c. p. 55.

to error, according to all probability of conjecture, when, in his "Parochial Antiquities," he surmises that these invaders, at their final departure from Britain, buried their money in the ground, under the hope of returning and regaining it. The omens of disjunction were too decisive to allow of our believing that they could descend to such a weakness, especially when we remember the slow progress with which those indications had advanced towards a crisis.

But the circulation of Roman money in Britain, did not cease with the departure of the warlike and predominating people under whose influence it was minted. In its natural course, as a medium of traffic under a government long deemed secure, it had penetrated every recess of the British provinces, and formed equally the hoard of the artificer, husbandman, and merchant. That it prevailed as a currency for many years after the Romans abandoned Britain, would appear to be unquestionable; and a considerable proportion of the secreted masses of money, or scattered gleanings of Roman coin, found in many parts of the island, may, perhaps, with a rationality of conclusion, be referred to the fruitless precaution, or the terrified negligence, of the Britons, when their towns were threatened by northern invaders; or were involved, by their assault, in a smoking volume of ruin.

Among other opinions, it has been thought that the Romans left large quantities of their money in different places, "as incontestable proofs of the once Roman greatness, and undeniable memorials of the immensity of their dominions."—In aid of such a notion, it may be remarked, that much the greater number of the coins thus discovered are of copper.

It is stated by Mr. Reynolds, in his Introduction to the Itinerary of Antoninus, as a conjecture of the Bishop of Cloyne, "that the barbarians who destroyed the towns did not know, or despised, the use of copper money; and therefore left it among the ruins." This opinion is supported, by observing that "the Roman coins found on the site of desolated towns, are chiefly

copper, bad and worn; and they are generally scattered equally over the surface of the ruined town."

Each of these causes may have assisted in producing the incontestible fact, of Roman money being almost daily found in such abundance, as to convey an assurance of a very large circulation of specie during the ascendant of that people in Britain. But it will be obvious, that such of the ascribed causes as appear most efficacious, are adopted on conjecture only, however ingenious those conjectures may be deemed.

ALTARS, AND OTHER INSCRIBED STONES, AND PIECES OF SCULPTURE.—We have good authority for believing that the Romans introduced, with a liberal, if not with a judicious hand, the art of sculpture to the conquered districts of this island. It is well known that they were extremely fond of adorning with statues, both the public and private buildings of the imperial city, in the first and second centuries; and mutilated vestiges of such circumstances of decoration have been often found in Britain, although rarely preserved with due care. Gildas notices the numerous statues of heathen deities, connected with religious temples, which were remaining, even at the date at which he wrote.*

That the Romans sedulously introduced statues of their fanciful deities, during their efforts to eradicate the religion of the Druids, may, indeed, be readily imagined; and that ornamental statues were frequently placed in their principal private buildings, is evident from fragments discovered on several occasions, and particularly from those found at Woodchester, in Gloucestershire.

It must necessarily be supposed that such pieces of sculpture as were used in ornamenting great public buildings, or the principal mansions of the affluent and tasteful, were procured from the imperial city. But it is unquestionable that many sculptors
from

* Gildas Hist. c. 2.

from Rome practised their art in this country, during the more settled ages of the Roman domination over Britain. It is to be regretted that only few specimens, of either kind, are known to exist at the present time.* The introduction of Christianity led to the destruction of images designed for heathen worship; and the relics of such statues as adorned the private domus, or villa, are comparatively few in number, and are generally of indifferent execution. Those who are anxious to uphold the dignity of Roman art in all its circumstances, may imagine that the invaders removed the most valuable works of the statuary, when they finally quitted the island; but the least impassioned will, perhaps, believe that the refined arts, even when stimulated by the wishes of Roman voluptuousness, languished on the soil of this distant province; and that Britain was not constituted the depositary of any costly and transcendent works in the sculptor's department of talent, whilst subject to the military sway of the Romans.

It is, at any rate, certain that the principal remains of Roman sculpture in Britain, consist of figures cut in Basso and Alto Relievo, on altars and various monuments. Some few of these exhibit an indication of taste and skill; but the greater number are equally coarse in design and execution.

The intention and usual character of altars, and other inscribed

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stones,

* Leland, writing in the reign of Henry the Eighth, notices various pieces of sculpture at Bath, which had been rescued from the ruins of the buildings to which they originally appertained, and were then inserted in the city walls. Some interesting discoveries of Roman antiquities, comprising a fine head in bronze (supposed to be that of Apollo) have since occurred at the same place, and are mentioned in the *Beauties for Somersetshire*, p. 363—366. One of the most elegant specimens of Roman proficiency in the fine arts, that have been discovered in this country, was found at Ribchester, in the year 1796. This is a helmet of Bronze, "ornamented with basso-relievos, representing armed men, with horses, &c. in various attitudes of skirmishing." An account of this discovery is inserted in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, the *Archæologia*, the *Beauties for Lancashire*, p. 152, &c.

stones, are comprehensively stated by Mr. Horsley, in words to the following effect:—"The occasions on which the Romans erected inscriptions were various. Many altars, with their proper inscriptions upon them, were consecrated for sacrifice. Such are the *votive altars*, upon many of which we meet with the words *pro salute*, that is, for the preservation, or welfare, of the emperor, or some other person, or of the parties themselves who dedicated these altars.

"There are other inscriptions which proceeded not from any act of devotion, but were erected upon various occasions; such are honorary monuments, in compliment to the emperor or some other great person, especially after any success or victory obtained. And, sometimes, such inscriptions were erected upon finishing some considerable work, or a part of it. Of this kind are the *centurial inscriptions*,* placed in Severus's wall, and those inscriptions found upon the wall in Scotland.

"Altars are generally inscribed to gods and goddesses; and sometimes to the emperors. A great number of these, in Britain, are inscribed to several of the principal gods of the Romans; but many, likewise, to local deities, or such as were supposed to preside over particular places. In honorary monuments and inscriptions, the emperors are often complimented in the most servile manner, and sometimes deified. But some inscriptions are only set up as memorials of finishing a considerable work, or public structure, and directed to no person."†

It will be recollected that the custom of raising commemorative inscriptions

* Inscriptions erected by the legionary cohorts, or their centuries, and thence termed *centurial* by Mr. Horsley.

† It is justly observed by Mr. Horsley, that "inscriptions were erected by persons of all ranks and degrees in the army, from the highest officers down to the common soldiers. The commanders and governors of forts, more especially, pleased themselves with perpetuating their names, by such monuments. But we have many inscriptions, also, by other tribunes; and several by whole legions, or their vexillations; and many others by cohorts and their centuries."—*Brit. Rom.* p. 181.

inscriptions prevailed chiefly in the time of the later emperors. Dr. Fleetwood, speaking of the antiquities of the Roman empire generally, observes "that, amongst the many thousand inscriptions to the succeeding emperors, we have scarce six or seven to Julius Cæsar, though all their exploits put together scarce equalled those of Julius Cæsar alone." And thus, in regard to the Roman antiquities of Britain in particular, it is stated by Mr. Horsley, "that, notwithstanding the descent of Julius Cæsar, the exploits and conquests of Claudius and Vespasian in this island, and the wars that were carried on here under some others who succeeded them, yet we have not one inscription in Britain, that undoubtedly belongs to any of the first twelve Cæsars. *Hadrian* is the first emperor whose name occurs in any of our British inscriptions; and we have but very few of his, although he built a rampart quite across the country; and the few erected to him are simple and short. In the following reigns, especially under some of the Antonines, they become more numerous, as well as more pompous; but, after the reign of Constantine the Great, when the Roman power began to decline, they very much decrease again. No emperor's names are mentioned in any inscriptions after that reign; nor the names of consuls, or any other determinate dates."*

ROMAN SEPULCHRES, AND FUNERAL VESSELS.—Sepulchral vestiges of the Romans have been discovered in several parts of Britain; and the vessels in which they sometimes deposited the ashes of the deceased, together with other articles relating to their funeral ceremonies, form some of the most interesting specimens

* *Britannia Romana*, Book II. chap. 1 and 11.—It will be observed that few Roman inscriptions have been discovered in the south and east, or south-east parts of this island. The principal altars and inscriptions, which have hitherto appeared, have been found in Monmouthshire; the northern counties of England; and near the wall in Scotland.—The county of Northumberland is particularly rich in Roman antiquities.

mens of ancient custom which are contained in public depositories or in the cabinets of curious individuals.*

It is clearly ascertained that the Romans used, at the same time, the two different modes of consuming the body by fire, and of burying it entire. The former custom chiefly prevailed; but instances of both methods of funeral deposit have been found in Britain, although not in any great abundance. It is observed by Mr. Douglas that the "burial places of the Romans, in this kingdom, are very rarely discovered, owing to their custom of interring the dead *at no great distance from their stations, by the side of the public road*, and in such situations as have been occupied by a succeeding people to modern times. Their principal towns and cities are the actual residence of the present generation; hence, through the various changes of different people and different customs, their traces have been long destroyed; and it is now only to accident we are indebted for the few remains which this country has preserved."†

The situation of the burial places of the Romans is explained in the above extract. Their prevailing characteristics and peculiarities might furnish subject for numerous pages, which could scarcely fail to be curious and interesting, as such a comprehensive statement is not, I believe, presented, at a single view, in any English publication.

In regard to the external marks by which the burial place of the Romans may be distinguished from that of any other nation connected with this island, it would appear that we have no direct evidence of their ever constructing barrows over the remains

* Sepulchral vestiges of the Romans are noticed in various parts of the Beauties of England. Some interesting discoveries occur in the following pages: Beauties for Durham, p. 184; for Hampshire, p. 16; for Kent, p. 671; 689; 1016; 1164; (and other places in the same county, mentioned in the index, under the head of *Roman Antiquities*;) for Lincolnshire, p. 599—600; *ibid.* 640; for Lancashire, p. 53—4; for London and Middlesex, Vol. I. p. 86—91; for Oxfordshire, p. 462—4; for Yorkshire, p. 671.

† *Nenia Britannica*, p. 142.

remains of the deceased, except such as were raised over the promiscuous bodies of those who fell in battle; a custom which has been traced, in a previous page, down to the time of our fathers, and which has been practised by nearly all nations at different periods.

In opposition to such a remark, it may, however, be noticed that many articles, apparently of Roman workmanship, have been found, in conjunction with human remains, beneath tumuli in Britain. But the following passage of an author who has investigated the subject of funeral tumuli with laborious care, will, perhaps, account in a satisfactory way for such contradictory appearances: "Where Roman insignia have been found, we have very great reason to believe that the barrow, or cairn, was the sepulture, not of Romans, but of *British officers, or chieftains, in the Roman service*.—We do not find that the Romans ever raised barrows over the sepulchres or ashes of their great men, either in Italy or in any other part of the world; and, therefore, there can be no proper authority for supposing them to have done so in this country."^{*}

It is certain that sepulchres, decidedly Roman, and such as may be adduced as specimens the most strongly marked, are discovered, without the least indication of any super-incumbent barrow. The general exterior characteristics of a Roman place of interment in Britain, would appear to consist simply of the plain grave, with one or more stone pillars, bearing an inscription, and sometimes a sculptured device. Roman sepulchral inscriptions on stone have, indeed, been found in most parts of this island which are visited by a Roman road, although they most frequently occur in the vicinity of a known station. These are generally, though not invariably, inscriptions to military men; and the stones are sometimes charged with the effigies of the deceased, and embellished with garlands, or other pieces of sculpture, rudely executed.[†]

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^{*} *Monimenta Antiqua*, Vol. I. p. 267.

[†] The letters *D. M.* or the words *Dis Manibus*, constantly occur in the funeral

The aspect exhibited by the interior, necessarily depends on the nature of the solemnities practised at the funeral. When cremation, or burning, was used on the decease of distinguished persons, it will be recollected that the body was placed on a couch, or bed, and burned upon a pile composed of light and resinous wood. As it was thought that the ghosts delighted in blood, a number of beasts were killed, and thrown upon the pile, to accompany the human body through the process of the flames. Various presents were also cast into the fire, by surrounding relatives; and military persons had usually their arms burned with them. When the pile was burned down, they extinguished the remains of the fire by sprinkling wine, that the bones and ashes might be collected with greater ease. These last fragments of mortality were then carefully gathered, and placed in the urn, which was immediately consigned to the sepulchre.

It will scarcely be deemed superfluous to have reminded the reader of these particulars, as it is necessary to hold them in close remembrance while noticing the interior of a Roman burial place. The urn, containing the human ashes, was deposited upon a pavement within the sepulchre; and round it were placed several vessels, of different size and shape, which were usually of earthenware, but were sometimes of metal, or of glass.

Among these may be noticed *Pateræ*, or broad bowls, which were used in sacrifices to receive the blood of victims, and in which were placed the consecrated meats offered to the gods, or the wine and other liquors used as libations at funerals. Vessels, termed

funeral inscriptions of the Romans. On this subject Mr. Ward communicated to Mr. Horsley the following remarks: "The ancients were not agreed in their opinions concerning the *Dii Manes*; some taking them for the same as the *dei inferi*; others for the ghosts of persons deceased; and others, again, for the same as the *genii*, or familiar spirits, which attended persons from their birth, through this world into the next. When they are mentioned upon inscriptions, they sometimes seem to be taken for the ghost of the deceased person to whom the monument is erected, and at other times not." *Britannia Romana*, p. 199.

termed *Lachrymatories* by many antiquaries, are found with the above, and are frequently accompanied by a spoon. It is usually supposed that these vessels were intended to contain lachrymal offerings; and some persons have conjectured that the spoons were used in catching such tears as were designed for preservation. Mr. Douglas, in the work already quoted, considers both these surmises to be of a fanciful character, and contends that no safe authority can be found in any ancient writer for concluding that the vessels were applied to such purposes. Many sepulchral vessels he conceives to have contained milk, which the ancients believed congenial to the nutriment of the manes. The same author adds, that, when the sacrifices to the *inferiæ* were in a great measure interdicted or restrained, the custom of depositing with the dead, unguents, milk, beans, and lettuce, most probably supplied the place.

It is a fact, unfortunate to the antiquary, that few ancient authors mention the vessels interred by the Romans with the dead; but, in the opinion of the most judicious modern writers, they were applied both to the uses of libation and lustral purification:—Wine, milk, blood, and pulse of various kinds being used in the former rites; and water, gums, and oil, in the latter.*

When

* The following passage of the *Nenia*, with an attached remark by Mr. Gough, is worthy of attention in this place: "Though the antients are not explicit in the actual deposit of the vessels with the body, they particularly express the nature of the *liquors, unguents, balsams, and viands*, which were used in the sepulchral ordinances; and it should be from these facts, corroborated with the discovery of the vessels in their sepulchres, that a decided opinion can be formed on any particular species of interments; and also by the forms of the vessels, to what uses they might be applied."—"At this application of these vessels" (adds Mr. Gough) "it seems to me we should stop, and not suppose them intended to contain provisions of any kind for the dead, which is not warranted by any discovery that I recollect, though the *scutum Charentis*, or piece of money, is."—*Sepulchral Mons.* Vol. II. Introduction, p. 51.

When the body was buried entire, it appears that the same vessels, with the exception only of the urn to contain ashes, were placed beside it in the tomb.

The walls of the Roman sepulchre were sometimes composed of rubble-stone and hard mortar, as in the instance of a discovery made at Chatham hill, in Kent. The parts then excavated, exhibited a wall, 30 feet in length, "intersected by three apartments, with their walls." One of these apartments was complete, and was nine feet three inches by seven feet three inches. The walls on the inside were covered with fine white plaster, "on which were painted stripes of black and red."*

A Roman sepulchre, discovered at York, was about 250 yards from the wall of that city, and was in the form of an oblong room, with a ridged roof, covered with hollow Roman tiles. "Each side consisted of three large tiles, if they may be so called, of a beautiful red." This tomb was about three feet and a half long, within; and contained several urns, all standing on a tiled pavement.†

The above two examples may convey satisfactory ideas of the usual character of the public and private sepulchres of the Romans, when the practice of cremation was adopted. In regard to such as were designed for the reception of numerous entire bodies, an instance occurs in the "Beauties of England" for Oxfordshire. The burial vault there mentioned, is said to have been, in the part which was explored, 20 feet in length, and 18 feet in width; the height was eight feet from "the planking stones." The human remains were laid in partitions of a dissimilar width, which crossed the vault from east to west, and were built with Roman red tiles, about eight inches and a half square. The partitions were two feet and a half deep, and were generally about the width of our modern graves. Small basins of black Roman pottery, which had probably contained milk, honey, wine, &c. were found in several

* *Nenia Britannica*, p. 140.

† Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, part L. p. 26.

several of the recesses; and the Roman ash-urn, of red earthenware, was, likewise, discovered "among the rubbish." There were two tiers of sepulchral recesses; and, above, was a range of planking-tiles, covered with mortar and sand, to the thickness of about two inches, in which was set tessellated work, supposed to have formed the flooring of a temple.*

The Romans appear to have used, in Britain, stone coffins for interment; as in several instances such have been found, containing bones accompanied by urns, or funeral vessels; apparently Roman. The earliest of these stone coffins were constructed in a rude manner, and out of numerous slabs of stone; but the improvement of forming the coffin out of one stone, by the labour of the mallet and tool, was speedily introduced, and generally adopted by the affluent. Brick coffins, or sarcophagi, also were used by the Romans at a very early period; and coffins of burnt clay, assigned to the same people, have been found in this island.

When cremation ceased, on the introduction of Christianity, the believing Romans, together with the Romanized and converted Britons, would necessarily, as is observed by Mr. Gough, "betake themselves to the use of Sarcophagi, (or coffins) and, probably, of various kinds, stone, marble, lead, &c."† They would, likewise, now first place the body in a position due east and west; and, thus, bestow an unequivocal mark of distinction between the funeral deposits of the earliest Roman inhabitants of this island, and their Christian successors.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

On the secession of the Romans from this fertile island, so affluent

* See a more extended account of this discovery in the *Beauties for Oxfordshire*, p. 462—4. The particulars, as there presented, were communicated to the writer of the present "Introduction," by the Rev. Mr. Nash, the resident clergyman of *Great Tew*, in which parish the burial place was situated,

† *Sepulchral Monuments*, part I. p. 27.

affluent in natural capacities, and admirably calculated for the reception of an independent population, when those who inhabit it know the great lesson of remaining compact in patriotic principle, and true to themselves; it is well known that the Britons failed to recover secure possession of their native soil, and, at length, lost even their national appellation in the sovereign name of new conquerors.

The SAXONS, who now appear on the busy stage of our island-annals, approach in barbarism the most ferocious and disgusting. But, as the scenes of narration proceed, their fierceness mellows into a resemblance of the firm, temperate courage, worthy of the warrior who uses arms chiefly for the defence of his altar, his fellow-citizens, and his home; whilst, from the rude germ of that ardent temper which impelled them to prefer a life of fortuitous, predatory adventure, to the patient cultivation of their natural soil, arises an expansive genius, eminent for legislative wisdom, and a zeal of piety, which, although sometimes fantastic in its operation, is gradually serviceable to morals and manners.

The Saxons, indeed, have, in many points, a stronger claim on our attention than any of the other nations of our varied ancestry. Traces of their sound judgment in political oeconomy are visible in the existing divisions of our island; and the wisdom of their laws still lives, and sustains their memory, in numerous portions of that valuable code of jurisprudence, which is the foundation of an Englishman's most rational pride of country.

It is not necessary to trace, in the present work, the progressive steps by which this people obtained a knowledge of the British coast.—They had long, in conjunction with the Franks, maintained a course of piratical depredations, injurious to several provinces of the Roman empire; and they were augmented, in numbers and power, in the fourth century, by a confederation with many small states, whose nominal distinctions were lost in the Saxon name. But the only allies of the Saxons, connected
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in an important degree with the history of Britain, were the *Jutes* and *Angles*. It is concisely stated by Mr. Turner, the intelligent historian of these eventful periods, that, "as the boundaries of the Saxon states enlarged with their leagues, they embraced the population between the Elbe and the Weser; from the Weser they reached to the Ems; and, still augmenting, they diffused themselves to the Rhine, with varying latitude. The *Jutes* inhabited Jutland; or, rather, that part of it which was formerly called South Jutland. At the era of the Saxon invasion, the *Angles* were resident in the district of Anglen, in the dutchy of Sleawick."*

The internal state of Britain, at the first entry of that rude people who were destined to become its conquerors, merely by force of arms, and with a striking inferiority of numbers, is a subject worthy of attentive investigation. But this troubled period, in common with most others of our early history, is destitute of satisfactory contemporary annalists; and the deficiency, as usual, is ordinarily supplied by ingenious conjectures, aided by hints contained in extravagant and incredible monkish writers.

I have already ventured to deem it probable that our British ancestors, long accustomed to the profound peace attendant on subjugation, and trained, upon principle, to enjoy the enervating pleasures of tranquillity, viewed with reluctance the final departure of the protecting Romans. The miserable state into which they are confidently presumed to have fallen, when left to the exercise of their own discretion and energies, is, assuredly, an argument in favour of the correctness of such a conclusion.—England and Wales, according to the conjectures of the ingenious, founded on suggestions contained in the most acceptable remaining authorities, were divided, when abandoned by the Romans, into about thirty independent civitates; which, on the deposition of their respective officers of Roman appointment, naturally assumed the form of so many republics. Mr. Turner, writing

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of

* Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. I. p. 57—58.

of this period, observes that "independent Britain contained many independent republics, or civitates; each of these was governed by chief magistrates, or *duumviri*, a senate, subordinate officers called *decurions*, an inferior senate called *curia*, with other necessary officers. The ecclesiastical concerns were regulated by a bishop in each, whose power sometimes extended into lay concerns."*

But such a form of constituent power was not calculated for duration. When the principles of government reverted to their elements, it is probable that the descendants of ancient petty kings would prefer their long-neglected claims; and, if such claimants were wanting, ambition alone may be named as a sufficient motive to agitate temporary officers towards the destruction of a crowd of imbecile republics.—Whatever might be the instrumentality, the existence of civil discord, caused by numerous usurpers of regal power, would appear to be unquestionable. Gildas, the most useful historian of this era, remarks that "the country, though weak against its foreign enemies, was brave and unconquerable in civil warfare. Kings were appointed, but not by God; they who were more cruel than the rest, attained to the highest dignity."

The distresses thus produced to the people of South Britain, by the secession of the Romans, were, surely, more grievous than any severity of taxes which their imperial masters were accustomed to inflict; and these miseries were aggravated by a cause which should have taught the usurpers the expediency of union. The Scots and Picts, who had with difficulty been confined to their cheerless moors and barren uplands, even by the Roman arms, now penetrated the fertile districts of the south; and, while weak pretenders were struggling for ephemeral sovereignty, they, with a more serious aim, plundered the people of the vital source of regal power. It was in this state of Britain that the Saxons, who had so often appeared as pirates on our coast, but had

* Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. I. p. 85.

had rarely dared to view the interior of the island, first took a secure footing, as auxiliaries.

The mode of their approach, and the insignificance of their early numbers, are calculated to surprise the examiner, when he contemplates, with a rapid eye, the stupendous character of future events; unless he hold in careful remembrance the numerous historical circumstances, of vast importance, which have sprung from an original apparently as inefficient.

Whilst South Britain was severely afflicted by civil warfare, it appears that three Saxon vessels arrived on the British coast; but whether with a piratical intention, or by one of those accidents peculiarly incidental to a sea voyage at this period, cannot be ascertained. Their crews were conducted by *Hengist* and *Horsa*, who had the imposing distinction of being termed descendants of *Woden*. *Ebbs* fleet, in the Isle of Thanet, near *Richborough*, was the place at which they anchored.*

It has been observed that, "if we estimate the number of these Saxons from the size of the Danish vessels in a subsequent age, they could not exceed three hundred men."† But even so small a band of warriors were deemed friends of importance by the distracted Britons; and they were eagerly courted to assist in opposing the northern invaders. To so low a stage of degradation was Britain reduced by internal dissensions!

All that immediately followed is involved in a deep mist, most deceptive and perplexing. We are told that the leaders of the Saxons advised the invitation of more of their countrymen; and that the British king, under whose auspices they fought, assented to such a measure. Camden, in his dissertation on this era, has presented an excerpt of *Wittichind*, who describes the ambassadors of the Britons as addressing the more warlike Saxons in a strain unusually abject and inpolitic. But Camden would appear to consider *Wittichind* as a questionable authority;

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and,

* See *Beauties for Kent*, p. 990—991.

† *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I. p. 90.

and, by modern writers, his assertions are treated with still less respect.* Whatever might be the mode of address, it is believed that a summons was given, and it is known that more Saxons speedily arrived.

Successful against the Picts and Scots, although, from the smallness of their numbers, probably on a limited theatre of warfare, the Saxons soon turned their arms on the nation whose allies they were deemed.

A melancholy series of conflicts now commenced. Milton has been censured for terming the transactions of these sanguinary periods, as uninteresting as the conflicts of wolves and kites; but, truly, so little of *mind* is evinced in the various contests antecedent to the consolidation of the most potent Anglo-Saxon states under one supreme head, that the opinion of Milton would appear objectionable as to harshness of expression, rather than as to serious import. The battles of an Alexander, or a Cæsar, force us to admire while we shudder; so much of the imposing quality termed heroism was displayed by those great generals. But the Saxons of England, whether fighting against the natives, or turning their arms on their own associates, were so mercenary and cruel in their object, that we look in vain for a hero to soften, and render tolerable, the annals of bloodshed, by any incidental action of a splendid character.

If a gleam of light and interest enliven this dark picture, it arises from the opposition made by the most courageous of the British tribes, or petty nations, to the early incursions of the invader. We here meet with the achievements of an ARTHUR, renowned in the works of minstrels and fabulous historians. But the

* Mr. Turner (*Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I. p. 91.) observes that Wittichind, "though a Saxon himself, appears to have been completely ignorant of the Saxon antiquities." In a note to the same page it is remarked, that Wittichind, (the biographer of his contemporary, Otho, who died in 979) knew nothing of the Saxons prior to their entering Thuringia.

the real patriotic and warlike merits of this prince, are so disfigured by the exaggerations of his romantic chroniclers, that we read with doubt the narration even of his methodised and more credible exploits. All that renders his actions peculiarly attractive, is poetical blandishment.

The struggles of a people, divided in interests as were the Britons, proved, however, so lamentably ineffectual, that, in the year 455, the sixth year after the arrival of Hengist, that leader succeeded in establishing the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent.—I leave unnoticed the chronology and detail of battles, which are of little importance in topographical researches, except as to vestiges of intrenchments, or interest arising from locality; and proceed to state the result of these conflicts, in the entire occupancy of England by its hardy invaders, whose various clans progressively divided the country into several petty kingdoms.

The extent of territory possessed by such chieftains as erected kingdoms in those parts of the island which yielded to their arms, fluctuated so much, in ensuing scenes of contention, that a general idea of the division of Britain among its conquerors, is, perhaps, best conveyed by the following statement of archbishop Usher, respecting the various parts into which the Saxons and their confederates spread themselves.

The JUTES possessed Kent, the Isle of Wight, and that part of the coast of Hampshire which fronts it.

The SAXONS were distinguished from their situation, into

SOUTH SAXONS, who peopled Sussex.

EAST SAXONS, who were in Essex, Middlesex, and the south part of Hertfordshire.

WEST SAXONS, in Surrey, Hampshire (the coast of the Jutes excepted,) Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and that part of Cornwall which the Britons were unable to retain.

The ANGLES were divided into

EAST ANGLES, in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, the Isle of Ely, and (it should seem) part of Bedfordshire.

MIDDLE ANGLES, in Leicestershire, which appertained to Mercia.

The **MERCIA**Ns, divided by the Trent into

SOUTH MERCIANs, in the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Rutland, Huntingdon, the north parts of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, Bucks, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire.

NORTH MERCIANs, in the counties of Chester, Derby, and Nottingham.

The **NORTHUMBRIA**Ns, who were,

The **DEIRA**,* in Lancaster, York, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Durham.

The **Bernicians**,* in Northumberland, and the south of Scotland, between the Tweed and the Firth of Forth.

In addition to this statement may be presented the following scheme of the Anglo-Saxon states, as drawn up by Camden :

The kingdom of KENT contained.....	}	The <i>county</i> of { Kent.
The kingdom of SUSSEX , or the SOUTH-SAXONS, contained....	}	The <i>counties</i> of { Sussex. Surrey.
The kingdom of the EAST- ANGLES contained.....	}	The <i>counties</i> of { Norfolk. Suffolk. Cambridge, with the Isle of Ely.
		The

* In explanation of these terms, it may be observed that such part of Britain between the Humber and the Clyde, as was nearest to the Humber, was called *Deifyr* by the ancient natives ; and, after its conquest by the Saxons, was named *Deira*.—North of this tract was *Bryneich*, which term was altered, by the Saxon conquerors, to *Bernicia*.

The kingdom of WESSEX , or the WEST SAXONS , contained.....	} The counties of	{ Cornwall. Devon. Dorset. Somerset. Wilts. Hants. Berks.
The kingdom of NORTHUMB- ERLAND contained.....	} The counties of	{ Lancaster. York. Durham. Cumberland. Westmorland. Northumberland, and Scotland, to the Frith of Edinburgh.
The kingdom of ESSEX , or the EAST-SAXONS , contained....	} The counties of	{ Essex. Middlesex, and part of Hert- fordshire.
The kingdom of MERCIA , contained	} The counties of	{ Gloucester. Hereford. Worcester. Warwick. Leicester. Rutland. Northampton. Lincoln. Huntingdon. Bedford. Buckingham. Oxford. Stafford. Derby. Shropshire. Nottingham. Chester, and the part of Hertfordshire, not comprised in the kingdom of the East-Saxons.

It is the practice of most historians to describe England, when divided into separate kingdoms by its Saxon conquerors, as consisting of seven states, named, (as is shewn in the above scheme of Camden) Wessex, or the kingdom of the West-Saxons; Sussex, or the kingdom of the South-Saxons; Kent; Essex, or the kingdom of the East and Middle-Saxons; East-Anglia; Mercia; and Northumberland.

But the propriety of thus allotting to an Hectarchy the territories of the Saxons in Britain, is denied by the judicious author to whose researches every subsequent writer on this era of history must be greatly indebted. It is observed by Mr. Turner, "that, when all the kingdoms were settled, they formed an *octarchy*. Ella, supporting his invasion in Sussex, like Hengist in Kent, made a Saxon duarchy before the year 500. When Cerdic erected the state of Wessex, in 519, a triarchy appeared. East-Anglia made it a tetrarchy; Essex a pentarchy. The success of Ida, after 547, having established a sovereignty of Angles in Bernicia, the island beheld an hexarchy. When the northern Ella penetrated, in 560, southward of the Tees, his kingdom of Deira produced an heptarchy. In 586, the Angles, branching from Deira into the regions south of the Humber, the state of Mercia completed an Anglo-Saxon octarchy. As the Anglo-Saxons warred with each other, sometimes one state was for a time absorbed by another, sometimes after an interval it emerged again. If that term ought to be used, which expresses the complete establishment of the Anglo-Saxons, it should be octarchy; if not, then the denomination must vary as the tide of conquest fluctuated."*

From the above statement of the great length of time between the foundation of the first and the last of the Anglo-Saxon petty kingdoms, it will be observed that, with the exercise of

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* Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, Vol I. p. 128. The reader who is desirous of further investigation, is reminded that many critical remarks on the Saxon Geography of this island are presented in Mr. Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, 4to. edit. Vol. II. Chap. IV. &c.

arms, as drawn forth by progressive exigencies, the Britons had gradually renewed their warlike habits. The invaders, indeed, were for many years so few in number, that the entire conquest of the island must have been an object remote from their most sanguine views of success; and the slow process of their conquests must, necessarily, have favoured the acquirement of military science amongst the people invaded.

Many of the Britons who had experienced, in a pre-eminent degree, a renovation of that ancient independent spirit which enabled the islanders successfully to oppose the first invasion of Cæsar, now retired into WALES; and were cheered in their hope of better days by the consoling prophecies of their bards;—songs which still live, and cause a legendary vein to mingle with the course of genuine history. Here, they gallantly struggled to the last for possession of the soil, and displayed a skill in their courage which must have been attended with success, if exerted at an earlier period, and supported by unanimity among the other British tribes. In regard to these Cambro-Britons, it is finely observed by the author whom I have frequently quoted in late pages, that “the Cymry maintained the unequal conflict against the Anglo-Saxons with wonderful bravery, and did not lose the sovereignty of their country, until the improvements of their conquerors made the conquest a blessing.”

When relieved from the desultory opposition of the great majority of the Britons, the petty Saxon kings, whose element was war, turned their arms upon each other; and, so early as the year 568, commences a fresh series of bloodshed, still less interesting than the preceding contests between ferocious invaders and their courageous, but ill-governed opponents.

It is not requisite, in the present examination of such marked historical eras as have a peculiar bearing on the pursuits of the topographer, that we should enter on a minute notice of the events which led to a consolidation of the Saxon octarchy under one supreme head. Private ambition, severely afflictive in its hour of immediate action, here conduced, as has been often seen,
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in other states, to eventual and permanent good. Throughout the 7th and 8th centuries, the Anglo-Saxon divisions of Britain vacillated, in dreadful agitation, as to number and extent. In the former period, the mutations were generally from an heptarchy to an hexarchy. The 8th century beheld it contracting towards a triarchy. The enterprising reigns of *Ethelbald* and *Offa*, prepared the way for superior dignity; and, in the year 800, the celebrated *Egbert*, destined to subdue the octarchy of the Anglo-Saxons, ascended the throne of Wessex.—Mercia and Wessex had long been greatly increasing in power, and engrossing rule over the other states. Under the government of Egbert, the latter gained the entire ascendant, and the whole of England became tributary to his sceptre.*

In this stage of our brief outline of the progress of the Anglo-Saxon dominion, down to the date at which it shone with the greatest lustre, and communicated lasting impressions to the laws which regulate society, and to the arts which adorn the aspect of the country, it is necessary to observe that the reign of
Egbert

* The popular tale of Egbert commanding this island to be called England, and procuring himself to be crowned, and styled king of England, is said by Mr. Turner (*Hist. of the Angl. Sax.* Vol. I. p. 185) to be not intitled to our belief.—In support of this opinion, it is observed in the above work, that, although if such an act had taken place, the legal title of Egbert and his successors would have been *Rex Anglorum*, yet neither he nor his successors, till after Alfred, ever used it. All these sovereigns signed themselves kings of the West-Saxons.—“Egbert did not establish the monarchy of England; he asserted the predominance of Wessex over the others, whom he defeated or made tributary; but he did not incorporate East-Anglia, Mercia, or Northumbria. It was the Danish sword which destroyed these kingdoms, and, thereby, made Alfred the monarch of the Saxons. Accordingly, Alfred is called *primus monarcha* by some. But, in strict truth, the monarchy of England must not even be attributed to him; because a Danish sovereign divided the island with him. It was *Athelstan*, who destroyed the Danish sovereignty, who may, with the greatest propriety, be intitled *primus monarcha Anglorum*;" and, accordingly, he is intimated as possessing that distinction, by Alured of Beverly.

Egbert is the period at which the DANES first became formidable, as piratical invaders of England.

These Northmen first landed, as cursory pirates, in the year 787. They increased their depredations in following years; and, at length, gained so firm a footing, that they wrested the crown from its Saxon possessors. The eras succeeding to the reign of Egbert, down to the extinction of the Saxon sway, are painfully embarrassed by the wars and convulsions consequent on such an oscillation of power. But, as our object consists in a notice of the effect of each predominating nation upon the arts and manners of this country, considered as a theatre of action on which interesting wrecks still exist for topographical examination, I attend the Saxons to their plenitude of power, and leave to a future section some succinct remarks on the operations of the Danes, and the vestiges of their influence in Britain.

Although there is reason to conclude, from the remarks quoted in the preceding page, that historians have not been correct in awarding to Egbert the title of first king of all England, it is certain that, from the date of his reign, the kingdom of the West-Saxons retained an actual supremacy, highly beneficial to the interests of the country at large, and especially favourable to its advancement in magnificence.—The progress of those arts which adorn the soil with embellished structures, and afford the most pleasing subjects of antiquarian research, was severely interrupted, in the 9th century, by the wars proceeding from frequent Danish invasions. But this era is rendered of deep interest, in every point of view, by the reign of the Great *Alfred*, whose wisdom and excellent taste imparted a new bias of refinement to the English, and induced consequences, interesting to every class of enquirers respecting our national and local history.

In the reign of Alfred, which commenced in 871, and terminated, after a memorable variety of fortune, in 900, or 901; we behold the rise of the Anglo-Saxon glory; and it continued in meridian splendour until the decease of *Edgar*. This latter sovereign died in 975.

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The year of his death may be noticed as the date at which began the decline of the Anglo-Saxon greatness. *Edward*, his youthful successor, shortly fell a victim to the cruelty and ambition of a step-mother; and in the time of *Ethelred*, second on the throne after the powerful *Edgar*, the foreign Danes, who had long refrained from molesting England, renewed their incursions; and were so successful as to lay the foundation of a new monarchy in this island. *Edmund* (surnamed Ironside, from his hardihood) the illegitimate son of *Ethelred*, was only in possession of a crown divided with the Danish *Cnut*, at his death in 1016. After an interruption from the Danish ascendancy, *Edward the Confessor*, son of the same *Ethelred*, mounted the throne in 1041. The reign of this prince is of some importance with the antiquary, but is deserving of little respect from the general historian. In the person of *Harold the Second*, who was slain in opposing *William*, Duke of Normandy, in the year 1066, we behold the last of the Anglo-Saxon kings.

Before we enter on a notice of the architectural, and other antiquities, ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon ages, it appears desirable to present some remarks concerning such regulations of the civil polity adopted by that people, as still operate on the political and ecclesiastical divisions of the country. It may be equally acceptable to add a succinct review of such parts of their legal code, as assist in conveying explicit ideas of the state of society, when the castle, whose presumed ruins are shortly to be examined, was erected for the protection of the Anglo-Saxon sovereign or noble, and the ecclesiastical structure founded, as a monument of his piety. Much difficulty occurs in appropriating, with a security of correctness, such architectural remains to these obscure ages. The vestiges of their civil regulations are less equivocal, and do, indeed, constitute a species of moral antiquities, which the judicious topographer and antiquary can scarcely fail to deem worthy of attentive consideration.

These subjects may be treated under the heads of, "*The Anglo-Saxon*

Saxon Civil Divisions of England ;" and, "*Remarks on the Laws of the Anglo-Saxons.*"

ON THE ANGLO-SAXON CIVIL DIVISIONS OF ENGLAND.—The division of England into tythings, hundreds, and counties, has been generally attributed to Alfred. But this supposition appears to be erroneous, as the tything and shire existed in Britain some ages before the reign of that illustrious monarch, and are recognised by the laws of Ina, king of the West Saxons, before the close of the seventh century. It is probable that they formed part of the polity brought from Germany, by the Saxons, as they appear to have existed at an early period among the Franks, and other contemporary nations.*

The circumstance of so judicious a civil division of territory being almost universally added to the other glories of Alfred, will be easily accounted for, if we depend on the assertion of Ingulphus, whose authority is accepted by Sir William Dugdale,† and other writers. It is said by Ingulphus, that Alfred compiled a survey similar to that afterwards produced by order of the Norman Conqueror, in which the lands of the kingdom were first regularly classed in their respective shires and hundreds. This work is believed to have existed at Winchester, on the advent of the Normans, but is since lost. That Alfred reduced the political divisions to more regular order, and perhaps completed the arrangement of neglected or disputed portions of his dominions, appear to be the conclusions arising from an investigation of the authorities on this subject. In order to revive a clear idea of the nature of these several divisions, it may be desirable to take a cursory view of each.

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* That hundreds existed among the Germans, may be gathered from Tacitus, who, in his work *de morib. Germ.* describes a hundred-court with great exactness.

† Pref. to Antiquities of Warwickshire.

The *Tything* consisted of an association of ten free-men, householders, answerable for each other.* By this institution every free master of a family became a *Friborg*, or *frankpledge*, to the government, for the good and peaceable behaviour of all the persons within it; a measure which is asserted by our ancient historians to have been necessary, for "that, by example of the Danes, the natural inhabitants were greedy of spoil, so that no man could passe to and fro in safety, without defensive weapons."† That public outrages would be very frequent among a people inured to war, and torn by petty contentions and predatory incursions, will be readily imagined. This may be supposed to have led to the method of insuring peace by the formation of tythings. The *Friborg*, thus, not only gave security for his own behaviour, but had nine neighbouring masters of families for his sponsors. Over these ten householders, thus associated, was appointed a *Dean*, or *Tything man*, who received their recognizances, and held a court for the regulation of his district.‡

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* *Tythings, towns, and vills*, are used as synonymous terms. In process of time, by the increase of inhabitants, there arose small appendages to these towns, called *hamlets*; and the distinctions of entire vills, demi-vills, and hamlets, are noticed so early as 14. Edward I. (Blackst. Comm. Vol. I. p. 115.) Sir Henry Spelman considers that an entire vill consisted of ten free-men, or frank-pledges; demi-vills of five; and hamlets of less than five. (Gloss. 274.)

+ Dugd. Warw. after Will. Malms. f. 24. a. n. 40.

‡ It is maintained by Mr. Whitaker (Hist. Manch. Vol. II. p. 113, et seq.) that the *Friborg* of the Saxons was not the master of a common family, but the proprietor of a lordship, or the chieftain of a township, of which all the inhabitants were his servants, engaged in the ministries of his house, or employed in the care of his cattle, or lands. From Mr. Whitaker's reasoning on this subject, which is pursued with much ingenuity, he would wish to infer that the Saxon tything was nothing more than the manor of the present days, of which the ten families that were incorporated into the deanery, became the ten lordships. The seignior of a tything would, thus, become what the lord

The southern parts of England were further divided into *hundreds*. A hundred was formed by the incorporation of ten *tythings*. These, it may be supposed, originally contained at least one hundred (which, in Saxon numeration, means 120*) free householders, who were respectively enrolled in the different decennaries. That the hundreds were originally regulated by the population, may be with certainty inferred from the great number of hundreds in the counties first peopled by the Saxons. Thus, when Domesday was compiled, Kent and Sussex each contained more than sixty hundreds, as they still continue to do. While, in Lancashire, a county comprising a greater area than either, there are no more than six hundreds; and, in Cheshire, only seven. This irregularity in the distribution of territory, is, indeed, perceptible throughout the whole kingdom.†

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lord of a manor continues to be, the one regent and judiciary of the district, and his court the one tribunal for the manor. The manorial judicature is, certainly, denominated The view of *Frank-pledge*, and the *Tything-court*.

* Vide Domesday Book, Vol. I. In Civ. Linc.

† The irregularity is so great, that, while several hundreds do not exceed a square mile in area, nor a population of 1000 persons, the hundreds of Lancashire average at 300 square miles in area, and one of them (Salford hundred) includes at present a population of 250,000. To remedy this striking irregularity, an attempt was made, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, by ordaining *Divisions* (called, also, *limits*, or *circuits*) the existence of which is more or less manifest in most of the English counties. These divisions seem to have been formed by a junction of small, or a partition of large, hundreds, as was required by each particular case. To reform ancient customs, which have been long associated with the occurrences of common life, is, however, an inconvenient task. An instance of this occurs in *Wales*, several of the counties of which principality were erected, by act of Parliament, in 1535; and the ancient districts called *Cantrefi* and *Commots* were altered into hundreds, by virtue of a commission under the great seal. This alteration met, however, with much unexpected difficulty; and, although extended periods were allowed for its taking effect, yet the new counties and hundreds exhibit more instances of indistinct boundary, that is, of parishes and townships not coterminous with the county or hundred, than do the ancient

The hundred was governed by an officer who at stated periods held in it the hundred court for the trial of causes, subject, however, to the control of the king's courts. At this period the custom of rendering the hundred responsible for robberies committed between sun and sun, is believed to have had its origin. In the northern counties, formerly so much exposed to hostile invasion, a distinct division of territory was adopted in the place of hundreds, under the names of *wards* and *wapentakes*.*

A *Shire*, or *County*, is composed of an indefinite number of hundreds. *Shire* is a Saxon word signifying a division. The term *County*, (*Comitatus*) is unquestionably derived from *Comes*, the count of the Franks; an officer of similar jurisdiction with the earl, (*eorl*) or alderman, (*ealdorman*) of the Saxons, to whom the government of the shire was entrusted.† This government the earl usually exercised by his deputy, called the *sheriff*, *shrieve*, or *shire-reeve*.‡ The precise time at which the Saxons introduced the division by counties into England, is unknown; but such a division certainly

ancient counties; while the remembrance of the abolished *Centres* and *Comots*, still occasionally creates some confusion. (Prel. Observ. Pop. Abstract 1811.)

* The latter division is thought to have acquired its name from the custom of the inhabitants assembled together at a public meeting, confirming their union with the governor, by touching his *weapon*, or *lance*.

† It frequently occurs that portions of a county are separated from the main body, and insulated by the surrounding shires. This is supposed to have arisen from their originally belonging, before the limits of counties were absolutely settled, to some powerful person, whose residence was far distant; and which, therefore, in old assessments, were rated in the county where his mansion lay. These lands continuing so taxed, became a reputed part of that shire. The same observation may be applied to insulated portions of parishes and hundreds. Dugd. Warw. p. 441, 556.

‡ In the Saxon times the Bishop sat in the county court with the earl, and in the shrieves-turn with the shrieve, as he did also with the lord of the hundred in the hundred court. Pref. Dugd. Warw. &c.

existed during the Heptarchy, and, therefore, long anterior to the reign of Alfred.

An intermediate division between the shire and the hundred, arose in some counties, as the districts termed *Lathes* in Kent, and *Rapes* in Sussex, each of which contains several hundreds. These subordinate divisions had formerly their separate officers, called *lathe-reeves* and *rape-reeves*. The division of a county into three of these intermediate jurisdictions, introduced the distinction of *Trithings*, which still subsist in the county of York, under the corrupted appellation of *Ridings*.*

While treating of the divisions of England in the Saxon period, it may not be irrelevant to make a few observations on that division termed a *parish*, which, in regard to this country, owes its origin to the same era. The precise date at which this ecclesiastical division was first introduced, is involved in equal uncertainty with the civil distribution of the country. While archbishop Parker and Camden attribute the measure to archbishop Honorius, about the year 636, Sir Henry Hobart† considers that parishes were first erected by the council of Lateran, which was held in 1179. The truth seems to be, that they were gradually formed as Christianity spread itself in the island; and they appear to have been originally co-extensive with manors.

It is observed by Blackstone, on the authority of Selden, that, in the early ages of Christianity, there "was no appropriation of ecclesiastical dues to any particular church; but every man

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was

The number of counties in England and Wales has varied at different times. They are, at present, forty in England, and twelve in Wales. Of these, three are called *counties palatine*, viz. Chester, Durham, and Lancaster. Several cities and towns are *counties corporate*, possessing grants of the privilege of forming counties of themselves. Of this description are twelve cities and five towns. The cities are London, Chester, Bristol, Coventry, Canterbury, Exeter, Gloucester, Litchfield, Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester, and York. The towns are Kingston-upon-Hull, Nottingham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Pool, and Southampton.

† Hob. 296. Blackst. Vol. I. p. 112.

was at liberty to contribute his tithes to whatever priest or church he pleased, provided only that he did it to some; or, if he made no special appointment, or appropriation, thereof, they were paid into the hands of the bishop, whose duty it was to distribute them among the clergy, and for other pious purposes, according to his own discretion."*

The laws of king Edgar, which were promulgated about the year 960, clearly recognise the existence of established parochial districts,† and direct that the tithes of land should be paid to the church of the parish in which they are situated. Churches, for the accommodation of their tenants, were, assuredly, built by the great proprietors of land, as civilization and security were added to the blessings arising from a conversion to Christianity. Hence, parishes were formed: and thus (in the first instance from the operation of the laws of Edgar) churches were endowed.‡ These divisions are, therefore, of diverse limits and extent, usually varying with the property of the lord who first built the church, and endowed it with the tithes of his manor, or manors.§ Some districts

* Comment. Vol. I. Seld. of tith. 9. 4. &c.

† By the term Parish may be understood "that circuit of ground which is committed to the charge of one parson, or vicar, or other minister, having cure of souls therein." Comment. Vol. I. p. 110. In the early ages of Christianity, the terms parish and diocese appear to have had a similar application.

‡ This may account for the circumstance of an ancient church being generally found near the manor house. The distinction of *Mother churches* occurs as early as the laws of king Edgar, or about the year 960. It appears that any lord who possessed a private chapel within his demesnes, having a Cemetery, or consecrated place of burial, might allot one third of his tythes to the maintenance of the officiating minister. Hob. c. 2. Blackst. Vol. I. p. 112.

§ In the northern counties, thirty or forty square miles is no unusual area of a parish. Parishes, in the north, average at seven or eight times the area of those in the southern counties. The limits of the country parishes, from the conflicting rights of tythe-owners, and the perambulations ordained by the canon law, seem to have been speedily ascertained, and appear to be nearly

districts still remain *extra-parochial*, having originally possessed no peculiar appropriation of tithes.*

ON THE LAWS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.—The legal code introduced by the Anglo-Saxons is deserving of peculiar attention in this place, as it forms the basis of the laws prevailing through each division of history that will be subsequently noticed; and is, in itself, an object of great interest and curiosity.

It has been observed, and with apparent justice, that to our Saxon ancestors we may consider ourselves indebted for the spirit of liberty and independence that has since characterised the inhabitants of this island; and which, by regarding with a jealous eye the prerogatives of the crown, has produced a judicious mixture of freedom and authority, that has gradually established the august and envied fabric of the British constitution.†

That the Saxons, on their arrival in Britain, had no written laws, but were governed by certain customs, which had been the rule of conduct to their ancestors for many ages, appears to be universally allowed.‡ This seems to have been the case with all the northern nations who over-ran, and subdued, the different provinces of the Roman empire. The acquaintance with letters, produced by their successful irruptions into more favoured climes, enabled them to reduce their traditional customs into writing;

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and

nearly the same as now established, in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, compiled in the reign of king Edward the First, A. D. 1283—1292. This observation will not, however, apply to the town parishes; which, from increase of population, and other causes, were, in former times, continually varying in number and extent. The number of parishes and parochial chapelries now in England and Wales, is stated at 10,674. Popul. Abstr. 1811.

* These districts are usually found to have been the site of religious houses or of ancient castles, whose owners may be supposed, in rude times, to have resisted any interference with their authority within the limits of their residence. Pop. Ab. 1811.

† Introduction to Bawdwen's Translat. Domesday, p. 7.

‡ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 19. Henry's Hist. Brit. Vol. III. p. 389.

and this emanation from one common source, has caused a striking similarity to prevail between the ancient laws of all the states formed by the permanent establishment of those warlike tribes.* The division of this island into various petty states, produced, however, by insensible degrees, variations between their respective laws; "yet held they all an uniformity in substance, differing rather in their mulcts than in their canon; that is, in the quantity of fines and amercements, than in the course and frame of justice."†

The intelligent eye of Alfred, which surveyed the remotest corner of his newly cemented kingdom, perceived the inconveniences resulting from these discrepancies in its municipal regulations; and having completed the arrangement of its internal divisions, he reduced the customs of the several provinces to a general standard, by compiling his *Dome-book*, or *liber judicialis*. This he appears to have digested for the use of the court-baron, hundred and county-court, the court-leet, and sheriff's-tourn; tribunals established by Alfred, for the local distribution of justice, but which were all subject to the inspection and control of the king's own courts, which were then itinerant, being held in the royal palace, and attending the person of the king in his progresses through his dominions.‡ This invaluable work, the preservation of which would have thrown such desired light on the institutions of that early period, is said to have been extant so late as the reign of Edward the Fourth, an age in which, from the invention of the art of printing, it was likely to be handed down to posterity; but, amid the civil contentions which then convulsed the kingdom, it unfortunately disappeared.

The irruptions, and ultimate establishment, of the Danes in England, introduced new customs, and caused the code of the celebrated

* Vide Lind. Cod. Leg. Antiq. Wilkins Leges Saxon. Hen. Hist. Vol. III. p. 389.

† Reliquas. Spelman. p. 49.

‡ Blackstone's Comm. Vol. IV. p. 411.

celebrated Alfred to fall into disuse in many parts. About the beginning of the eleventh century, there appear to have been three distinct systems of laws prevailing in different districts: the *Mercen-lage*, or Mercian laws, which were observed in many of the midland counties, and those bordering on the principality of Wales, and which, therefore, possibly contained many of the ancient customs of the Britons; the *West-Saxon-lage*, or laws of the West-Saxons, which obtained in the southern and western counties of the island, from Kent to Devonshire, and were, probably, the same as the laws of Alfred, being the municipal law of that portion of the kingdom, including Berkshire, the seat of his peculiar residence; and the *Dane-lage*, or Danish law, which was maintained in the rest of the midland counties, and, also, on the eastern coast, the part most exposed to the visits of that piratical people.*

From these various discrepant customs, the compilation of one uniform law, or digest of laws, was commenced by king Edgar, and completed by king Edward the Confessor; which appears to have been little more than a new edition, or fresh promulgation of Alfred's code, or *Dome-book*, with such additions and improvements as the experience of a century and a half had suggested; particularly by the incorporation of many of the British, or Mercian, customs, and the most approved of those introduced by the Danes. These were the laws so fondly cherished by our ancestors in succeeding ages, and which subsequent princes so often promised to keep and restore, in order to obtain popularity when pressed by foreign emergencies or domestic discontents.†

A great portion of those maxims and rules of law, which, at
Q 3 present,

* Hale's Hist. Comm. Law. 55. Blackst. Comm. Vol. I. p. 65. It must be observed, that the above opinion, as to a diversity of laws obtaining in three distinct districts, is controverted by Bishop Nicholson; who contends, in the preface to Wilkins's edition of the Saxon laws, that the "word *lage*, mistaken by the Norman writers for their *ley*, or *loi*, in reality signifies *ditto*, or jurisdiction."

† Blackst. Comm. Vol. I. p. 66. Ib. Vol. IV. p. 419.

present, constitute the *common law of England*, may, with confidence, be attributed to the Anglo-Saxon era. It has been, indeed, contended that they are wholly derived from the Britons;* but, although this is, unquestionably, the case with some, as has been observed in a former page,† yet the customs of those different nations which successively established themselves in the island, were necessarily incorporated with them. The pertinacity with which the descendants of the Britons clung to the Saxon institutions, in opposition to the innovations introduced by the Normans at the conquest, would induce the belief that they formed the foundation of that common law, which it became the pride and boast of succeeding ages to maintain.

The *Witena-gemot* of the Saxons, comprising the principal landed proprietors of the kingdom, was the supreme assembly of the state; combining, like our present House of Lords, the legislative and judicial capacities. The qualifications for sitting in this august assembly, are allowed to have consisted in territorial possessions; and it is generally considered that forty hides of land constituted an eligibility; yet whether that property entitled persons to a seat in the gemot, or only qualified them to be elected by their peers, as their representatives there, is now involved in impenetrable obscurity.‡ Thus much concerning them is certain, that they not only assisted the monarch with their counsel, in cases of state exigency, but their consent was necessary to the validity or promulgation of the laws, as all the remaining laws of that period profess to have been enacted with their concurrence.§ What were the leading characteristics of these regulations, it may be interesting briefly to examine.

That wise institution, and invaluable privilege, the *Trial by Jury*, is referable to the Saxon period, although it cannot be precisely ascertained at what time it was first introduced. Indeed,

* Fortescue. c. 17.

+ Vide ante. p. 31—32.

‡ Turner's Hist. Angl. Sax. Vol. II. p. 230, et seq.

§ Blackst. Comm. Vol. I. p. 148.

deed, it would seem probable, that this mode of trial was adopted by gradual and imperceptible degrees; as its origin may be traced to a principle in use at a very early date. When a man was accused of any crime, it was a judicial custom of the Saxons, that he might clear himself, if he could procure a certain number of persons to come forward and swear that they believed him guiltless of the allegation. These persons so produced, were called *compurgators*, and appear to have been literally juratores; and the verdictum sworn to by them, so far determined the case as to acquit the prisoner. Although the custom of acquittal by compurgators, has been doubted, by some writers, to have been the origin of juries,* yet they appear so nearly to resemble a jury in its early and rude shape, that, perhaps, we may safely assign that judicious and inestimable institution to this remote origin.† That the trial by jury existed at the time of the Conquest, is not disputed.

The custom of acquittal by compurgators, who were originally produced, or nominated, by the party accused, made it necessary to attach inviolable sanctity to the obligation of an oath; and we, consequently, find that oaths were administered in the most solemn and impressive manner, both in respect to the place of administering, and the form of words and ceremonies used; yet, even these circumstances, so likely to produce a deep impression on the imagination, in an age of ignorance and superstition, did not prevent the frequent occurrence of perjury,‡ although that crime was punished with great severity.

As the power of the church gradually advanced, new forms of judicial proceedings were introduced by its crafty ministers; and the sanctity of the proceedings, aided by the difficulty of procuring a sufficient number of compurgators for the purpose of ac-

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quittal,

* Henry's Hist. Brit. Vol. III. p. 424.

† See an extended inquiry into this subject, and various documents illustrative of the gradual improvement of the custom of acquittal by compurgators, in Turner's Hist. Angl. Sax. Vol. II. p. 271, et seq.

‡ Hen. Hist. Vol. III. p. 426.

quittal, which, in some cases, were required to be very numerous, frequently induced the accused to appeal to Heaven for proof of their innocence, which introduced the custom of *Trial by Ordeal*. Of this mode of trial there were several kinds, of which the most common were the ordeal of the cross; the ordeal of the corned; the ordeal of cold water; the ordeal of hot water; and the ordeal of hot iron.* These several modes of trial were preceded by various superstitious solemnities; and while they were popular, the trials by jurors were of unfrequent occurrence; but as men began to perceive the futility of such blind appeals to Heaven, the legal tribunals became more resorted to, and juries more frequent.†

The laws of *succession to property* were such as appear most consonant to the natural wishes and desires of mankind; children were the heirs of their fathers. When the children were all sons, the property was equally divided among them, and the same rule obtained when they were all daughters; but the proportions in which it descended, if there were children of both sexes, is not clearly ascertained. When a man died without children, his nearest relations inherited his possessions; and, in default of heirs, the whole fell to the king. This, however, was only in the instance of those who died intestate, the testamentary bequest of property being allowed, under certain restrictions, in the more advanced periods of the Anglo-Saxon era.‡ The custom of inheritance by *Borough-english*, in which the youngest son was the heir, to the exclusion of the rest, is, also, said to have prevailed in some districts during the Saxon times.§

The *Matrimonial laws* of the Anglo-Saxons were calculated to prevent unequal, or imprudent, contracts. For this purpose every woman was considered to be under the legal guardianship of some man, who was termed her *Mundbora*, and no act of
hers

* For a particular description of these several ordeals, see Henry's Hist. Brit. Vol. III. p. 428, et seq.

† Turner's Hist. Angl. Sax. Vol. II. p. 275.

‡ Wilkins. Leges Saxon. p. 266. Hen. Hist. Vol. III. p. 401—405.

§ Turner's Angl. Sax. Vol. II. p. 181.

hers was valid, without his consent. On her marriage, her *mundbora* received a pecuniary recompense for his ward, in the shape of a present, of an amount limited by her rank, which was called her *mede*, or price; and if any one were rash enough to commit the crime of *mundbreach*, by marrying a woman without the consent of her guardian, he acquired no legal authority over his wife, or any of her goods, by such a marriage. The husband, on his marriage, received from the friends of his bride a considerable present, in furniture, arms, cattle, or money, according to the circumstances of her family, which was called *faderstun* (father-gift;) but was bound, on the first morning of their marriage, to present her with a *morgengife*, or morning-gift, the amount of which was also limited by law, and which became the separate property of the wife.*

Whilst the rights of the female part of the community were thus protected, their connubial fidelity was enforced by severe penalties,† and even the breach of decorum was signally punished; it being a rule of Anglo-Saxon law, that if a widow should marry, within twelvemonths after the decease of her husband, she should forfeit her morgen-gift, and all the property derived from her first marriage;‡ a rule that appears to have influenced the period, which is considered, at the present day, as the test of a decorous exhibition of grief.

The great leading principle in the penal laws of the Anglo-Saxons, even in offences of the most flagrant nature, appears to have been, rather the compensation of the injury sustained, than the punishment of the crime. For this purpose, every man had a fixed value, in proportion to his rank, which was called his *were*, or *were-gyld*; and the destroyer of his life was punished by the payment of this *were* to his family or relations. In addition to this, he was also compelled to pay a certain pecuniary compensation,

* Wilkins. p. 147. Hen. Hist. Vol. III. p. 396. 397. &c.

† Wilkins. p. 2, 3. Turner, Vol. II. p. 253—255.

‡ Wilkins, 145. Turner, Vol. II. p. 88.

sation, called his *wite*, to the chief magistrate presiding over the district, for the loss which the community had sustained.* The pecuniary commutation of crime appears extraordinary, in the view of a more enlightened age; yet, perhaps, among a people trained to war, and accustomed to behold the terrors of death with undaunted firmness, the evils of poverty were more dreaded than the infliction of capital punishment.

This scale of recompence pervaded the whole of their regulations respecting personal injuries; and the price of wounds inflicted on different parts of the body, was fixed with microscopic precision.

Besides the *were*, or personal valuation, which secured the individual from violence, and fixed the amount of punishment for any offence committed by him, his domestic peace was, also, guarded by a *mundbyrd*, or right of protection, possessed by every one for mutual benefit. The price of its violation was proportioned to the rank of the patron. This privilege appears to be the principle of that doctrine still so fondly adhered to; namely, that every man's house is his castle.†

The mode of punishment by pecuniary mulcts, it will be supposed was favourable to the wealthy part of the community, who could afford to gratify their private revenge, without fear of other inconvenience than payment of the customary amercement; while the absolutely abject and needy escaped with impunity. We, consequently, find that although they were the most popular of the legal punishments, they were, in process of time, discovered to be ineffectual, and others were enacted. Among these appear most of the punishments inflicted at the present day, together with some which could only be allowed to exist in a barbarous and uncivilized state.‡

Theft was considered by the Anglo-Saxons, as a crime of great

* Wilkins, p. 2, 3. Turner, Vol. II. p. 241.

† Turner, Vol. II. p. 257.

‡ Turner's Angl. Sax. Vol. II. p. 269.

great enormity; and, in many instances, was punished by the amputation of the hand and foot, and even by death. In the reign of Ethelstan, a principle was introduced which still prevails, by an enactment that no one should lose his life for stealing less than twelve pence.*

Among the institutions of this period, which have continued to the present time, may be noticed the system of *giving securities, or bail*, to answer an accusation; which custom appears to have been coeval with the Saxon nation. This system was, indeed, subsequently carried by them to a burthensome and degrading height; not being confined to those who were accused of crime, but extending to the whole community, who thus gave surety to answer anticipated criminality. This object was effected by the division of England into counties, hundreds, and tithings, and by the direction that every man should belong to some tithing or hundred; which divisions were pledged to the preservation of the public peace, and were answerable for the conduct of their inhabitants. The system of placing all the people under *borh*, or bail, the origin of which is attributed to Alfred, is first clearly enforced in the laws of Edgar.

From this brief review of the laws of our Saxon ancestors, it will appear that, although they partook of that imperfection which is inseparable from all human institutions, and which may be expected peculiarly to characterise the regulations of an unlettered age, yet that they contained, in many instances, principles which have influenced, in no mean degree, the laws of the present more enlightened period.

ON ANGLO-SAXON ANTIQUITIES.

MILITARY ANTIQUITIES OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.—Previous to any remarks on the prevailing characteristics of such military structures

* Wilkins, p. 70. Turner, Vol. II. p. 252.

structures as are believed to have been raised by the Anglo-Saxons, it should be observed that Mr. King, in his elaborate work, intitled *Munimenta Antiqua*, expatiates, at some length, on the probability of several castles of stone, still remaining in this country, being really the work of ages anterior to the Saxon invasion. The greater number of such fortresses he supposes either to have been constructed by "Phœnician settlers, or some other foreigners from the east;" or, otherwise, by Britons situated in such parts as were visited by the Phœnicians at a very early date, and who had acquired the plan and art of building conspicuous in such strong holds, by "conversing" with the foreign merchants who visited their coasts.

In support of an opinion so new and bold, Mr. King presents numerous remarks on the resemblance, which he believes may be ascertained, between these buildings, and those intended for similar purposes of defence and security in Syria, Media, and Persia; and he justly notices their entire disagreement with the plan and customary dimensions of castellated fortresses raised by the Romans, or any subsequent invaders of this island.

*Lamceston Castle, in Cornwall,** may be mentioned as an instance of the buildings thus supposed by Mr. King to be of ancient British origin, and described by him as being imitative of the eastern manner.—This castle is placed on a conical hill, of great height; but the keep is of small dimensions, being, indeed, not more than eighteen feet and an half in diameter, within. This part of the building (its prominent and most important feature) is round; and the walls are, at least, ten feet in thickness. The keep is surrounded by three concentric walls of stone; and there was formerly a fourth wall, placed at the foot of the circular rock on which the castle stands. Beyond this fourth wall are still visible the remains of another strong wall, and a great surrounding ditch. But this latter rampart has been repaired at different periods, and, perhaps, did not form part of the

* This building is described in the *Beauties for Cornwall*, p. 358—360.

the original design. In its present state it appears to have been finally completed by the Normans, with several towers and a gate, strictly in the Anglo-Norman mode of military architecture.

That this castle, so boldly and laboriously placed on the top of an immense conical hill, and differing in its principal features from any known military work of the various invaders of Britain, was possibly constructed by British inhabitants of the island, may be allowed without any great concession of faith. Its presumed similitude with the modes practised by eastern builders, is a curious subject of speculation, but one that is not likely ever to produce any other than an hypothetical conclusion. And, even if the similitude be ascertained, it will, perhaps, be found to exist only in such general and elementary particulars, as were likely to be common to all nations, at the same stage of society, and practising, in a general way, the same modes of assault and defence.

A second instance of an imitation of eastern architecture, according to the conjecture of Mr. King, may be noticed at *Brynallys*, or *Brunless* castle, in Brecknockshire, SOUTH-WALES.* In this instance it is observable that the tower is not placed, as at Launceston, upon a high rocky hill, there being, indeed, none such, naturally formed, near the spot; but has, in its own structure, as is likewise found in some other ancient buildings in this island (and, according to Mr. King, in Syria) the "appearance of a little artificial mount formed of stone; and a little rise of ground beneath."

In both the buildings noticed above, as well as in most of the ancient castellated structures of England and Wales, innovations have been made by occupiers in succeeding ages, which are, however,

* See this castle noticed, together with critical remarks on the opinion of Mr. King, in the *Beauties for South Wales*, p. 123, et seq.—The author of that part of the work offers some observations, in opposition to a conjecture of Mr. King respecting indistinct arches in this castle, which are entitled to deliberate attention, as they are founded on an investigation of many buildings in reclusé parts of Wales.

however, easily separated from the work of the original builder, by a due attention to the marked styles prevailing in subsequent ages.

But the Phrygians, the Medians, and the Phenicians, are not the only builders supposed by Mr. King to have been imitated by the Britons, in structures which still remain, although in a ruined condition, to attest their ingenuity and industry. This writer conjectures that works of the Britons, imitative of Roman architecture, are still to be discovered in several parts of the island.

Conspicuous among these is the castle of *Carn-brech*, in *Cornwall*, which Dr. Barlase believes to have been in part a British building, and which Mr. King supposes, from many other circumstances "besides its old arches, and the sort of squareness of its towers, to have been a work of the Britons, constructed in haste, in imitation of Roman works, and, probably, just after the island had been deserted by the Romans."^{*}

This castle stands on a rocky knoll, and the foundation of the building is laid on an irregular ledge of vast rocks, whose surfaces are very uneven, one part being much higher than the other. "The rocks are not contiguous; and, in consequence of this circumstance, the architect contrived as many rude arches from rock to rock as would be sufficient to support the connecting wall above. The whole edifice, consequently, becomes distorted. It consists of two small, ill-joined, towers, intended, indeed, to appear as square, but neither of which in reality is so; and is placed in a most oblique and awkward direction, on account of the irregularity of the rocky foundation. One of the towers, an ancient one, has three stories;" and, in the same part of the building, is a large square window, at a great height. In other parts, the walls "are pierced with small square holes, or a sort of rude loops, to decry an enemy, and to discharge arrows."[†]

Some

^{*} *Monimenta Antiqua*, Vol. III. p. 140.

[†] *Ibid.* 139—140.—*Carn-brech* castle is briefly noticed in the *Beauties for Cornwall*;

Some remains of fortresses occur in WALES, which Mr. King likewise attributes to a British imitation of the Roman mode of architecture. These principally consist of a structure called *Castell Cornedoken*, or *Cornedorkon*, which is situated on the summit of a high rock, "about a mile from the Dolgellen road, on the way leading up to Snowdon;" and remains of fortification at Caerlleon, in ancient Wales.

The opinions of Mr. King, respecting a seeming imitation of the style of various early nations, to be observed in numerous military antiquities of England and Wales, are, probably, no more than fanciful pursuits of an argument founded on the similarity to be ascertained in the rude works of nearly all countries. We may, however, with safety, deem it likely that there are still to be seen vestiges of fortified buildings constructed by the Britons, while they preserved their national name and partial independence.—We know that the skill of British workmen is much praised by ancient writers; and it is recorded that many were taken to assist in foreign works by Maximus and Honorius.—To waive a consideration of earlier ages, it would appear probable that the princes who obtained sway in different parts of the island, might call into exercise the useful talent so well attested, during their opposition to the progressive encroachments of the Saxons.

It is very certain that the high antiquity of a castle is rather argued than disproved, by the silence of our earliest topographical writers respecting its original. Leland and Camden, cautious in the infancy of their science, appear to have been guided entirely by written documents, in an estimate concerning the foundation of a structure; and, where a building was beyond the reach

Cornwall, p. 510.—On a still more elevated part of Carn-bre'h hill, is a structure denominated the *Old castle*, which, from its circular form, limited dimensions, and other circumstances, Mr. King, indulging a favourite hypothesis, supposes to have been erected by the Britons, at a still earlier period, and in attention to the Phœnician style of building.

reach of *legal memory*, they, in most instances, contentedly passed it over, and left it in the obscurity in which they found it.

Fortified buildings of stone, ascribed to the Britons in early ages, are usually found in situations exposed to little danger of depredation, except when inhabited, and rich in expected internal plunder. It may be presumed, without hesitation, that the assaults of mere freebooters were not likely to be destructive of the main body of the fabric. The demolition of so compact a hill of stone would, perhaps, be a work of more labour than even the raising of it; and appears, in fact, to have been seldom practised. In many instances there are still remaining, almost entire, towers, and different parts of castles, evidently very ancient, which are stated in history to have been levelled with the ground. History speaks in general terms, and the labours of the topographer had not commenced when the firebrand was placed to those castles.—When a fortress is said, by early writers, to have been *destroyed*, we are, probably, to understand no more than that the interior floorings, and other works formed of wood, were consumed by fire, and the fortifications dismantled.*

It would be highly satisfactory if we could believe, without one remote scruple, that vestiges of castellated buildings, reared by the Britons in very early ages, are still in existence. But it is obvious that no demonstration can possibly be afforded, and that no date can securely be ascribed to a ruin, when its only claim on superior antiquity consists in such a peculiarity of style, as is irreconcilable even with the varieties of architecture ascertained to have occurred at any *known* period.†

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* For the propriety of this remark, see *Beauties for Bedfordshire*, p. 6. We there find that when Bedford castle was besieged, in the reign of Henry the Third, the miners set fire to the Tower; and when the smoke burst out, and cracks appeared in the tower, the besieged surrendered. A castle which would appear from history to have been destroyed more than once, but the keep of which is still remaining, is noticed in the *Beauties for Northumberland*, p. 185.

† For an account of several castles supposed to exhibit marks of British architecture

See also p. 624.

When entering upon the subject of castles constructed in Britain by the Saxon part of our ancestors, we descend to a period less involved in doubt; since the Saxons (although borrowing many ideas from Roman works, and greatly profiting by the modes of British workmen) introduced a style of architecture which is intermingled with the discriminating marks of other fashions, only in the instance of those who succeeded them in an ascendancy over the Britons.

But so much obscurity prevails in regard to the manners and the transactions of the early and unlettered Saxon ages, that it is difficult to ascertain the period at which castellated edifices were first raised in Britain by this people. It would, however, appear to be certain that they constructed castles of stone during the division of this country into various small kingdoms. This is inferred by the complaint of Alfred, who lamented "that there were *but few castles* in England, before his time." The assertions of various writers of considerable antiquity might be adduced, in support of such an opinion. Matthew of Westminster observes that Ida, king of Northumberland, built a castle at *Bamborough*, about the year of the Christian era 548; and Bede describes an assault made on a castle at the same place, between the years 642 and 655, by Penda, king of Mercia.*

The authorities above quoted, joined to the high probability of the circumstance, will, perhaps, be deemed satisfactory; and it may be admitted that castles of stone were really built, for the united purposes of defence and regal splendour, in the slow progress of the various Saxon states in Britain towards an hec-

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*architecture, see *Beauties for Monmouthshire*, p. 63 (*White Castle*;) p. 68 (*Scenfreth*;) and p. 71 (*Grosmont*.)

* That castles were built in this country by the Saxons, before the year 740, is evident from the words of Pope Boniface, who, in that year, complains to Archbishop Cuthbert, that the religious were compelled to perform servile offices, in assisting to build castles. *Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 237.*

ehy, or octagohy. More difficulty is found in ascertaining whether any remains of such buildings now exist. We are here unaided by record, and must depend for data of calculation on evidences of style, which are unfortunately few and precarious.

Amongst the criteria by which the most ancient castles of England are usually distinguished by antiquaries, may be noticed the following.—Such buildings, whether square or round, are of limited dimensions; and a want of refined art in the science of defence is compensated by a very great thickness in the walls. Few loops are seen; and those not constructed in the accurate manner of the Anglo-Normans. Neither traces of the Portcullis, nor of Machicolations, occur in the original part of such structures; and no wells (supposed to be intended for the purpose of drawing up military machines) are found within the walls, although they are of so massy a character.

In consideration of these, and other evidences of great antiquity, while marks of Saxon architecture are supposed to be apparent, Mr. King, in his curious work on the ancient munitions of this island, does not hesitate to attribute several castles to an Anglo-Saxon era, previous to the consolidation of the different small kingdoms. The principal structures ascribed by that writer to so remote an original, are the castles of *Guildford*; *Castleton*; and *Bamburgh*;^{*} or rather the keeps those ancient buildings, since it is unquestionable that, in each instance, great additions have been made in succeeding ages, and chiefly by the Normans, who are so conspicuous in the annals of the military architecture of Britain, for imparting security to their precarious tenure of the country by constructing strong holds, and improving such as they adopted.

The keep of *Guildford castle*, [which is now almost the only remaining

^{*} See these castles noticed in the *Beauties for Surrey*, p. 255; for *Derbyshire*, p. 460; and for *Northumberland*, p. 203.

remaining part of that structure] is, perhaps, the most curious of the examples stated by Mr. King, and certainly displays the most decided characteristics. It must be confessed that its existence in the time of the Anglo-Saxon petty Kings, can be argued on the ground of conjectured internal evidence only; but its antiquity is known to be very great, and is traced by historical testimony to the year 1035, at which time was performed here a lamentable tragedy, under the direction of Earl Godwin. This building has been described, in general terms, in the "Beauties" for Surrey; where is, likewise, presented a summary of such parts of its history as have been preserved by writing. But, as it appears to afford a specimen of early Anglo-Saxon military architecture, it will scarcely be thought superfluous to state, in this place, its prevailing features, as noticed by an author, whose limits were less circumscribed than those of the editor of the "Beauties" for Surrey.

The keep tower of this presumed old Saxon palace stands on the brow of a steep hill, and appears to have been surrounded with a small inner court, the wall of which is not in any part more than 22 feet distant from the tower. The keep is of a square form, and the space within is only about 26 feet by 24. The walls are, in general, about ten feet in thickness; and, "very unlike those that are either Roman or Norman, are constructed partly of squared obalt, partly of flint, and partly of sand-stone, cut in the form of Roman bricks; and in many parts placed in triple rows, alternately with rows of flints: in imitation of Roman work;—but still more conspicuously placed in rows of herring-bone work.*—The internal corners of the apart-

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* By the term *herring-bone work*, as used in masonry, is understood courses of stones laid angularly. The earliest period at which this mode was practised is not correctly known; but it is supposed to have been introduced by the Saxons. It is not, however, peculiar to buildings ascribed to the Anglo-Saxons. Instances of this practice in later ages are noticed by Mr. Essex, *Archæologia*, Vol. IV. p. 101.—Where herring-bone work is of brick, it is well

ments within are finished, in some parts, merely with squared chalk. The external corners of the tower, and a space in the middle part of each front, five feet four inches wide, were cased with squared stone, very much resembling casings of Caen stone, [in the same manner as appears in several other Saxon buildings.] —Some Roman bricks, or, perhaps, rather Saxon bricks, made in imitation of such as were Roman, are seen in the lower parts of the building, especially on the north side; and some thin, evidently Saxon, bricks, appear in the windows, though they are now partly mixed with bricks of reparation since the time of Henry the Sixth;—and though there appears, on the south side, an original Saxon window, altogether of stone, as if such was the construction of all the windows at first.”

The great portal of entrance appears to have been at a height not less than 15 feet from the ground; and the ascent was, probably, by a steep flight of steps on the outside.

The interior was divided into three apartments, or stories, with a vault, or dungeon, beneath.

The ground-floor was of a truly cheerless character, and was solely adapted to security, without the most remote attention to comfort of inhabitation. On three sides are arches, leading to small loops in the wall, at a great height, and having “exceeding steep steps, but without any hanging arches for the stopping of missile weapons, as in the structure of Norman castles; and, except in these three parts, the walls are perfectly smooth and entire, so that it is evident there could be no communication with the room above, unless by some trap-door in the floor of timber; nor could this room have any light or air, except from the small loops.”

The supposed portal of entrance opened to the floor above; and it is observable that there are here no traces of a portcullis, “such means of defence having not been invented when this castle

well described by Mr. Strutt [Manners and Customs, Vol. I.] as a row of flat bricks, set obliquely from the right to the left, succeeded by an oblique row from the left to the right.

tie was built."—On the right hand of this entrance, is a small and remarkable chamber in the wall, which is lighted by two very small loop windows. In this apartment are still to be seen four seats, formed in the wall, and adorned with pillars, "having [in the opinion of Mr. King] truly Saxon capitals, and circular ornamental arches above." On the left hand of the great entrance is another doorway, which led to a small chamber, or closet; and, at no great distance, is an arch leading by a passage on one side to a staircase, which went quite to the top of the tower, and was lighted by loops in the outer wall. Although the rooms into which this floor was divided, must necessarily have been very small, it appears that the principal apartment was at least 20 feet in height.

In such lineaments of the third floor as are still to be discovered in the walls, appear four recesses, leading to four great windows, which command an extensive view of the surrounding country. Here is, also, found an arched doorway, leading to a small closet in the wall, in which are still evident two large machicolations,* hanging over the side of the castle, and which appear to be directly over the door of the dungeon already secured with dreadful care, and situated at a great depth beneath. The state apartment in this upper division of the fortress, must have been more than 15 feet high; and it is remarkable that in this part of the building there are not any remains of doorways leading to more than one closet, or small chamber, in the wall.

Such are the remains of those parts of Guildford castle, which, from their style of architecture, have been attributed to the Anglo-Saxons. It is, however, probable that, even in the time of the earliest Anglo-Saxon possessors of this fortress, buildings of a less solid character, and possibly of wood, were constructed in the area between the surrounding wall and the keep, for the

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accommodation

* It is observed by Mr. King, in his "Sequel to the Observations on Ancient Castles," that these machicolations "were undoubtedly added in latter ages."

accommodation of such attendants as their safety, if not their love of pomp, rendered necessary.

The genius of the great Alfred impelled him to an improvement of the national architecture in all its branches; and his dangerous struggles with the Danes caused him to bestow particular attention on the increase in number and strength of fortified buildings. It is not, however, known that the keep of any castle raised during his reign, is now remaining. The noble augmentation of magnitude, and improved mode of military architecture, which he introduced, are mentioned by several early writers; and King Edward the Elder, the warlike son and successor of Alfred, is stated to have formed numerous fortresses, in attention to the advice of his illustrious father.* Relics of these are probably still to be seen in many places; but the alterations effected in subsequent ages have so far obliterated the traces of original character, that no instance remains as a satisfactory specimen of the style pursued in castellated structures erected under his direction, or that of his memorable sister, Ethelfleda, Queen of Mercia.

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* The principal of these, and the policy which induced their erection, are thus noticed in Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*: "As the Danes possessed the north of England, from the Humber to the Tweed, and the eastern districts, from the Ouse to the sea, Edward protected his own frontiers by a line of fortresses.—The position of these fortresses demonstrates their utility. Wigmore, in Herefordshire; Bridgnorth and Cherbury, in Shropshire; Edesbury, in Cheshire; and Stafford and Wedesborough, in Staffordshire; were well chosen to coerce the Welsh upon the western limits. Runcorne and Thelwall, in Cheshire, and Bakewell, in Derbyshire, answered the double purpose of awing Wales, and of protecting that part of the north frontier of Mercia from the incursions of the Northumbrian Danes. Manchester, Tamworth, in Staffordshire, Leicester, Nottingham, and Warwick, assisted to strengthen Mercia on this northern frontier; and Stamford, Towcester, Bedford, Hartford, Colchester, Witham, and Malden, presented a strong boundary of defence against the hostilities of the East Anglian Danes. The three last cities, placed in a country which Edward's power had extorted, watched three rivers, important for their affording an easy debarkation from foreign parts."—*Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I. p. 336.

In the opinion of several antiquarian writers, we may, however, look to the mutilated castle of *Colchester*, for an imperfect example of fortresses raised in the time of Edward the Elder; and, certainly, many parts of this building are very unlike the usual manner of the Normans, although other divisions were undoubtedly erected by that people.

The castle of *Colchester* is built on an elevated spot, and is constructed in the form of a parallelogram, of large dimensions.* Its walls [composed of stone, flint, and Roman bricks] are of a great thickness, and exhibit considerable traces of that style of masonry, which is termed *herring-bone work*. The more ancient parts of this curious structure appear to have been originally lighted by loop-holes, which were constructed in a manner much less skilful than is observable in most castles of a later date.

A deceased industrious and careful antiquary asserts that instances of the *groundwork* of Anglo-Saxon castles, constructed by Edward the Elder, are still plainly visible at *Malden* and at *Witham*, both in Essex. From the account of these, as presented in his work, it appears that the keep was placed on a slight artificial elevation, or low flat hill. The general form of the groundwork is round. The keep was encompassed by a thick wall; and around the whole work was a deep broad ditch, and "a strong vallum of earth, on which was built an exterior wall, turreted after the Roman fashion."†

It is contended by some writers, that from *Norwich castle*, a building "raised in the eleventh century, by command of King Canute,"‡ we are enabled to form the most just ideas of the

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castellated

* For an account of the present appearance of this structure, see *Beauties for Essex*, p. 308, et seq.; and for many critical remarks concerning its probable Anglo-Saxon original, see *Archæologia*, Vol. IV. p. 406—409. An engraved view of *Colchester castle* is presented in the *Beauties for Essex*.

† *Strutt's Manners and Customs*, Vol. I. p. 24—25. In opposition to the above, it will be observed that, in the *Beauties for Essex*, the earthworks at *Malden* and at *Witham* are supposed to be remains of mere encampments.

‡ For arguments as to the propriety of ascribing the date of this building

castellated architecture of the Anglo-Saxons, in its days of mature splendour. Although this structure is said to have been raised under a sovereign of Danish extraction, it may be presumed that he employed Anglo-Saxon architects; and that he adopted Anglo-Saxon modes, if this building be indeed his, is sufficiently evident.

Norwich castle is now used, with additions, as a gaol for the county in which it stands, and has lately undergone alterations injurious to its beauty and former architectural character. The keep, or great tower, is square, and is, in extent, 110 feet 3 inches, by 92 feet 10 inches; the height to the top of the battlements being rather more than 69 feet. This spacious building is placed on a natural elevation; and, from the basement story upwards, consists of three stories. The exterior of the basement division is faced with rough flint, and is destitute of ornament. But from this story upwards, the outside is faced with stone, and adorned with semi-circular arches, laboriously worked, and, in the greater part, intended merely for the purpose of embellishment. On three sides were "very magnificent windows, at a great height, being on the floor where the principal and state-apartments were situated;"* which, together with the subordinate rooms, appear to have been numerous, and of large dimensions.

In regard to the outworks, and other modes of defence used in this building, it is difficult to separate the traces of such as were formed by the presumed original builder, from those added in subsequent, Norman, ages. But, if we may trust to the guidance of a writer who has attentively examined the whole of the remains, the keep, or great tower of this castle, was surrounded by three wide ditches, of a circular form, each having on the inner side a wall of defence. According to the same antiquary,
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to the reign of Canute, and for a more extended description, see *Archæologia*, Vol. IV.; *ibid*, Vol. XII. and *Beauties for Norfolk*, p. 121—122.

* *Archæol.* Vol. IV. p. 401.

the area of the whole castle, including the three ditches by which it was circumscribed, could not contain less than 23 acres; and the principal entrance was approached by means of stone bridges, thrown over the vallums, one of which ["probably the same that was originally built by the Anglo-Saxons"] still remains.*

From the above limited remarks it is hoped that a general idea may be formed of the supposed state of military architecture in this country, and of its distinguishing characteristics, during the long and eventful sway of the Saxons. In presenting an alleged specimen of each most important era, it has been observed that no researches have hitherto succeeded in affixing a certain date to any conspicuous example of Anglo-Saxon fortification. But a reference to the arguments advanced in support of the appropriation which I have adopted, is appended to each instance, for a satisfaction of the reader; and, if he admit that those arguments are valid, he will from these few examples, and the less circumscribed description of each, contained in the respective volumes of the *Beauties of England*, acquire an outline of intelligence which may, at least, act as a guide to local, or more particular, investigations.

The subject of Anglo-Saxon architectural antiquities is, however, involved in much perplexity. In the absence of positive dates, and generally unassisted even by useful historical hints towards intelligence, the antiquary has a field widely open to conjectural appropriation, which often seduces his fancy at the expense of his judgment, and betrays him into the labyrinth of untenable hypothesis. The shades of distinction between the known Anglo-Norman, and the presumed Anglo-Saxon styles, are so few and indefinite, that, most frequently, no conclusion can be drawn entirely satisfactory to the dispassionate enquirer.

In this state of incertitude, many modern writers, intent on adopting

* Mr. Wilkins's *Essay towards a History of Norwich castle*, &c. *Archæol.* Vol. XII.

adopting the side of disputation most likely to be accredited, as it evidently partakes least of boldness, and is calculated to save much trouble of enquiry and consideration, apply, without scruple, an Anglo-Norman date to every building that appears to fluctuate between the received characteristics of the two styles, or which is, indeed, beyond the reach of record, although not analogous in its architectural character to any indubitable Anglo-Norman example. Such strains of decision are the *fashions* of antiquarianism; and should be received with due caution, whether the temper of the period or of the writer, may lead to fanciful hypothesis on the one hand, or to a rejection of all that is not clearly demonstrable on the other.

MILITARY EARTHWORKS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS. — Although there is reason for believing that the Saxons, at no very advanced period of their ascendancy in this island, constructed castles of stone, it is unquestionable that many of those rude vestiges in the soil, which consist of embankments, ditches, and other marks of secure encampment, must be attributed to the same people. Such works, indeed, have been formed by every nation connected with the internal wars of this country; by the Romans, as already noticed; and not only by the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, in succeeding ages of military contention, but by those engaged in the civil wars of ages less distant, involving the disastrous struggles of the seventeenth century.

It will not be doubted but that each party, of whatever nation or interest, eagerly took advantage of the earth-works formed by previous armies, when circumstances favoured such an opportunity; and effected alterations suited to its own modes of warfare. Such innovations were frequently made by the Saxons; and thence arises a confusion of features, in the vestiges of many temporary camps, which much perplexes, and sometimes misleads, the examiner. — As an usual criterion, it may be observed that such earthworks of the Anglo-Saxons as relate to the defensive outlines of encampments, are generally far from strong.

strong, and incline towards a circular form, where no natural circumstances premised a fortuitous advantage by the use of a different and indeterminate shape. But such circumstances frequently occurred; and a great irregularity of outward lines is observable in many camps ascribed to this people.

An account of a distinguished specimen of earthworks, appertaining to an Anglo-Saxon encampment, may convey a more distinct idea of the general character of such vestiges, than an endeavour to detail their ordinary features by more diffuse remarks, not founded on a particular point of observation. The remains of encampment to which I direct the notice of the reader, are situated at *Eaton*, in *Bedfordshire*, and are thus described by the pen of a curious investigator: "The form of the camp, though very irregular, approaches somewhat to that of a semicircle, having the river Ouse for its diameter. It is on all sides, except on this diametrical side next the river, surrounded by two complete ditches: the outermost fosse being more perfect than usual, and the innermost exceeding deep. And there being a pretty broad plain level space between the two; higher than the adjacent country. Whilst, within the innermost fosse, not only the interior *vallum*, but also the whole space of ground, rises *higher still*; quite contrary to the appearance of any Roman camps: and, not far from the middle, rather approaching towards the south-east corner, next the river, is a sort of mount, raised considerably above all the rest, which commands the whole adjacent level country. There are not four entrances, as in Roman camps; but *one only*; and that narrow, and passing straight forward over both ditches on the west side, opposite to the river."^{*}

It will not be supposed that each of these marks of distinction is peculiar to the whole of the vestiges of Saxon encampment remaining in England. Such remains are, indeed, destitute of
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^{*} *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. III. p. 265.—Leland and Camden erroneously term these earthworks the vestiges of a castle.

any unequivocal characteristics, unless [to use the words of the author quoted above] it be "*their having only one entrance, and that they are neither so strongly situated, nor so well protected, as the hill fortresses of the Britons; nor so uniform in their figure, or regular in the construction of their works, as those of the Romans.*" To which it may be added, that *double intrenchments* frequently occur in encampments attributed to the Anglo-Saxons, with a satisfactory air of probability.

ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.*—So indistinct were the perceptions of those writers who first cultivated the science of architectural antiquities in this country, that it was, through several successions of authors, received as a sage and tenable opinion, that the churches of the Anglo-Saxons were low mean buildings, usually composed of timber ;

* Investigations concerning the history and characteristics of the different ancient styles of ecclesiastical architecture observable in this island, are frequently much perplexed by a want of definite terms, uniformly received as expressing the respective modes prevailing at distinct eras. The absurd term of *Gothic*, is by many writers applied to all styles of architecture anciently adopted in Britain, except the Grecian. That term is, however, chiefly used in regard to the pointed style ; and will, therefore, meet with a more extended enquiry, and a more decisive mark of reprobation, in a future page.

In respect to the subject of the present section, much confusion has been caused, by a neglect of precision in several writers, who have applied the term "*Saxon*," to all classes of church-architecture in England and Wales, contradistinguished from the pointed style, by circular-headed windows and doorways. With such writers, the buildings of the Anglo-Normans are "*Saxon*," because they partake of the leading characteristics of that style which prevailed in England for many ages antecedent to the Norman Conquest. The attainment of knowledge is greatly retarded by this neglect of classification. In the present work, the term of *Anglo-Saxon* applies, exclusively, to buildings erected in this island, by the Saxons, whilst possessed of sovereign power. It, therefore, comprehends all edifices constructed between the conversion of the Saxons, A. D. 597, and the Norman conquest, A. D. 1066 ; with an exception of the short intervening reigns of the three Anglo-Danish Kings.

timber; and that, if, in rare instances, they were formed of stone, they, still, were destitute of columns and arches: the stone-work consisting merely of upright walls.

Such an opinion has been long discarded; but, as it stands copied in many writers of a high name [and of deserved repute, in regard to the discussion of other subjects] the origin of this mistaken view of Anglo-Saxon architecture, and the decisive arguments of those by whom it was corrected, demand an analysis in the present pages.

These erroneous notions appear to have originated with Mr. Somner, who, in his work on the Antiquities of Canterbury,* presumes that, "before the Norman advent, most of our monasteries and church-buildings were of wood." The authorities which he gives for such a presumption, are, a certain charter of King Edgar, granted about the year 974; and the writings of the well-meaning, but comparatively modern historian, Stow.

The charter of King Edgar relates to the abbey of Malmesbury; and, in that instrument, the King uses words which may be thus translated: "The sacred monasteries of my realm, to the sight are nothing but worm-eaten, and rotten, timber and boards."

The intelligence which Stow afforded to Mr. Somner, chiefly regards the rebuilding of the cathedral church of St. Paul, after the fire of 1067. According to Stow, "Mauritius, then bishop, began, therefore, the new foundation of a new church of St. Paul; a work that men of that time judged would never have been finished, it was to them so wonderful for length and breadth; as, also, the same was builded upon arches (or vaults) of stone, for defence of fire; which was a manner of work before that time unknown to the people of this nation, and then brought from the French; and the stone was fetched from Caen, in Normandy." Stow, also, instances the church of St. Mary Bow, in London, "built much about the same time and manner; that is, on arches of stone; and was, therefore, called New Mary church,

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* Antiquities of Canterbury, p. 86.

or St. Mary-le-Bow; as Stratford Bridge being the first built with arches of stone, was therefore called Stratford-le-Bow."

Mr. Somner, contented with the authority of this recent chronicler, asserts, that "this, doubtless, is that new kind of architecture which the continuator of Bede (whose words Malmesbury hath taken up) intends, where, speaking of the Normans' income, he saith, "You may observe every where, in villages churches, and in cities and villages, monasteries, erected with a new kind of architecture."

The same writer on antiquities presents a confirmation of his opinion, when treating of the age of the eastern part of the choir of Canterbury cathedral, by saying, "that he dares constantly, and confidently, deny it to be elder than the Norman conquest; because of the building it upon arches, a form of architecture, though in use with, and among, the Romans long before, yet, after their departure, not used here in England till the Normans brought it over with them from France."

Such are the passages which appear to have influenced Mr. Staveley,* Mr. T. Warton,† and the author of "Ornaments of Churches considered;" together with several writers of less popularity and importance.

The merit of first correcting so great an error in the history of architecture, belongs to the Rev. J. Bentham, who very ably discusses this subject, in the celebrated fifth section of his History of the Cathedral Church of Ely. The following observations comprise the point of his arguments, together with some corroborative remarks by more recent authors.

The disputable passage, noticed above, as occurring in one of the charters of King Edgar, is supposed by Mr. Bentham "to mean no more than that the churches, and monasteries, were, in general, so much decayed, that the roofs were uncovered, or bare, to the timber; and the beams rotted by neglect
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* Staveley's History of Churches in England.

† Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser.

and grown over with moss; and not that they were made wholly of wood."*

It is, however, clear, from the writings of Venerable Bede, and is not denied by any modern author, that many churches were constructed by the Anglo-Saxons, of taken planks, or even of wattles, thatched with reeds. Such buildings were sometimes raised in haste, and were afterwards taken down to give place to more substantial edifices, or were included in those more permanent structures; as in the instance of a chapel, on the site of the present church of St. Peter, at York; which chapel, or oratory, was hastily built of wood, for the purpose of baptizing Edwin, King of Northumberland, in the year 627. But it may be readily apprehended that, in every early age, when society was thinly spread, and the resources upon which ecclesiastical architecture depended, proceeded chiefly from the bounty of individuals, many churches, not designed for a temporary purpose, would be composed of materials so ordinary and cheap. Several such are noticed by ancient writers; and it may be observed that a church, thus rudely formed, although the date of its erection be unknown, is still remaining at Greosted, near Ongar, in Essex.†

But that churches built of stone were contemporary with fabrics so rude and slight, is sufficiently evinced by authentic history. In regard to the opportunities which the Anglo-Saxons possessed of acquiring some knowledge in the art of architecture, even in the earliest stage of their supremacy in this island, it is remarked by Mr. Bentham, "that, at the time the Saxons were converted, the art of constructing arches and vaultings, and of supporting stone edifices by columns, was well known among them; they had many instances of such kind of buildings before them, in the churches and other public edifices erected in the times of the Romans. For, notwithstanding the
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* History of the Cathedral Church of Ely, p. 16.

† See Beauties for Essex, p. 425. A view of this building is presented in *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. II. plate 7.

havoc that had been made of the Christian churches by the Picts and Scots, and by the Saxons themselves, some of them were then in being. Bede mentions two in the city of Canterbury: that dedicated to St. Martin, on the east side of the city, wherein Queen Bertha performed her devotions, and which Augustin and his companions made use of at their first coming; and the other, that which the king, after his conversion, gave to Augustin, and which he repaired and dedicated to our blessed Saviour, and made it his archiepiscopal see. Besides these two ancient Roman churches, it is likely there were others of the same age, in different parts of the kingdom, which were then repaired and restored to their former use.”*

There is cause for supposing that several of the principal churches erected shortly after the conversion of Ethelbert, A. D. 561, were constructed of stone. Such a supposition, however, rests for credibility on an inference deduced from the words of Bede (the sole ancient and real authority,) rather than on those words themselves. In treating of the buildings of an age shortly subsequent, that venerable historian is more explicit; and informs us, that the church of St. Peter's, at York, which included the wooden chapel before-noticed, was a spacious and magnificent fabric, “of stone.” This first stone church at York, was erected shortly after the baptism of King Edwin, in the year 627.

Other churches, built in, or near, the time of Bede, are, likewise, expressly stated by him to have been built of stone. The structure concerning which he writes most fully, is the church of St. Peter, in the monastery of Wearmouth; the spot on which he was educated, and near which he passed the whole of a life, saintly in the esteem of his contemporaries, and truly useful in the regard of posterity. “This church was built by the famous Benedict Biscopius. In the year 675, this abbat went over into France, to engage workmen to build his church after the Roman manner

* History of Ely Cathedral, p. 17—18.

manner (as it is there called,) and brought them over with him for that purpose. He prosecuted this work with extraordinary zeal and diligence; insomuch that, within the compass of a year after the foundations were laid, he caused the roof to be put on, and divine service to be performed in it. Afterwards, when the building was nearly finished, he sent over to France for artificers skilled in the mystery of making glass [an art till that time unknown to the inhabitants of Britain,] to glaze the windows both of the porticos and the principal parts of the church; which work they not only executed, but taught the English nation that most useful art.”*

We do not entirely rest for historical intelligence, concerning churches of stone built by the Anglo-Saxons, on the venerable Bede; and it is observable, that, in another author, equally entitled to credit, both pillars and arches are expressly mentioned. *Eddius*, the contemporary of Bede, and the biographer of Wilfrid, bishop of York, mentions the conventual church of Rippon, in Yorkshire, and the cathedral church of Hexham, in Northumberland, as foundations of the bishop whose life he narrates.

The church of Hexham is described as being one of the most magnificent fabrics of the age in which it was erected; as a building, indeed, that “was not to be paralleled on this side the Alps.” It was founded in the year 674; and *Eddius* mentions “its deepness in the ground, with rooms founded of stones, admirably polished; but having, above ground, one room of many parts, supported on various columns, and on many underground chapels; yet possessing a wonderful length and height of walls;

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and,

* History of Ely Cathedral, p. 20—21.—The introduction of *Glass* at this period, as noticed in the above excerpt, will not escape the notice of the reader. Before the erection of this church, under the direction of Benedict, the windows of the most costly buildings were filled with “fine linen cloth, or latticed wood work.” *Turner’s Hist. of the Anglo Saxons*, Vol. II. p. 416. *Malmsh.* 149.

and, by various passages winding in lines, carried along spiral stairs, sometimes up, sometimes down.”*

This church is more especially curious, and deserving of notice, as it afforded a subject of remark to an Anglo-Norman writer, who flourished about one century after the conquest, and in whose time the building was still remaining, although in a decaying state. *Richard, prior of Hexham*, the Anglo-Norman to whom I allude, after mentioning the “crypts, and oratories subterraneous, with winding passages to them,” informs us “that the walls were of immense length and height, supported on columns of squared, varied, well-polished stones, and divided into three stories.” He adds, “that the walls themselves, with the capitals of those columns by which the walls were supported, as, also, the coved ceiling of the sanctuary, Wilfrid decorated with histories, statues, and various figures, projecting in sculpture from the stone, with the grateful variety of pictures, and with the wonderful beauty of colours. He, also, surrounded the very body of the church with chapels lateral and subterraneous, on every side; which, with wonderful and inexplicable artifice, he separated, by walls and spiral stairs, above and below. In the very stairs, and upon them, he caused to be made of stone, ways of ascent, places of landing, and a variety of windings, some up, some down; yet, so artificially, that an innumerable multitude of men might be there, and stand all about the very body of the church, yet not be visible to any that were below in it.”†

In a commentary on the above excerpt, Mr. Whitaker remarks, that this delineation of an Anglo-Saxon church, “reminds us strongly

* Eddius, c. xlii. as translated in Whitaker's *Cathedral History of Cornwall*, Vol. I. p. 114. The passage is differently, but, as it would appear, less faithfully rendered by Mr. Bentham, p. 21—22, of the *History of Ely Cathedral*.

† *Richardi Prioris Hagust. lib. 1*;—as translated by Mr. Whitaker, *Cathedral History of Cornwall*, Vol. I. p. 116—117.

strongly of the subterraneous crypts, with oratories in them, of our late cathedral of St. Paul's, with Jesus chapel and St. Faith's church in 'the crowds,' under it; or of our present cathedral of Canterbury, with its 'under-croft,' and Walloon church, below."*

Many other instances of churches known to have been built of stone by the Anglo-Saxons, might be adduced, on the testimony of ancient writers, who had an opportunity of examining such fabrics. Those noticed above are sufficient to establish the fact of that people having constructed sacred edifices composed of stone; a circumstance which indolence in research, alone, could have suffered any author to place in a questionable point of view.

It may, however, be proper to state, in attention to the remark of Mr. Bentham, that "one of the most complete Saxon churches, of which we have any authentic information, is that of St. Peter, in York, as it was rebuilt about the middle of the 8th century," in consequence of an injury which the former structure experienced, from accidental fire, in the year 741. The church, as then restored by Albert, archbishop of York, is curiously described by the learned *Alcuin*, who was one of the principal architects employed in that work. "From his description," writes Mr. Bentham, "in which the principal members and requisites of a complete and finished edifice are expressed, pillars, arches, vaulted roofs, windows, porticos, galleries, and variety of altars, with their proper ornaments and decorations, the reader will, in some measure, be able to form a judgment of the whole; and be apt to conclude that architecture was carried, in that age, to some considerable degree of perfection."†

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* Cathedral History of Cornwall, Vol. I. p. 119.

† Bentham's Ely, p. 25—26. In the same place is presented an extract of *Alcuin's* poem, *De Pontificibus et sanctis Ecclesie Ebor.* published by Dr. Gale, in 1691. The descriptive lines are thus translated, in the fourth volume of King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, p. 164.

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We are sanctioned, by the concurrent opinions of many judicious writers, in believing that church architecture flourished in its greatest lustre, amongst the Anglo-Saxons, at the latter part of the seventh century, when it was zealously patronized by Wilfrid, archbishop of York. Many monasteries were founded, and churches erected, in ages shortly succeeding; but, in the ninth century, the incursions of the Danes not only suspended the progress of architectural improvement, but caused the destruction of numerous edifices, reared in times of national prosperity, and calculated for a long duration, if left free from human assault.

The great Alfred, like a good genius sent to console suffering humanity, arose amidst this storm of frightful contention; and endeavoured to restore men to their duty and to themselves, by reviving a veneration for religious observances, and by encouraging literature and the arts. But the continual public troubles of his reign, unhappily debarred him from bestowing largely those inspiring beams of patronage on ecclesiastical architecture to which he was, unquestionably, well-inclined. It is, however, stated that "he encouraged the repairing of churches, founded two monasteries, and restored some others."

The reigns shortly succeeding that of Alfred, were, like his own, of too troubled a complexion to allow of a deliberate attention to religious buildings.

Edgar

In this great Prelate's time, this Church of fame,
A finished, consecrated pile became;
By him alone, begun, completed, blest:
Where, by high Arches, mighty Columns prest,
And glitt'ring roofs, of well-wrought timber form'd,
And Windows fair, with nicest art adorn'd,
Render the whole both awful, and sublime,
And long to be admir'd in future time.
Full many Porticos surrounding all;
Where the sun's rays in all directions fall;
And thirty Altars, each adorn'd with art,
Give lustre to the whole, and every part.

Edgar possessed the throne in an age more settled, and favourable to the cultivation of sacred and ornamental architecture. His opportunities were chiefly employed in the indulgence of personal pomp, and gaudy parade;* but the influence of archbishop Dunstan, and the consequent prevalence of Benedictine institutions, were, certainly, productive of a memorable attention to the advancement of the architectural art. Several monasteries were now founded; and many, which had been destroyed or injured, by the Danes, were refounded or repaired.

Mr. Bentham, in treating of ecclesiastical buildings erected in the reign of Edgar, observes that, by the accounts which we have of his monastic foundations and repairs, "it appears that some new improvements in architecture had lately been made, or were, about that time, introduced."†

A discussion concerning the probable nature of these improvements, occupies many pages in the works of several writers on the subject of our ancient architecture.

It is less to be regretted that the limits of the present undertaking prevent a minute examination of the arguments of these various writers, as the object of their enquiries is but in a faint degree connected with such supposed vestiges of the Anglo-Saxons as demand primary attention. Mr. Bentham imagines those improvements in architecture which are referable to the time of Edgar, or years shortly previous, to consist in the cruciform mode of ground-plan, with high towers raised above the roof. In support of this conjecture, he affirms that, in such descriptive accounts as we have remaining, of the more ancient Saxon churches, "not a word occurs by which it can be inferred that they had either cross buildings, or high towers; but, as far as we can judge, were mostly square,‡ or rather oblong, build-

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ings;

* See Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. I. p. 403.

† History of Ely Cathedral, p. 28.

‡ "St. Peter's at York, begun by King Edwin, A. D. 627, is particularly reported by Bede to have been of that form." Bede Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 14.

ings; and generally turned circular at the east end;* in form, nearly, if not exactly, resembling the basilicæ, or courts of justice, in great cities throughout the Roman empire."† Such, Mr. Bentham conceives, was the general form of our oldest Saxon churches.

This opinion, as to the late period at which the cruciform plan of building was introduced amongst the Anglo-Saxons, is warmly controverted by several very respectable writers. Mr. Whitaker opposes to it the description presented by Eadmer, of "that church which the Romans built, within the city of Canterbury, and which, afterwards, became the cathedral of all England, under the Saxons."‡ The descriptive statement of Eadmer [as copied by Gervase] does, indeed, appear to imply that this very ancient metropolitical church, possessed north and south transepts, each being surmounted by a tower.

Dr. Milner § unites with Mr. Whitaker, in opposing the above opinion of the historian of Ely cathedral; and observes, that "it would, certainly, be strange if that form which had been adopted in the east, in Italy, and in France,|| during so many prior ages, should not have made its way into England, during four hundred years after its conversion." This writer adduces a fresh instance of the use of transepts in English churches, at a much

* "An ancient church at Abbendon, built about the year 675, by Heane, the first Abbot of that place, was an oblong building, 120 feet in length; and, what is singular, was of a circular form on the west, as well as on the east." *Monast. Angl.* Vol. I. p. 98.

† *Hist. of the Cathedral church of Ely*, p. 29.

‡ *Cathedral History of Cornwall*, Vol. II. chap. vi. sect. ii; where see the original passage, of Gervase from Eadmer.

§ *Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England during the Middle ages*, p. 31—33.

|| See arguments respecting these positions, in the notes to Dr. Milner's *Treatise*, p. 32. Some remarks on the same subject, are, also, presented in Mr. Whittington's *Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France*, Chap. 1.

much earlier period than is noticed by Mr. Bentham; and one that is of greater weight than the example given above, as the building was erected under the direction of an Anglo-Saxon prelate. This is the church of St. Mary, at Hexham, which was built by St. Wilfrid, in the seventh century. Richard, prior of Hexham, describes the above church, "as being furnished with a tower, of a round or cupola form, *from which four porticos, or aisles, proceeded.*"

The second novelty [that of high towers, raised above the roof] which Mr. Bentham supposes to have been introduced about the time of King Edgar, is partly implicated in the foregoing remarks; but, as the subject is curious, and involves particulars, interesting in regard to the churches of every period, it demands some further observation.—It is mentioned by Mr. Bentham, as being "highly probable," that the use of bells gave occasion to the introduction of church towers; and such we may readily suppose to have been the fact. Speedily found to be appendages elegant as well as useful, they were, however, multiplied in the same building, for the purposes of symmetry and ornament. From the extracts and references presented above, it is probable that the reader will accord with those who oppugn the conjectural opinion of Mr. Bentham, respecting dates; and will believe that towers, the great ornaments of so many existing churches, were adopted by the Anglo-Saxons shortly after their conversion.*

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* The history of Bells, as used in collecting a congregation to Divine service, is involved in some obscurity. Mr. Whitaker, in the section and chapter already quoted, displays great learning in shewing that bells were in frequent use among the Romans; and were, probably, introduced by them to the Britons, during their sway over this island. Their first adaptation to the uses of the Anglo-Saxon church, is not so clearly to be ascertained, from written testimony. Dr. Milner (*Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Middle ages*, p. 34.) observes "that the use of small bells (*noles*) in this country, if we may credit William of Malmesbury, may be traced as high as the fifth century.

And

It is mentioned by Mr. Turner, as a circumstance not to be doubted, "that the Anglo-Saxons had some sort of architecture in use before they invaded Britain. The temple which Charlemagne destroyed at Eresberg, in the eighth century, is described in terms which imply at least greatness."* But that they were indebted to Rome, for that mode of building with stone, which forms the object of the present enquiry, would appear to be satisfactorily ascertained.

It will be recollected that the art of architecture, in Rome, is generally allowed to have been cultivated with the greatest success during the reign of Augustus; from which period it sank to decline, amidst a meretricious profusion of ornament; and hastily fell into utter degradation. Mr. Whittington observes that the "Palace of Dioclesian, at Spalatro, affords a striking proof of the debasement of the art, at the end of the third century; indeed, in many parts of that vast and costly structure, are to be discovered the first traces of that barbarous style of building, which is now known to us by the names of Lombard and Saxon."†

In this degraded state of the architectural art, the noblest ancient structures of Rome were considered merely as a fund of materials for the use of new buildings. Columns, architraves, and the various ornamental parts of ancient and truly elegant edifices, were now employed in such fresh erections, with an entire disregard of symmetry, and even of common architectural laws. Columns were often furnished with capitals and bases of dissimilar orders; and any deficiencies of ornament were supplied by the crude fancies of the new builders; who may be termed masons, rather than architects. Several instances of churches
at

And it is clear from Bede, that even those of the larger kind (*campane*) such as sounded in the air, and called a numerous congregation to Divine service, were employed in England as early as the year 680, being that in which the Abbess Hilda died."

* Hist. of the Anglo Saxons, Vol. II. p. 411.

† Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France, p. 2, and Appendix.

at Rome, constructed in this barbarous manner, are specified in the works mentioned below.*

An imitation of this debased Roman style, appears to have prevailed in the early churches of every other Christian country of Europe. The opportunities which the Anglo-Saxons possessed of imitating the Romans in architectural fashion, are sufficiently obvious. Independent of examples possibly afforded by buildings still remaining in Britain, they were directed and assisted by those missionaries from Rome, who repaired to this island in the seventh century;† and their subsequent intercourse with that city, upon ecclesiastical affairs, enabled them to acquire an intimate knowledge of the modes used by the Romans in constructing sacred edifices.

In regard to the fact of the derivation of the Anglo-Saxon style from the Romans, Dr. Milner affords the following observation: "The well-known Saxon mouldings, the chevron, or zig-zag; the billet; the cable; the embattled fret; the lozenge; the corbel table; and a variety of such other ornaments, as are supposed to be peculiar to Saxon architecture, will be found, on close examination, to have had their archetypes in some or other of the buildings, medals, tessellated pavements, or sepulchres, of Italy, before they were adopted by our ancestors."‡

Whilst admitting that the Anglo-Saxon style was formed on an imitation of the methods prevailing in Rome, we must not, however, forget that in these, as well as in future ages, the architects of our most splendid sacred structures are to be found in native ecclesiastics.

Some

* For a compendious review of the incongruous and tasteless modes which marked the architecture of Rome, in its debased state, see Whittington's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France*; and Hawkins (*Hist. of the origin of Gothic architecture*) after Ciampini, *Vetera Monimenta*, Vol. I. &c.

† See Milner's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Middle ages*, p. 21. (after Bede, l. ii. c. 14.)

‡ *Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Middle ages*, p. 26—27. Examples are represented in a note on the latter page.

Some general ideas respecting the form, and divisions, of the principal cathedral and conventual churches of the Anglo-Saxons, may be obtained from the collated remarks presented in previous pages. Ideas of the same *general* kind may, likewise, easily be conveyed, in regard to the character of that style of architecture which is denominated Anglo-Saxon; but, we shall find, that it is more difficult to assign to the same mode its shades of distinction from that which was afterwards used by the Anglo-Normans.

The subjoined extract of the History of Ely Cathedral, may not be unacceptable, as it concisely recapitulates the form and component parts of an Anglo-Saxon church, while it affords some hints concerning the decisive marks of that style of architecture which is the subject of our enquiry:—"The general plan and disposition of all the principal parts, in the latter Saxon and earliest Norman churches, was the same: the chief entrance was at the west end into the nave; at the upper end of that was a cross, with the arms of it extending north and south, and the head (in which was the choir) towards the east, ending usually in a semi-circular form: and, in the centre of the cross, was a tower; another was frequently added (and sometimes two, for the sake of ornament, or symmetry,) to contain the bells; the nave, and often the whole building, was encompassed with inner porticoes; the pillars were round, square, or angular, and very strong and massive; the arches and heads of the doors and windows were all of them circular."*

It is sufficiently ascertained, from the necessary accordance of the architecture of the Anglo-Saxons with that of the other Christian countries of Europe, as being derived from the same common source of imitation (the debased Roman) that the *heavy circular mode*, above noticed, was its leading characteristic. If additional proofs be required, they may be found in the representations of churches presented on coins, and in the illuminations of manuscripts. The following more minute particulars are collected from writers,
who

* Hist. of Ely Cathedral, p. 32.

who argue from existing buildings, attributed by themselves to our Saxon progenitors; and it is probable that these may be safely admitted as characteristic features, even though the structures, whence the inferences are drawn, should be of a later date; as it is generally agreed that the first ecclesiastical buildings of the Anglo-Normans were erected with few deviations, as to architectural fashion, from those of their Saxon precursors.

Arguing upon such examples, it appears, that, from the thickness of their walls, which rendered such aids unnecessary, the Anglo-Saxon buildings were constructed without buttresses. The windows were comparatively small, and without mullions. The columns possessed a studied variety; and the same intentional want of uniformity is observable in more minute ornaments.*

Many of their arches, occupying conspicuous situations, (and particularly those at the west end of churches) were elaborately embellished, in a rude but impressive style. Such ornaments as are of most frequent occurrence on supposed Anglo-Saxon arches, are thus noticed by Mr. Bentham:—"the *chevron work*, or *zig-zag* moulding, the most common of any; the *embattled frette*, a kind of ornament formed by a single round moulding, traversing the face of the arch, making its returns and crossings always at right angles, so forming the intermediate spaces into squares, alternately open above and below; the *triangular frette*, where the same kind of moulding at every return forms the side of an equilateral triangle, and, consequently, encloses the intermediate spaces in that figure; the *mail-head*, resembling the heads of great nails, driven in at regular distances."†

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that, in this "order of architecture," we must not look for niches and tabernacles; as the Anglo-Saxons, assuredly, did not introduce statues, as ornaments

* It is possible that the fondness for variety, observable in what has been termed the "Anglo-Saxon order of architecture," proceeded from an absurd imitation of those churches at Rome, which were composed of dissimilar portions of more ancient structures.

† Hist. of Ely Cathedral, p. 34-35.

ments to the outer part of their sacred buildings. It is, however, believed that the capitals of their columns often comprised rude representations of the human, and other natural forms; and that the portals of their churches were frequently ornamented with pieces of carving, in bas-relief.

But the most industrious antiquary treads upon uncertain ground, when investigating this subject, with a view of making direct applications, and drawing determinate inferences. Although many churches are popularly attributed to an Anglo-Saxon era; and are fairly open to enquiry and conjecture, from the evidence of their great antiquity, and the absence of all contradictory record; it is still to be regretted that there is not any remaining ecclesiastical building, which can be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxons, upon clear and decisive authority.

It must necessarily be believed that few religious edifices, built previously to the conquest, are now in existence. The Normans evidently possessed grander views than that race of monarchs which they supplanted. Whether superior piety, or the indulgence of more magnificent notions, might be the cause, it is certain that they either entirely rebuilt, or greatly improved, the whole of our Cathedral, and the principal conventual churches, within a century after they obtained domination over the island.

Thus, an entire specimen of Anglo-Saxon sacred architecture must be sought in the remote village, where the Saxon Thane was allowed to retain possession, or where the estate formed part of the numerous domains of a Norman lord, who fixed his residence on some more favoured spot. But the busy hand of Norman improvement penetrated very obscure recesses. That spirit which induced the Anglo-Norman prelates to rebuild the more important churches, led to an emulation among the nobles of the new dynasty. They appear to have taken a pious pride, in displaying a comparative grandeur of ecclesiastical architecture, throughout their respective domains; thus attesting, in a laudable manner, their superiority in art, taste, and resources, over the subdued Saxons. Malmsbury, who lived in the twelfth century,

century, observes [as was partly noticed in a previous page] that the erection of churches, by the Normans, shortly after their arrival, was not confined to cities and towns, but prevailed in villages. The same information is, also, conveyed by other ancient writers.

It is, certainly, far from improbable that some few churches, constructed by the Anglo-Saxons in recluse situations, may still be in existence. We have seen that their style of building was frequently calculated for duration; and we know that some small churches, which must have been erected by the Normans at an early period of their ascendancy, [if, indeed, they be not of a higher date] are now remaining, and free from any serious dilapidation.

But we may with more certainty presume that many *parts* of Anglo-Saxon structures still exist, although intermixed with predominating buildings, often of a much later erection. If such are to be found, it would appear that they must be looked for chiefly, in door-cases;* or in massy pillars, sometimes supporting arches
probably

* Enriched door-cases of stone, exhibiting all the peculiarities commonly attributed to the style of the Anglo-Saxons, are frequently seen, inserted in the buildings of churches, which, in almost every other part, or, perhaps, with no other exception, are of the later, and pointed, style of architecture. It would appear that some motive of peculiar reverence induced the restorers of ecclesiastical structures to preserve these curious and interesting vestiges of the ancient building. Mr. Staveley (*Hist. of churches*, p. 160.) mentions it being as probable, "that civil business was sometimes transacted at the south door of churches." And this conjecture is confirmed by the following passage in an ancient writer:—*Eadmer*, describing the cathedral church of Canterbury, says, that, "of two towers, at the middle of the length of this cathedral, one, *on the south*, had, in its side, the principal door of the church; which door is often mentioned, by name, in the laws of our ancient kings; by which laws it is decreed, that even all suits of the whole realm, which cannot be legally determined in hundred or county courts, or *certainly* decided in the king's own court, must have their determination here, as in the highest court of the king." (*Cathedral Hist. of Cornwall*, Vol. I. p. 151.

Gervase,

probably constructed by the Normans, and, in other instances, sustaining incongruous arches of the pointed style; or in the gloomy crypts seen beneath many ancient churches.*

Destitute

Gervase, 1292, Twisden.) It, likewise, appears that smaller occasional courts were held at the doors of country churches. (Ibid, p. 153. *note*, and the authority there quoted.)—We are informed by Blomefield's *History of Norwich*, that it was customary, formerly, for "a couple who were to be married, to be placed at the church door, where the priest used to join their hands, and perform the greatest part of the matrimonial office; it was here that the husband endowed his wife with the portion, or dowry, contracted for; which was, therefore, called *des ad ostium ecclesie*, or the dowry at the church door." Chaucer describes his "*Wife of Bath*," as receiving her husbands at "*the church dore*."—The preservation of round-headed door-cases, in re-edified buildings, is not peculiar to this country. The author of the *Ornaments of churches* considered (p. 91. *note*) observes; "that an old door, with a round arch, and latched mouldings, is remaining in the cathedral of *Liege*," although the other parts of that structure are entirely of the pointed order.

* Concerning the intended purpose of the crypts remaining beneath many ancient churches, and those which are sometimes found, without any existing superstructure, numerous conjectures have been formed; the majority of which appear to be entitled to little consideration. From the extract of Richard, Prior of Hexham, given in a previous page (p. 258.) it will be seen that the Saxons constructed "chapels, and oratories subterraneous," beneath their principal churches.

A learned and ingenious correspondent suggests the probability of many crypts being *originally* designed for sanctuaries; and presents the following observations.

"It appears that crypts were formed much more frequently during the Saxon and Danish dynasties, than after those eras. In subsequent times, the chancel of every church became a sanctuary; and in the reign of Henry the Seventh, even the churchyards protected, for a prescribed term, persons accused of any crime, except treason. &c. and this privilege was not abolished until the reign of James the First.

"In the barbarous ages of the Saxons and Danes, persons of consequence, and even some of the nobility, occasionally fled to these sanctuaries; where they were concealed from the rage of the injured family, until their crimes were atoned for. By which means, sanctuaries afforded a considerable reve-

nue.

Destitute of positive data, whence to form analogical inferences, the decision of the examiner must, however, be made with great caution; since the utmost result of his judgment can amount only to ingenious conjectural appropriation.

In the above outline of opinion, I have been actuated by a persuasion that we have not direct testimony for believing any known remaining building to have been erected in an Anglo-Saxon age. Bolder writers, and perhaps more luminous guides, inculcate different precepts. In the current annals of antiquarianism, numerous fabrics are either wholly, or in part, received, without hesitation, as relics of ages anterior to the conquest. But it would appear, that, when forming such a conclusion in regard to conventual churches, (the only buildings of our Saxon ancestors, concerning which we possess a resemblance of legitimate record) the enquirer is often misled, by a dependance on the date at which the institution was *founded*.—A modern writer justly observes, that “Charters of foundation are insufficient evidence in such cases; because new endowments were formed, or grafted on former; and later erections were raised on the sites of preceding buildings.”*

Whilst

nue to the clergy. We may readily suppose that no expense would be spared in the architectural decoration of buildings appropriated to so lucrative a use; and, accordingly, they are often found to be enriched with fine groined arches, whilst the supporting pillars are highly ornamented with grotesque devices; particularly in the instance of the crypt beneath St. Peter's church, at Oxford.

“That crypts were, in later times, used as cemeteries, is very probable: but that they were not uniformly designed for such a purpose, is evident from a curious small crypt, now beneath a house on the west side of the market-cross, at Clare, in Suffolk; which is, in dimensions of ground plan, 20 feet by 17; with the roof supported by a single pillar, in the centre, similar to a chapter-house. In the instance of this crypt, it would have been impracticable for a grave to have been dug, without danger to the foundation of the pillar; the space being only six feet from the base of the pillar to the foundation of the walls.” M.S. communication of Thomas Walford, Esq. F. A. S.

* Architectural Antiquities, Vol. III. p. 23.

Whilst admitting the propriety of this remark, we enter on the difficulty of distinguishing between architectural works of the Saxons and Normans, in this country; since the buildings often attributed to the dynasty of the former, are found, on careful investigation, to resemble, even in many particulars of minute ornament, existing structures, which may be ascribed, on satisfactory grounds, to succeeding Anglo-Norman ages.

The dates at which churches were erected, are sometimes ascertained by inscriptions. Such memorials are not very unusual, in buildings raised after the conquest; but they are truly rare, as regards the Anglo-Saxon ages, except in instances where they have evidently been composed in more recent times. Dr. Pegge, in his *Sylloge of Ancient Inscriptions*, notices only four; which occur at Jarrow, in the county palatine of Durham;* Kirkdale, in Yorkshire;† Aldbrough, in Holderness; and Postling, in Kent.‡ But these buildings do not present any decided architectural remains, in the style believed to have prevailed at the dates indicated by the inscriptions.

In a work like the present, which is not intended to be merely the vehicle of individual opinion, but is designed to convey a brief analysis of what has been adduced on each subject, by antiquarian authors of eminent credit, it is required that some notice should be taken of the criteria usually adopted by such as venture to draw a line between the architectural style under consideration, and that of the Normans, as practised in Britain. With two exceptions (the writings of Mr. Millers and Mr. King) such remarks are of a fugitive, irregular, character, and may be concisely stated.

It is generally agreed that the churches of the Anglo-Saxons were inferior in size to those of their successors; and it may, certainly,

* Mr. Hutchinson (*Hist. of Durham*, Vol. II.) supposes the inscription at Jarrow, to be really more modern than the time of the Anglo-Saxons. See, also, *Beauties for Durham*, p. 172.

† See this inscription noticed, likewise, *Archæol.* Vol. V. p. 188. et seq.

‡ This inscription has now disappeared. See *Beauties for Kent*, p. 1124.

certainly, be presumed that, if any still remain in those retired situations, where alone they can be supposed to exist, they are of very limited proportions.

Dr. Milner asserts that they may, in part, be distinguished by "the coarseness of the work;"* and we have been told, by Mr. Staveley,† "that the Saxons made their churches generally with descents into them; whereas the Normans, contrarily, made theirs with ascents." But this latter observation is noticed, chiefly that it may be corrected. Dr. Ducarel, writing concerning some of the most ancient churches which he examined, in *Normandy*, states, "that the entrance into such churches, is always, by a descent of three or four steps;"‡ and that the Normans used the same method in Britain, is evinced by many churches, now ascertained to have been erected under their patronage.

Dr. Milner believes that "certain low cones, which frequently cover the towers, and flank the corners of the buildings," are peculiar marks of this style of architecture.§ It would appear that he forms such an opinion, on the occurrence of these conical cappings at the east end of St. Peter's, Oxford.

According to Mr. Dallaway, "the principal discrimination between the Saxon and the Norman styles, appears to be, that of much larger dimensions, in every part; plain, but more lofty, vaulting; circular pillars of greater diameter; the round arches, and the capitals, having ornamental carvings much more elaborate and various, adapted to them."||

In the twelfth volume of *Archæologia*, are some diffuse remarks concerning distinctions between these two styles, from the pen of Mr. Wilkins; and, as what he has written has met with considerable notice, I present the following extract.

"The Saxons supported their arches, which separated the
T aises,

* *Architecture of the Middle ages*, p. 28.

† *History of Churches, &c.* p. 151.

‡ *Anglo-Norman Antiq.* p. 97.

§ *Architecture of the Middle ages*, p. 28.

|| *Observations on English Architecture*, p. 19.

aisles, by a single column, or rather pier, which was circular, octangular, or hexangular, in the plan; whereas the Norman architects supported theirs, in general, with extremely massive piers, ornamented on their sides and angles with upright small columns; and sometimes they intermixed them with round piers, like the Saxons, as may be seen in Ely, Norwich, Peterborough, and other cathedrals. They differed widely, however, from the Roman proportions; and the Normans increased the difference, as is shewn by the following comparison:

SAXON PROPORTIONS.

	Diameters.		Height.	
	Ft.	Inc.	Ft.	Inc. diam.
Piers to the chancel at Orford, } in Suffolk.....	3	3	13	0 = 4
Width of the arches	3 diameters.			
Piers to the conventual church } at Ely	2	4	14	2 = 6½
Width of the arches	3 diameters.			

NORMAN PROPORTIONS.

Piers in Norwich Cathedral.....	7	3	14	6 = 2
Width of the arches	2 diameters.			

The same proportions may be observed in Ely, Peterborough, and other Norman buildings."*

Mr. Millers presents the following, among other presumed "Characteristics of the Saxon style."—In regard to *form* and *extent*, it may be questioned "whether their churches were ever higher than one tier of arches, and a range of windows above. Richard, Prior of Hexham, speaks of three stories, which implies another tier of arches; but if he is rightly so understood, this seems an exception from a general rule, for the church of Hexham is spoken of by all writers who mention it, as the glory of

* Archæol. Vol. XII. p. 159.

of Saxon churches in the seventh century." The *arches*, Mr. Millers describes as being, "frequently very plain—sometimes decorated with various sorts of mouldings, not only on the face, but in the soffit, which, in some instances (as in the ruins at Ely) is entirely occupied by them—double, triple, or quadruple, each resting on two columns, and generally faced with a different moulding, which is frequently double; so that, upon the whole, there are six or eight concentric semicircles of them; and, as each semicircle projects somewhat beyond the next, a moulding is placed under the projecting parts, usually the same as that upon the face of it."

After noticing the various shapes of *columns* supposed to be Saxon, the same writer mentions them as being "strong and short, in proportion to the span of the arch—the circumference often equal to the height—the capitals indented with fissures of different lengths, forms, and directions; the divisions thus formed, variously sloped off, or hollowed out towards the top—sometimes decorated with rude imitations of some correspondent member, of a Grecian order, as leaves, or volutes—and in these ornaments much, and even sportive, variety is displayed; only opposite ones being commonly alike."

The *windows*, according to Mr. Millers, "are sometimes so very small, that they are rather narrow loops than windows, about three feet high, and six or eight inches wide, expanding inwards through the thickness of the wall. The *roof*, vaulted. The very few remains of Saxon vaulting" (says Mr. Millers) "are mostly in crypts, as at York and Winchester." As to *ornaments*, "the Saxon churches seem to have been bare of decoration, excepting what has been before mentioned to have been sometimes, even profusely, bestowed on the arches and columns."*

Mr. King has devoted to a consideration of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical

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* Description of the Cathedral church of Ely, &c. by George Millers, M. A. Article "Characteristics of the Saxon style."

clesiastical architecture, the fourth volume of his large and costly work, intituled *Munimenta Antiqua*. It would appear that this writer is chiefly valuable, as an investigator and a guide, when exploring the castellated remains of antiquity, and presenting the fruits of a research, where prepossession, and an over-ruling zeal, have little opportunity of exercise. There is reason to fear that his fancy prevailed over his judgment, to the serious injury of his undertaking, when he directed his attention to the ecclesiastical architecture of those obscure ages which preceded the Norman conquest.

A brief exposition of his notions, respecting the gradations of style which he believes to be evinced by remaining Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical buildings, and the characteristic marks of each determinate mode, is presented in the following words, which act as a sort of corollary to this portion of this work.

"It may be observed, as a *new*, and though obvious, yet hitherto unnoticed, circumstance, that Saxon Ecclesiastical Architecture may, most justly, be considered as having had *three very different stages*, and periods of its existence; namely:

1. *The early Saxon*, or dawning Saxon.
2. *The full Saxon*, or perfect Saxon.
3. *The declining Saxon*, or last Saxon; liable to be confounded with the Norman.

"And the *criteria*, by which buildings, belonging to these several periods, may be distinguished, are very remarkable.

"The first, and earliest Saxon architecture, in churches, draws our attention by the *multitude* of the minute, and *designedly varied* ornaments, of the several parts.—A characteristic specimen of which may be seen in *Barfreston* church, in Kent.

"The second kind, appears more bold, and in a more noble style, with *less numerous* ornaments:—but still with much *variety* in the adornments;—of which there are most striking instances, in the cathedral of *Christ church*, in Oxford;—and in *Canute's* great Gate at St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk.

"And

" And the third, and last kind, is manifested, both by its clumsy, stately magnificence, on a greater scale, and in greater proportions;—and by its having cast off so much of *varied ornament*, that it is difficult to be distinguished from the *first plain Norman*; saving that the *first Norman* had still larger proportions.—And the specimens at *Southwell*, and *Waltham*, are sufficient to elucidate this fact.

" The first species of *Saxon Architecture*, continued from the conversion of Egbert, King of Kent, about A. D. 698; and from the first building of Archbishop Theodore's churches; to the time of King Alfred, about A. D. 872.

" The second species of *Saxon Architecture*, continued from the days of *Alfred*, through those of *King Canute*; and till the time of the first *Harold*, about 1036.

" And the last species of *Saxon Architecture*, continued from that time, to the Conquest."*

It is almost superfluous to observe, that the above bold classification of styles is ingenious rather than useful, since it rests upon a presumptive appropriation of dates to specified buildings, concerning the real time of whose erection we do not possess legitimate intelligence. Some minute criteria for distinguishing the architecture of the Anglo-Saxons (according to the system of Mr. King) are scattered through various pages of the same laborious work. The principal of these are subjoined; but it will be obvious that they are, in the greater part, liable to a similar objection with his division of supposed Anglo-Saxon structures into regular classes.

Mr. King considers the primary mark of distinction, between most churches of Saxon and Norman architecture, to consist in the comparatively small dimensions of the former, not only as to general ground-plan, but in regard to the proportions of the doors and windows. He, also, believes the Anglo-Saxon architects to be deficient in elegance of design; and the masons to be less skilful in execution.

T 3

The

* *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. IV. p. 241—242.

The following peculiarities are noticed by him, as affording characteristic distinctions of *early Saxon arches*.

" 1. A studied diversity of ornament, in the capitals of the supporting pillars, on each side the arch; instead of exact uniformity.

" 2. A transom stone, (or transom stones,) most usually filling up the semi-circular part of the arch, as if to support it on the inside; and generally resting on the pillars at the two ends.

" 3. The supporting pillars, placed *standing inwards*, and somewhat nearer to each other than the whole diameter of the arch; and so as to support, with their capitals, both the inward transom stone, as well as the ends of the arch.

" 4. A loaded variety of ornaments, on the mouldings of the arch; and often in *very small compartments*.—And a great variety of mouldings, besides the indented moulding.

" 5. Yet, in general, a very plain simple kind of impost moulding, resting on the capitals of the pillars, for the support of the arch."^{*}

Mr. King adds, that "all these five peculiarities are sometimes (though not often) found united together in the same door-case, or window; and are, ever, so truly characteristic, that hardly any *Saxon doorway* is found without one or two of them combined." He does not, however, contend that these peculiar ornaments continued invariably to be used, "just in the same sort of fashion, quite till the Norman conquest; or that, immediately afterwards, they went *entirely* out of use. Now-and-then, they were somewhat imitated by the Normans; but in such a manner, that they may easily be distinguished by a discerning eye; both by the *larger proportion* of the several parts, and by an evident introduction of *corresponding ornaments*, on each side, instead of the *Saxon diversity*."

Confident in his appropriation of styles, Mr. King presents the following long catalogue of "*Saxon mouldings*." Of these, he says, "that only the plainest, and most simple, and, in general, only

^{*} *Monimenta Antiqua*, Vol. IV. p. 78—79.

only the *chevron zig-zag*, or the *triple indented moulding*, were ever imitated, or at all used, by the Normans.”*

The double-leaf moulding.	The nail-head moulding.
The chevron, or zig-zag moulding.	The billet moulding.
The triple indented moulding.	The double billet moulding.
The triangular frette moulding.	The square billet moulding.
The enriched triangular moulding.	The hatched moulding.
The embattled frette moulding.	The iacrusted moulding.
The labyrinth moulding.	The scribbled moulding.
The lozenge moulding.	The cable, or twisted moulding.
The enriched lozenge, or enriched frette moulding.	The braided moulding.
The rose moulding.	The crossed circle moulding.
The trefoil leaf moulding.	The sun-flower moulding.
The scroll foliage moulding.	The reticulated moulding.
The enriched quaterfoil moulding.	The chequer moulding.
The mere scroll moulding.	The cross pointed moulding.
The starry moulding.	The spear point moulding.
The bead moulding.	The head moulding.
The nobbed moulding.	The heart moulding.
	The wedge moulding.
	The nebule moulding.
	The over-lapping moulding.
	The corbel table.†

As a necessary appendage to this section of our enquiries, I submit an enumeration of the principal churches, and parts of ecclesiastical buildings, (independent of door-cases) which many writers are accustomed to ascribe to the Anglo-Saxons. These supposed examples are chiefly selected from Dr. Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*; Mr. King's *Munimenta Antiqua* (volume fourth;) Mr. Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*; Mr. Carter's *Ancient Architecture*; and the *Archæologia*.

Avington church, BERKS. Stewkly church, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. Dinton church, Bucks. *Remains of the Conventual*

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church

* *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. IV. p. 84—85.

† A plate, containing delineations of these mouldings, is given in *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. IV.

church at Ely, CAMBRIDGESHIRE. Warwick church, near Carlisle, in CUMBERLAND. Melbourne church, DERBYSHIRE. Studland church, DORSETSHIRE. Church of Waltham Abbey, ESSEX. Greensted church, ESSEX. Church at Tewkesbury, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. Church of Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire. Parts of Rumsey church, HAMPSHIRE. Part of St. Alban's abbey church, HERTFORDSHIRE. Church of St. Michael, at the same place. Barfreston church, KENT. The Undercroft of Canterbury Cathedral. Remains of the west front of the abbey church of St. Augustine's monastery, Canterbury. The church of Crowle, LINCOLNSHIRE. Church of Southwell, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. Part of the cathedral, OXFORD. *Part of St. Peter's in the East, Oxford.* Iffley church, Oxfordshire. Tickencote church, RUTLANDSHIRE. Part of the church of Hales-Owen, SHROPSHIRE; and St. Kenelm's chapel there. Tutbury church; STAFFORDSHIRE. Chapel at Orford, in SUFFOLK. Church of New Shoreham, SUSSEX. Parts of the monastery at Pershore, WORCESTERSHIRE. The undercroft of Worcester Cathedral. The chapel of St. Mary in Criptis, in YORK Cathedral. Adel church near Leeds, Yorkshire. *The crypt of Lestingham church, Yorkshire.*

ON THE MODES OF SEPULTURE PRACTISED BY THE ANGLO-SAXONS.—That the Saxons, in common with other northern nations, at one period burnt their dead, is unquestionable; and that it was also their custom occasionally to erect barrows, or tumuli, over the ashes, or the body, of the deceased, is equally certain. Many barrows still remain in Lower Saxony, to attest the truth of this latter assertion.*

It would, however, appear to be likely that the Saxons, in their rude state, paid little attention to dignity of sepulture, except on particular occasions. Tacitus, speaking of the Germans (and thence, relatively, of the Saxons) describes them as despising what they deemed the fruitless ambition of magnificent funerals,

* *Monimenta Antiqua*, Vol. I. p. 287, after Brown's travels through Germany. p. 146, 4to.

funerals, except as to instances of extraordinary public regret. In such distinguished acts of sepulture, the warrior's horse, and probably his arms, together with funeral urns, were deposited in the vicinage of his remains.

From these remarks it would seem to be probable that barrows constructed by the Saxons, in their rude state, and during the first ages of their settlement in this island, should still be found, although not of frequent occurrence.

But it is certain that no large barrow has been proved, on investigation, to contain indicia of Saxon interment. It is observed by Mr. King, that, with the exception of the tumulus in Yorkshire, ascribed to Hengist, there is not one instance, as far as his knowledge reached, of even a satisfactory *traditional* record concerning an existing barrow raised to the memory of an Anglo-Saxon King.* We may, perhaps, believe that the Anglo-Saxons wanted security and leisure for the construction of such immense barrows as have been attributed to them by some writers, whilst they were engaged in the wars which continually prevailed previous to their conversion and the consolidation of their petty states. It must, at any rate, be received as indubitable, that the result of actual research, in every division of the island, tends towards proving that all the larger barrows, (commemorative of individual, or family, sepulture) and the generality of every other class, now remaining in England, are of ancient British formation.†

Mr. Douglas, in his elaborate and ingenious work, intitled *Nenia Britannica*, supposes that, in many instances, *small barrows placed in clusters* must be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxons. The researches of Mr. Douglas are principally confined to Kent.

At

* *Munimenta Antiqua*, p. 269. The tumulus ascribed to Hengist is noticed in the *Beauties for Yorkshire*, p. 873.

† It has been observed, in a previous page, that *Battle barrows*, or those raised over heaps of the slain on fields of battle, have been used in all ages. Such barrows are not invariable appendages to fields of ancient military action, but they are sometimes found near spots where battles between the axons and Danes are historically, or traditionally, said to have taken place.

At Sibertswold, Barham-downs, Chatham, Chatham, Ash, and other parts of that county, he prosecuted laborious investigations. The most curious of his discoveries are detailed in his work, and are illustrated by prints. In the barrows which he examined he often found the human skeleton, accompanied by arms appearing to be Saxon; as the shield, small and orbicular, with a boss in the centre, like that of the Saxon foot soldier, as represented in illuminated manuscripts; spear-heads, swords, and axes, equally corresponding with weapons described in Anglo-Saxon drawings. In the same cists were also discovered urns, and various earthen vessels. Articles of female ornament were found in other barrows.

In the course of his investigations, Mr. Douglas believes that he has discovered relics of the Saxon custom of burning the body, as well as instances of entire interment. And it is probable that both modes might be practised by the Saxons in Britain. For the ultimate result of his diffuse opinions, the reader, desirous of pursuing an entangled subject through the readiest channel, is referred to those parts of the *Nenia Britannica* which the author terms *Observations; Argument; Historic Relation; and General conclusion.*

The researches of the modern historian of the Anglo-Saxons afford us the following particulars of information: "The custom of interring the body had become established at the æra when their history began to be recorded by their Christian clergy, and was never discontinued.

" Their common coffins were wood; the more costly were stone. Thus, a nun who had been buried in a wooden coffin was afterwards placed in one of stone.* Their kings were interred in stone coffins;† they were buried in linen;‡ and the clergy in their vestments."§

Cuthbert,

* Bede, l. iv. c. 19. † Ibid. c. iv. ‡ Ibid. c. 19.

§ Ibid. p. 261.—As quoted in *Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. II. p. 154.

Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained permission, about the year 750, for coemeteries to be made within cities; and, from this circumstance, it has been frequently supposed that places of burial, since termed church yards, were then first formed around places of worship. But the propriety of such an opinion is questioned by Mr. Whitaker; and his reasons for a contrary belief are stated below.*

It became, at an early period, the custom of the English to bury within churches. This practice was soon carried to so undesirable an extent, that it was first restricted to those whose lives were known to have been acceptable to God; and afterwards to ecclesiastics, or laymen deserving of such a distinction by actions eminently righteous. It will scarcely be doubted but that, in appreciating the merit of the deceased laity, any benefactions to the church were deemed acts of especial righteousness. All former tombs in churches were now directed to be made level with the pavement; and, if the tombs were so numer-

ous

* "The custom of placing coemeteries around our churches, in England, is asserted by all our antiquaries to have been originally introduced by Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 750. But they are as much mistaken in this, as I have already shewn them to be in many other particulars. And the churchyard was every where laid out, at the time when the parish church was erected, among the kingdoms of the Heptarchy. The churches in France had coemeteries about them, as early as 595. And those in England had them equally, as early as the period of their own construction. The very first that was built by the Saxons in the kingdom, that of St. Peter and St. Paul, without the city of Canterbury, had an inclosure for sepulture about it; and the very first apostle of the Saxons, the pious and worthy Augustin, was actually buried within it. In sixteen years only after the conversion of the Northumbrians, the church of Lindisfarne appears encircled with its coemetery; and the head of Oswald, the slain monarch of the kingdom, and the body of Aidan, the bishop of the diocese, were equally interred there. And even the country church of St. Michael, distant about a mile and a half from Hexham, had a coemetery around it as early as 685." *Hist. of Manchester*, Vol. II. p. 411. 4to. edit.

ous or important as to render such a measure difficult of execution, the altar was removed to a spot less incumbered.*

It would appear to be probable that the Anglo-Saxons, although possessed of sufficient sculptural art, were not accustomed, in general usage, to place figures imitative of the human form, even on the tombs of the most distinguished deceased;† and it is certain that no well authenticated monumental effigies, of Saxon construction, is now remaining. On this subject may be cited the following remarks of Mr. Lethieullier: "During the time of our Saxon ancestors I am apt to think few or no monuments of this sort were erected; at least, being usually placed in the churches belonging to the greater abbeys, they felt the stroke of the general dissolution; and scarce any have fallen within my observation, or are, I believe, extant. Those we meet with for the kings of that race, such as Ina at Wells, Osric at Gloucester, Sebbra and Ethelbert, which were in St. Paul's, or wherever else they occur, are undoubtedly cenotaphs, erected in later ages by the several abbeys and convents of which they were founders, in gratitude to benefactors so generous."‡

Mr. Gough§ enlarges on the above opinion, and presents many observations on the palpable want of antiquity in several monuments scattered throughout different parts of England, which are, by local guides and heedless examiners, attributed to an Anglo-Saxon era. We may, indeed, readily believe that the piety or policy of monks in later ages, induced the erection of monuments, with fanciful representations of their founders, or benefactors. The most judicious writers agree with Mr. Gough in considering all sepulchral monuments, supposed to commemorate persons who flourished before the conquest, to be at least of dubious authority.

ON

* See Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 179. p. 84; and Turner's Anglo-Saxon History, Vol. II. p. 154—155.

† *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. IV. p. 192.

‡ *Archæol.* Vol. II. p. 293.

§ *Sepulchral monuments*, Vol. I. *Introduction*.

ON ANGLO-SAXON COINS.—There are few subjects of historical enquiry more deeply involved in darkness and perplexity, than the coinage of the Anglo-Saxons. So entirely is this the case, that the most laborious investigators are still unable to decide whether certain terms, expressing a standard medium of interchange among the Anglo-Saxons, be intended to signify a real coin, or a determinate weight of precious metal, equivalent to a specified number of lawful coins. Our object, in the present place, consists chiefly in such remarks as explain the character of *existing* coins of the various Anglo-Saxon potentates; but allusions to the more obscure denominations of the representative medium, used in important as well as ordinary transactions, are so frequent in many volumes of the “*Beauties of England*,” that a few brief, preliminary observations appear to be indispensable.

It is sufficiently evident that money was coined by the Anglo-Saxons during the Heptarchy, or Octarchy, and in every reign afterwards; but there is room for doubting whether they possessed a coinage before their invasion of Britain, and conversion to Christianity.*

In Domesday-book, the payments to be rendered are stated in pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings. But several other terms were used in valuing money amongst the Anglo-Saxons. The whole of these, whether relating to actual coins, or a nominal substitute for a specific aggregate, are comprehended in the under-written enumeration, which commences with the highest
Anglo-

* Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. II. p. 130. In a subsequent page of the same volume, Mr. Turner presents the following observation: “That the Anglo-Saxons did not use coined money before the Roman ecclesiastics introduced the custom, is an idea somewhat warranted by the expression they applied to coin. This was *wynet*, a coin; and from this *wynetien*, to coin, and *wynetere*, a person coining. These words are, obviously, the Latin *moneta* and *monetarius*; and it usually happens that when one nation borrows such a term from another, they are indebted to the same source for the knowledge of the thing which it designates.”

Anglo-Saxon name for money, and ends with the lowest: *The Pound*; the *Mark*; the *Mancus*; the *Ora*; the *Scyllinga*, or *Shilling*; the *Thrymsa*; the *Pening*, or *Penny*; the *Scatta*, *Scatt*, or *Socat*; the *Helsting*; the *Feorthling*; the *Styca*.

That the Anglo-Saxon *Pound*, like that of the present time, was a denomination of money, and not a coin, will be supposed without any effort at demonstration. But the value of their pound, in other estimated sums, or in actual coins, has been much disputed, and is still an unsettled question. It is evident, from Domesday, that, in the time of Edward the Confessor, a pound consisted of twenty shillings, and a shilling of twelve pence. According to a passage in the Mercian laws, it appears that the pound in Mercia contained sixty shillings.* Several authors, however, contend that the pound consisted of forty-eight shillings only.† To reconcile these diversities of opinion, it has been suggested that the value of the shilling varied in different ages. But such suggestions are more plausible than satisfactory, as there is reason to believe that the shilling was, in fact, merely a nominal sum, like the pound.

The *Mark* was an imaginary sum of money, introduced to English modes of reckoning by the Danes; and is believed, by some authors, to have been equivalent to half a pound in weight. By others it is supposed to have signified the value of eight ounces.‡

The *Mancus* is often mentioned in Anglo-Saxon charters, wills, and other documents; and, in describing its relative value, it is often termed the *mancus of gold*. No coin answering to this character is known to exist; and it seems probable that the
mancus,

* Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxon, Vol. II. p. 135, apud Hicet, Dissert. Ep. p. 111. &c.

† As Camden, Spelman, and Fleetwood.

‡ Various authorities for these respective opinions are cited in Henry's Hist. of Britain, Vol. IV. p. 250—262; and Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. II. p. 127.

mancus, like the pound, was merely a weight, and nominal representative of a specific quantity of the circulating medium.*

The *Ora* appears to have been a denomination of money, introduced by the Danes, and is stated by *Stiernhöök*† to have been the eighth part of a mark. The *ora* is the name for money, used in the Danish compact with Edward.‡

The *Scyllinga*, or shilling, often occurs in the laws, and other writings, of the Anglo-Saxons, but is unknown as a coin; and is supposed by Mr. Turner, "to have been a quantity of silver, which, when coined, yielded five of the larger pennies, and twelve of the smaller."§

The *Thrymsa* is a species of money sometimes mentioned in Anglo-Saxon laws, but so utterly unknown to historians and antiquaries, that some have supposed it equal in value to three Saxon shillings, and others equal only to one Saxon penny. The erudite author of the Anglo-Saxon history, quotes a passage which seems to express that the *thrymsa* and the *sceatta* were the same.

The *Halfing* and the *Feorthling*, which are occasionally noticed in Saxon writings, were undoubtedly copper monies.||

The *Sceatta*, the *Pening*, or Penny, and the *Styca*, require more extended remarks.

I have already observed that a perplexity, hitherto inextricable, prevails in regard to the money of the Anglo-Saxons; and its influence is still felt, when we attempt to appropriate names, although

* Some opinions favouring the idea of the *mancus* being really a coin, are adduced in Dr. Henry's *Hist. of Britain*, Vol. IV. p. 262, et seq. Arguments on the contrary side, are advanced in Mr. Turner's *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, article *Money*; and the conclusions of the latter writer are strengthened by the tenour of Mr. Pinkerton's remarks, in his *Essay on Medals*, Vol. II.

† As quoted by Dr. Henry, *Hist. of Britain*, Vol. IV. p. 265.

‡ Turner, Vol. II. p. 127.

§ *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. II. p. 132.

|| *Ibid*, p. 136.

although, in the instances under consideration, written documents are in some measure illustrated by existing contemporary coins.

The term *Scætt*, or *Sceat*, occurs in the earliest Anglo-Saxon laws, as a small definite quantity of money; and is considered by Mr. Turner as having "been mostly used to express money, generally." That author believes the word to have meant a "definite piece of metal, originally in the uncoined state;" and supposes "the *sceat* and the *scyllinga* to have been the names of the Saxon money in the Pagan times, before the Roman and French ecclesiastics had taught them the art of coining."* According to an ingenious calculation, presented in the same page, "the value of the *sceat*, in the time of Æthelbert, would appear to have been the twentieth part of a shilling."

Descending, in the process of his narration, to a date three centuries later, Mr. Turner observes that the *sceatta* now appears to resemble in value one of the smaller Anglo-Saxon pennies. He then enables the future writer on numismatics to present an opinion, which, although hypothetical, is highly worthy of consideration; namely, that the *sceat* was the smaller penny, and the *pening*, properly so called, was the larger one.

The *Pening*, or *Penny*, was the standard coin of the Anglo-Saxons; and that by which they frequently reckoned, although the art of numeration was simplified by various nominal values. It is indicated, in the preceding paragraph, that there were two kinds of pennies, the greater and the less; and this would appear to be proved by a passage in the laws of Alfred, where it is directed that "the violation of a man's borg should be compensated by five pounds, *mærra peninga*, of the larger pennies."†

The *Styca* was a small coin of copper, or billon, (base metal) worth about half a farthing. It is only ascertained to have prevailed

* Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. II. p. 138.

† Ibid. Vol. II. p. 127.

tailed in Northumbria, and in the later period of that kingdom.*

Such are the names for money which occur in the writings of the Anglo-Saxons; in their laws, charters, wills, and other surviving documents. But, in forming the above explanatory enumeration, I have avoided to notice many speculative opinions of incidental writers on this dark subject; and have principally adhered, in the outline of my brief remarks, to the guidance of Mr. Turner, in his Anglo-Saxon history, and Mr. Pinkerton, in his *Essay on Medals*. On the same authorities, aided by some personal opportunities of intelligence, I submit to the reader the following observations.

Notwithstanding various endeavours to establish a persuasion of *gold coins* having been issued by Anglo-Saxon potentates, it is certain that not any have been discovered, under such circumstances as to become recorded, and known to the public. We may, therefore, venture to presume, in the present state of information, that no such coins existed, especially when we recollect the numerous specimens of silver money which have descended to our time, without any peculiar effort at preservation, or zeal of research. It is, however, clear, from a passage in Bede, translated by King Alfred, that the historian and the king were both acquainted with coins of gold. To profit by the words of Mr. Turner, "it, certainly, can be hardly doubted that when gold coins circulated in other parts of Europe, some from the different countries would find their way into England. The use of the word *aureos*, in the *Historia Eliensis*, implies gold coin; and that coins called *Aurei* were circulated in Europe, is evident from the journal of the monks who travelled from Italy to Egypt, in the ninth or tenth century."†

Although we have no proof that the Anglo-Saxons used gold

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* Pinkerton's *Essay on Medals*, Vol. II.

† The itinerary of these monks is still extant, and is noticed in the *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I. p. 318—19.

in coinage, it is certain that they possessed considerable quantities of that metal; and their deeds and wills prove that it continually formed the medium of their purchases and gifts. Mr. Turner is of opinion that gold was used as a valuable representative, in an uncoined state; and is inclined to believe that silver, also, was sometimes negotiated in the same way. After a careful investigation of the subject, the same respectable writer "considers the two sorts of pennies as the only coins of the Anglo-Saxons, above their copper coinage; and is induced to regard all their other denominations of money, as weighed or settled quantities of uncoined metal."*

Whether the above conclusions be deemed satisfactory or not, it may be received as unquestionable that the existing Anglo-Saxon coins are confined to the *Sceatta* or *Penny*, and the *Styca*. Mr. Pinkerton, in his ingenious and useful *Essay on Medals*, forbears to enquire deeply concerning the intricate subject of the Anglo-Saxon coinage; but his section on their existing coins is calculated to convey much judicious information.

Previous to submitting any intelligence afforded by his work, it is necessary to observe that several ecclesiastical persons, as well as the king, and, also, certain towns, had the privilege of a mint. A statement of many of these privileged persons and places, chiefly collected from Wilkins,† and from the record of *Domesday*, is presented in the second volume of the history of the Anglo-Saxons.‡

In regard to the character of the silver *Sceattas*, or early Saxon pennies, as to the inscriptions and impresses which they bear, it is observed by Mr. Pinkerton that they latterly have legends, but at first only rude figures of serpents, &c. and sometimes one or two letters. "Skeattas were struck in Kent, and the other early heptarchic states, from the sixth to the eighth century, or from about

* Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. II. p. 130.

† Wilkins, Leg. Anglo Sax.

‡ Vide, Turner's Anglo-Saxons, Vol. II. p. 137—8.

about the year 600, till 700. Most of the sceattas, as appears from their symbols, were struck in the Pagan times."

Those larger pennies of silver, noticed in the laws of Alfred, have been frequently discovered. Mr. Pinkerton informs us, that "no heptarchic pennies occur till after the year 700. These pennies are, therefore, almost all of the eighth century, or from 700 till 832, when Egbert terminated the seven kingdoms," or rather, the octarchy. "The heptarchic pennies are of Edbert the Second; Cuthred, and Baldred of Kent; Edmund and Ethelstan of the East Angles; Eadwald, and Offa of Mercia and Quinred his queen; with Egbert, Kenwulf, Biornulf, Ludica, Bertwulf, Bugfred, and Ceolwulf, all kings of Mercia: likewise Ethelweard, and Beorhtric of the West Saxons: besides the archbishops of Canterbury, Janbert, and Athileard.*"

Mr. Pinkerton justly observes, that "it is a vulgar error to suppose Egbert, 832, either first king, or really king, of all England; yet he and his descendants were chief monarchs; though petty kingdoms existed till 959; and some of their coins are found, as of Sihtric and Anlaf of Northumbria.

"The coins of the chief monarchs, present almost a complete series, from Egbert 832, to Edgar 959; after whom there are only kings of all England. Ethelbald, 857, is the only chief monarch of whom there are no coins; and there are none of Edmund Ironside. Most of them bear rude portraits, and the reverses are sometimes curious and interesting. Some have views of cathedrals, and other buildings; particularly one of Edward the Elder, A. D. 900, has the cathedral of York, with three rows of windows, round arched. Coins of Anlaf, king of Northumbria, have the famous raven, the Danish ensign; and those of other princes have often curious reverses, and great variety. The inscriptions are, also, sometimes curious; as, on Egbert's

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coins

* It will be observed that two of the kingdoms of the Octarchy are not known to have possessed coins; those of the *South Saxons* and the *East Saxons*.

coins, *Saxonum* for *Anglorum*, and on Ethelwulf's *Saxoniorum*. Pennies of Athelstan bear *Rex tot. brit.* or *Totius Britanniae*; probably struck after his defeating Constantin, king of Scotland.

" Ecclesiastic coins appear of the archbishops of Canterbury, Wulfred, A. D. 804; Ceolnoth, 830; Plegmund, 889. Till Athelstan, 925, we have only names of moneyers, except on a few coins of his predecessors, Alfred and Edward the First; where we find the towns added; a practice general after Athelstan's time."*

It has been already observed that the *Styca* is a very small coin of billon (base metal) or of copper, known only in Northumbria. Specimens are engraved in the first plate of the second volume of Mr. Pinkerton's "Essay," and in Mr. Gough's edition of the *Britannia*.†

THE ANGLO-DANES.

In reviewing the history of Britain through its early ages, the patriotic and respectable vanity of the native is continually hurt by decisive proofs of the inhabitants wanting capacity, whatever their change of state, to defend themselves from foreign assault,
and

* Pinkerton's *Essay on Medals*, Vol. II. p. 64—66.

† Ten plates of Anglo-Saxon coins are engraved in *Hickes*, Vol. III. with brief illustrations by Sir Andrew Fountaine. Many of these are, however, duplicates; and it appears that Sir Andrew read the legends with little "truth or certainty." In Gibson's first edition of *Camden's Britannia* are four plates, and in his second edition five plates. But the coins in these tables "have been incorrectly copied, and irregularly classed; and several German and other coins have got in among the Saxon." In Gough's edition of *Camden* is engraved, "a series of such Saxon coins whose genuineness may be depended upon, in the order of succession, both of kings and prelates, in the several divisions of the Heptarchy, and after the Heptarchy to the Conquest, comprehending a period from A. D. 758, to A. D. 1096."

and to preserve the insular character of their government. Although subject, in retrospective view, to the severest censures attendant on unprovoked aggression, the Roman and the Saxon invaders of this country are still venerable in the esteem of the historian. But we seek in vain for a palliative of the severities inflicted by the encroachments of the DANES. Frigid in relation to the arts, zealous only when intent on bloodshed, this race of invaders would be regarded with unmitigated repugnance, even by the modern, dispassionate examiner of history, if the memory of one great Anglo-Danish king, CANUTE, did not interpose some transient gleams of intelligence and splendour.

In regard to the name by which these invaders are usually recognised, it is remarked by a modern writer, that, "although popular language, seldom accurate, has given the denomination of *Danes* to the invaders of England, they were composed of the nations who lived in the regions now known by the general appellations of *Sweden* and *Norway*, as well as of the inhabitants of *Zealand* and *Jutland*."

But the Danes, assuredly, were leaders in the most destructive of these invasions from the north; and that they were the most successful of the various bands of assailants is evident, as a new, though a short-lived, dynasty in Britain was established in their line.

It has been observed, in a previous page, that the first visit of these piratical invaders occurred in the year 737. But they did not effect a settlement in Britain until the reign of the Anglo-Saxon King, *Ethelred*. Shortly after the commencement of this disastrous reign, and in the year 866, a confederacy of northern foes arrived on our shores, with intentions more seriously injurious than the casual ravages of a free-booting incursion. The political state of the country unhappily favoured their enterprize. Weakened by a division into four distinct governments, the natural resources of the island were still further enfeebled by party dissensions and individual struggles for power.

It was soon obvious that the Danish leaders fought for dominion as well as for plunder; and, in the year which succeeded the date of their invasion, they assumed, by right of conquest, the sceptre of *Northumbria*. Penetrating with sword and fire through several rich counties, and destroying the pious works of ages as they proceeded, the Danes conquered *East-Anglia*, and usurped its crown, in 870. Their efforts towards further conquests were vigorously opposed by the West-Saxons; but *Mercia* shortly submitted to their sway; and thus was England divided between two powers,—those of the King of Wessex and the government established by the Northmen.

We are now arrived at the memorable reign of *Alfred*; and the varied events of this era, relating to the wars between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes, are sufficiently detailed in the histories of the country at large. In the course of these conflicts, many of the principal cities and towns of England experienced calamitous visits from the sanguinary opponents; and, from this cause, the topographer is often led to a more attentive consideration of undecisive skirmishes, than is necessary towards a comprehension of such marked events as are of real interest, and of conspicuous weight, in the annals of the island.—For a reference concerning these, I necessarily refer to the pages of regular historians, and to the “*Beauties of England*” for respective counties; but not without observing that, in numerous instances, the original authorities are so deficient, or indistinct, that many statements of the most judicious modern writers are unavoidably founded on ingenious calculation.—The result of these conflicts, as to the degree and extent of the Danish prevalence in Britain, is our immediate object.

After the mysterious seclusion of *Alfred*, in the year 878, it is well known that he obtained considerable advantages over the Danes; but so remote were these favourable operations from the entire discomfiture of the invaders, that even *Alfred* admitted the enemies of himself and of his native soil to a participation in the government of the island. The lines of demarkation between
these

these divided dominions, on the restoration of Alfred, are thus noticed by Mr. Turner, in the *History of the Anglo-Saxons*: "Alfred having permitted *Godrun* to colonize *East-Anglia*, the limits of their respective territories were settled by a treaty which still exists. By the first article the boundary was placed in the Thames, the river *Lea* to its source, and *Watling Street* to the *Ouse*. The spaces thus marked contained *Norfolk*; *Suffolk*; *Cambridgeshire*; *Essex*; part of *Hertfordshire*; part of *Bedfordshire*; and a little of *Huntingdonshire*. These regions were subjected to *Godrun*, and were filled with Danes. *Northumbria* was afterwards put under *Guthred*, who governed *Deira*; and *Egbert* ruled in *Bernicia*.

"The sovereignty of *Mercia*, on the defeat of the Danes, fell into the power of Alfred. He did not, however, avowedly incorporate it with *Wessex*. He discontinued its regal honors, and constituted *Ethelred* its military commander, to whom he afterwards married his daughter, *Ethelfleda*, when her age permitted."*

Contrary to the expectation which might rationally be formed, on a calculation of events at this distant period, the Danes, thus allowed to settle in England, assumed, for an interval of some length, a pacific aspect, and cultivated in quiet the more useful of such arts as endear a stationary life. But the troubles of King Alfred's public career did not end with his restoration. Fresh invasions from the north speedily occurred; and the Danes of *Northumbria* and *East-Anglia*, although passive in the instance of a first invitation from their marauding countrymen, united their efforts towards the utter subversion of the Anglo-Saxon government with those of the powerful *Hastings*. It will be recollected that *Hastings* was the most formidable and pernicious disturber of England in the latter years of King Alfred. The warfare between this leader and the great king of the Anglo-Saxons, adds an historical interest to many spots in various parts of

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Britain,

* *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*. Vol. I. p. 266—7.

Britain, now that time has softened down the horrors of bloodshed, and has caused feeling to give place to curiosity.

During the reign of *Edward the Elder*, which commenced in 901, and terminated in 924, the Anglicised Danes waged frequent wars with his power; but this able descendant of Alfred triumphed over their hostility. The lines of fortification by which he guarded the frontier of his dominions, has already been noticed.*

Athelstan ascended the throne in 924. The power of the Anglo-Danes had experienced a sensible diminution in the preceding reign; and a dreadful conflict, which took place in the time of this sovereign, accelerated their complete subjugation. The Northumbrians, however, revolted in the year 941, when *Edmund the Elder* occupied the Anglo-Saxon throne, and obtained a distinguished victory; but the death of Anlaf, their leader and inspiring genius, which occurred at a period briefly subsequent, restored tranquillity, through the medium of their entire submission. Profiting by this fortuitous circumstance, Edmund terminated what has been justly styled "the dangerous independence" of the towns of Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, Stamford, and Lincoln. These five settlements, situated on the northern frontiers of Mercia and East Anglia, had been long occupied by the Danes; but were now peopled with Saxons, through the policy of Edmund.

After a long cessation of hostilities between the rival nations, during which the Anglo-Danes appear to have mixed contentedly with their neighbours, in a progressive amalgamation of society, the Northmen again appeared on the British coast, as invaders intent on deliberate aggression, in the reign of *Ethelred*, surnamed the Unready, which commenced in the year 978. We now approach the period of the Danish ascendant in this island; and the steps of progression are marked, as is usual with these
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* Vide Ante, p. 246, *notis*.

dark ages, by perfidy, profuse bloodshed, and every concomitant crime contained in the black catalogue of human error.

The forces with which the Danes commenced their hostile operations in this reign, were not sufficiently numerous to have produced serious and lasting consequences, if they had been opposed by a ruler of military capacity, supported by faithful subjects. But Ethelred was dilatory to a proverb; and exposed his fatal want of ability to preside over a state, by almost invariably selecting commanders who traitorously abandoned his cause, and either connived at the approaches of the enemy, or joined the invading power. The Danes, therefore, ravaged with little opposition; and a temporary cessation of hostilities was repeatedly purchased by the worst of all possible means,—a bribe, in the shape of ransom, for the degraded people and property of an island so strong in natural resources as Britain!

This country was free from the terror of a northern armament in the year 1002; and at this period an event took place which is so frequently mentioned in topographical writings, that it requires some notice in the present page. It will be readily supposed that I allude to the massacre of the Danes, which was effected by order of the Anglo-Saxon government, on the 13th of November in this year. Those ancient authors who form the most acceptable authorities for the narration of this dreadful incident, vary in regard to several particulars, of considerable importance. From a comparison of their evidence it is found impracticable to ascertain the extent of the slaughter, or the precise classes involved in destruction. We can scarcely, however, believe that the families of those Danes who were permitted in preceding reigns to colonize various parts of Britain, were now sentenced to assassination; since they must have intermingled, in the course of many years, so closely with the Saxon settlers, as nearly to form one people, in regard to the ties of blood and friendship.

Whatever might be the primary intention, it is certain that the wives and children of many of the Danes perished in this
dreadful

dreadful massacre; and among these were *Guthilda*, the sister of *Swein*, or *Socin*, King of Denmark, and her family. The death of this lady, who had married an English earl, had received Christianity, and was the pledge of Danish peace, has naturally afforded a marked point of lamentation with every historian of the Anglo-Saxons; and such an event, as naturally, produced a dreadful retaliation on the part of her relatives and countrymen.

Swein, the brother of the murdered lady, soon invaded England, and ravaged the unhappy country, with a spirit of vengeance quite commensurate with the cruel injury sustained by his family and friends. The local effects of his revenge are noticed in many parts of the *Beanties* of England; and I take pleasure in believing that a detail of devastations so afflictive is, therefore, unnecessary in the present portion of our work. In the event, the efforts of the Danes succeeded in subverting the Anglo-Saxon monarchy.—Sixteen counties of England were surrendered to their sway, in the year 1010; and, three years afterwards, the success of *Swein*, and the retirement of *Ethelred* into Normandy, enabled the former prince to ascend the throne.

His death, which occurred in the year following his elevation, led to a diversion in favour of *Ethelred*; but that imbecile king died in 1016, and left his son, the brave *Edmund*, to struggle with *Canute*, heir to the first Danish king of England.

The short reign of this gallant prince, *Edmund*, surnamed *Ironside*, was one calamitous scene of warfare between the contending parties; and on his decease, *Canute* obtained uncontested dominion over the country so long possessed by the Anglo-Saxons.

The jealous severity of this king in the early stages of his accession to power, and the sanguinary measures which he adopted for the security of his individual sway, are well known, and cause disgust to mix with the admiration enforced by some actions in more mature life, and during his firmer possession of the throne. The life of *Canute*, as connected with the history of the English monarchy, may, with justice, be divided into

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two eras:—that in which he was compelled by surrounding circumstances to deem himself merely the Danish conqueror of a rich country; and the subsequent more settled period, at which he recognised entirely his association with the people who yielded to his sway, and endeavoured to promote the prosperity of his subjects, from a feeling so much endeared by lengthened connexion that it partook of patriotic favour.

The errors of his first years of sovereignty may be safely ascribed to the barbarous character of his education; and, as they were chiefly personal, the topographer leaves them to the blended censure and pity of the philosophical historian. In succeeding years, and in the latter era of his sway, he became so completely the patron of those whom he governed, that the manners of the age were evidently influenced by his taste and opinions.—His piety, however fanciful, and disfigured by the prevailing superstition, now becomes an object of careful enquiry with the examiner into ecclesiastical antiquities; and he is found to be eminent for a reverence of monastical and other religious establishments; thus affording a sudden and strange instance of improvement on the character of the Danes, who, in every age of history hitherto noticed, have appeared only as the destroyers of edifices venerable for beauty as well as sacred from appropriation.

It is impossible to quit the name of Canute, in the present section, without observing that, from certain marked incidents, trivial in immediate operation, and of little account with the politician, it has obtained more permanent glory than could be derived from the successful issue of many deep closet stratagema, or sanguinary battles.—The most conspicuous of these is the well attested fact of his unfolding to himself and his surrounding courtiers a lesson of temperance in prosperity, by placing himself in his chair of state on the sea coast,* when the waves were flowing towards

* In the neighbourhood of Southampton. See Beauties for Hampshire, p. 131—3.

towards the shore; and there commanding the waters not to wet his foot, since his attendants endeavoured to persuade him that he was lord of all which he beheld.—An action so simple, and yet so grand, evinces an habitual effort at self-correction, which entitles Canute to the surname of GREAT, and assists in redeeming the Danish dynasty from the abhorrence of more intellectual ages.

The crown of England was worn by only two succeeding sovereigns of the Danish line; *Harold* and *Hardicanute*. The latter king died in 1040.

ON THE MILITARY ARCHITECTURE OF THE ANGLO-DANES.—The native barbarity of these invaders from the north, and the precarious tenure by which they held their fluctuating portions of territory in Britain, previous to the investiture of Canute with regal dignity, forbid us to expect that permanent works of art, even relating to the science of defence, and the furtherance of security, were constructed by them at an earlier date than that period. The field occupied by the Danes affords, indeed, little gratification to the enquirer into the antiquities of this island. Except for the purpose of an attempt towards satisfactory regularity of arrangement, the chief works of this era might, perhaps, with propriety, be involved in a continuation of Anglo-Saxon manners and style; for, although during twenty-four years the throne was filled by Danish sovereigns, each king of this line was contented with following the modes of his Saxon predecessors; and few, if any, novelties of architectural disposal were introduced under their patronage.

The author of "Northern Antiquities" describes the fortresses of the *ancient* Danes, as being "rude castles, situate on the summit of rocks, and rendered inaccessible by thick mis-shapen walls." It is observable that this fondness for choosing a lofty natural elevation, as the site of a castle of defence [the most obvious assistant of security in the early ages of military art] prevailed among the Danes in the brightest period of their ascendancy

cendancy in Britain. Canute the Great is believed to have built several castles, of large dimensions and equal strength. The *Castle of Norwich*, which is situated on a natural mount, is the most distinguished of the erections supposed to have been made during his reign. This building, a splendid example of the architectural manner ascribed to the Anglo-Saxons, has been already noticed; and it may, probably without any great danger of error, be received as a specimen of the principal fortified structures raised by the Danes. Canute, as it would appear, although uniformly indulging his native partiality for an elevated site, wisely adopted the military architecture of the people over whom he had triumphed, conscious that it was far superior to the rude modes of his northern countrymen, and that his success was greatly owing to the infrequency of such formidable structures.*

MILITARY EARTH-WORKS OF THE DANES.—That the Danes, although predatory and rapid in their modes of warfare, until they obtained a regular settlement in this country, constructed, in numerous instances, fortifications of earth-work, for the defence of their camps, is evinced by the writings of ancient historians; and it is observed, in the *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, that the facility with which they raised such as even the great Alfred did not dare to assault, affords a fair presumption for attributing to them considerable military skill.†

Instances of camps, which, from their local connection with accounts in history of battles between the Danes and Saxons, are ascribed to the former people, are of frequent occurrence in the southern parts of this kingdom, where such contests chiefly prevailed. But it is difficult to distinguish between the encampments of the two opposed parties. It would, however, appear that,

* See some scattered remarks on the subject of Anglo-Danish castles, in Mr. King's sequel to his observations on ancient castles, *Archæol.* Vol. VI. Mr. Wilkins's Essay towards a history of Norwich castle, &c. *Archæol.* Vol. XII. and Strutt's *Manners and Customs*, &c. Vol. I.

† *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I. p. 281.

that, unless accidental circumstances induced the adoption of an irregular form, the Danes, like the Saxons, constructed their camps of a circular shape, and protected them by a broad and deep ditch.* It may be presumed that, in attention to their early national habits, they formed their camps on elevated spots, and, probably, on the brow of a hill, where such a site was attainable;† but, in such situations, great care must be used in discriminating between the intrenchments of the Britons and those of northern invaders.

After the remarks which have been already presented, it will be necessarily supposed that little can be said respecting the efforts of the Anglo-Danes in ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE. These invaders, indeed, are noticed in history, rather as the destroyers, than the founders, of sacred buildings. They entered Britain in a state of pagan, rapacious barbarity; and even such was the national condition of the Saxons, when they first wielded arms in this country. The Saxons attained a long period of secure possession; and their improvement in the arts of civilization was proportioned to the extent of their influence over the resources of the island. The dynasty of the Danes was of brief duration; and the years in which the sword lay sheathed were truly few. Hence, perhaps, from want of opportunity, rather than from a national ineptitude to amelioration of manners, they descend to us merely in the character of barbarians, who were the scourge of the land, and the enemies of established social order.

When the Danes, in a pagan state, first effected serious irruptions in Britain, they unhappily directed their chief attention to the monastic establishments, as places affording the greatest promise

* See a Danish camp described in the *Beauties for Berkshire*, p. 135—6. For further (although brief) remarks on the camps of the Anglo-Danes, the reader is referred to *Archæologia*, Vol. VIII.

† *Archæol.* Vol. VI. p. 257.

promise of booty. The general examiner of history, shudders over the recital of enormities practised in the course of these devastations. But the antiquary has less reason for regret [as far as the *buildings* may be concerned] since we have sufficient cause for believing that the more enlarged views of the Normans would have produced, at a future period, a demolition no less entire, in regard to the sacred structures of the Anglo-Saxons, although the work of destruction might have been performed with pacific sentiments.

It can scarcely be presumed that numerous [if any] places of Christian worship were erected by the Anglo-Danes, previous to the accession of Canute to regal power. Those Danes who settled by treaty in East Anglia and Northumberland, appear to have been nominal Christians only. Their public accordance in the established religious ceremonies of the country, was an article of stipulation; and, like most such terms of political agreement, was preserved during expediency,—and no longer. On the death of the great Alfred, they endeavoured to shake off their political allegiance and their religious conformity. But the strong measures of Edward the Elder having, at length, rendered their military efforts unavailing, they resumed an attention to the religious rites of the kingdom,—as by law established. Those frequent regulations, framed in synods held in the 10th century, against the exercise of pagan ceremonies, would appear to be directed particularly towards the Danish nominal members of the Anglo-Saxon church.

King Canute, profiting by a period of comparative repose; and, probably, actuated at once by pious zeal and political wisdom; inculcated the necessity of conformance to that beneficent system of religion, which has ever been found salutary to the morals of the man and the fidelity of the subject. He, indeed, became conspicuous for religious ardour;—cherished, we will presume, in the simplicity of a true faith, but displayed according to the fantastical modes of the era in which he flourished.

He made a journey to Rome, as himself says, “for the redemption

demption of his sins, and the welfare of his subjects."* Whether he acquired, in this travel to the papal city, any information for an improvement of the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England, must remain doubtful. But we are told that he became a patron of monastic foundations, and that many churches were built under his sanction;—these manifestations of pious sentiment, being chiefly evinced on the spots signalized by former battles between the Danes and the Saxons.

Little intelligence, concerning supposed remains of such structures, is presented even by the boldest and most conjectural writers.—Mr. King supposes that the fine gateway and tower at St. Edmund's Bury, denominated *St. James's tower*, or *Church-gate*, is part of the building erected at that place under the auspices of Canute.† This opinion, however, is controverted in Mr. Britton's "Architectural Antiquities;" where the stately structure in question is said to have been probably raised by Abbot Baldwin, in the time of William the First; or, otherwise, by "Radulphus and Hervæus, the sacrists, about A. D. 1121, or 1130."‡ Not any documents are preserved, to render the opinion of either writer decisive.—The above gateway and lofty tower, at St. Edmund's Bury, afford fine specimens of the heavy, circular, style of architecture.

The reigns of Harold and Hardicanute were too short, and of too unsettled a complexion, to allow of our believing that ecclesiastical architecture met with opportunities of efficient encouragement from those sovereigns.

We have, indeed, no sound authority for concluding that the sacred architecture of this country experienced any important change, during that short period of national prosperity, the latter part of "the great" Canute's reign; and thus the style ascribed to

* Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. I. p. 440, and the authority there quoted, (a letter of Canute; the substance of which is stated in Matt. West. 407, and elsewhere.)

† Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. IV. p. 188.

‡ Architectural Antiquities, Vol. III. p. 78.

to the Anglo-Saxons, may, in the present stage of information, be applied to buildings erected during the Danish dynasty.—But, in popular apprehension, the churches of the Anglo-Danes possessed one peculiar feature, which requires notice.

Attached to several English parochial churches, are seen *Round Towers*, which a current tradition attributes to the people whose possible vestiges are now under consideration.

These circular towers of churches, are not confined to any particular county, or district. They are found, thinly scattered, in many parts of England; but they abound chiefly in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.* Although simple in design, and of rude construction, they afford a subject of enquiry not destitute of interest, and one, perhaps, which is worthy of more extended antiquarian notice than can be bestowed in this work.

As far as can be ascertained from printed authorities [aided by a correspondence commenced by the present writer, for the purpose of acquiring information on the subject] these round towers are uniformly constructed of rough materials, and such as could be easily procured;—whole flints, stones, chalk, and other coarse ingredients, imbedded in mortar. The walls are generally of a great thickness, but gradually diminish in substance, as they ascend; and the towers, as now remaining, are seldom of an equal height with the square towers of churches, raised by skilful workmen, under the auspices of affluent and liberal founders. They are, usually, attached to small churches; and are not uniformly situated at the west end;—an instance of which deviation from prevalent custom may be noticed at Tooting, in Surrey, where is a circular tower, on the north side of the parochial church.

It is not easy to ascertain the origin of the very common persuasion, that these round towers are exclusively the works of

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* See several specimens noticed in the *Beauties for Norfolk*, p. 48—49. In Suffolk, they principally occur in the northern parts, upon the borders of Norfolk

the Danes; unless from their frequent occurrence in the Danish district of East Anglia. It is certain that no ancient towers of this description are existing in the northern countries, whence those invaders proceeded; and we have no authority for believing that the Anglo-Danes peculiarly affected the circular form in any of their buildings. Tradition is here unsupported, even by creditable correlative argument; and it would appear that the judicious enquirer has considerable difficulties to encounter, when endeavouring to distinguish the ages in which these towers were probably constructed.

Their high antiquity must be allowed by all. Their rude and artless character, evinces an early date. But we have few criteria for ascertaining the period at which they were raised. The embellished pointed arch never occurs, except when evidently an insertion made at a date subsequent to that of the original building.* Even the ornamented circular style [or debased Roman] is rarely apparent, although it is by no means uncommon to find their simple narrow openings, or windows, having semi-circular heads.

In numerous instances, and particularly as to those which occur in the county of Suffolk,† these massive round towers of churches, are lighted by narrow apertures only, which resemble loops, or arrow-slits.

Thus deriding all calculation as to the date of their erection, such towers must be left to the conjectures of the ingenious. We have, assuredly, no rational grounds for ascribing them exclusively

* The following curious feature in the round tower of the church of By-chamwell, Norfolk, is noticed in the Beauties for that county p. 49.—In this tower, “are four pointed apertures, the arched parts of which, and the sides, are formed by plain squared stones, and the former are disposed in the shape of an *acute triangle*.” These loops, or windows, appear to be coeval with the original building; and the editor observes, in a note, “that similar arches are to be seen in the ancient entrance gateway to Rougemont castle, at Exeter.”

† M. S. communication of Mr. J. Raw, of Ipswich.

clusively to the Danes; who, probably, adopted the architectural fashions of the Anglo-Saxons, together with a profession of their mode of faith; and they occur in counties which are far distant from those districts in which the Danes were allowed to settle, previous to the establishment of a regal dynasty in their line.

Wherever may be their due station in the scale of antiquity, it would appear that the round towers of churches are, in the greater number of instances, of a *very remote* date. Considering the great thickness of their rude walls, and the circumstance of their apertures [in the lower part, and in the original construction] being chiefly confined to narrow loops, apparently calculated for no purposes except those of admitting air, and affording means for a discharge of missive weapons; I would suggest it as being probable that they were designed, like some churches on the borders of England and Scotland, for defence against the sudden attack of marauding parties, in ages exposed to internal warfare and frequent predatory invasion; or, perhaps, against the interference of those who were hostile to the rituals of early converts to Christianity.

ON THE MODES OF SEPULTURE PRACTISED BY THE ANGLO-DANES.—The numerous barrows, or tumuli, dispersed over many parts of this island, have naturally given rise to various conjectures and fanciful efforts at appropriation. Gloomy, from their known connexion with funeral customs; and mysterious, through the absence of all outward denotation concerning the ages in which they were constructed; these earthy memorials have attracted much popular notice, in the forms of indeterminate tradition, and wild romantic legend.

The wondering peasant has ever shewn a fondness for attributing such monuments to *the Dunes*; and many antiquarian writers have been contented with echoing the opinion of the peasantry. But it would appear that the vulgar apprehension on this subject is founded upon floating traditions, which, though

curious, are in most instances delusive. It is probable that the terror conveyed to the English by the predatory inroads of the Danes, was so deeply impressed, that it has descended, in reverberations, even to ages near the present; and thence has proceeded a habit of ascribing these melancholy emblems of death and desolation, indiscriminately, to the invaders once so much dreaded.

From whatever cause such traditional modes of appropriation have arisen, it is evident that they are frequently futile and deceptive. It has been already observed that the generality of tumuli in Britain, appear, on investigation, to have been raised by the Britons themselves. Every research, hitherto effected, assists in proving that the Danes, less than any other people connected with the former population of this country, have a claim to participate with the Briton in his rude, but ponderous and impressive, house of sepulture.

It is, however, certain that the Danes, in common with other northern nations, were accustomed to raise tumuli over the remains of the deceased. Many funeral barrows still exist in Denmark. But the age of these is by no means accurately ascertained; as the native writers on the antiquities of that country are defective in legitimate and unequivocal intelligence.*

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* Mr. Gough presents the following remarks on Danish modes of burial, and on the barrows remaining in that country:—"The practice of burning the bodies was introduced among the Danes by Odin, not long before the Christian era. This age is called *Bruna Old*, or the age of burning; in which barrows were raised over the ashes, as well as afterwards over the bodies themselves. In the succeeding period, called *Hoigold*, or *Hoelst tiid*, or the age of heights or conic hills, the practice of burning was not left off, though it had ceased before their expedition into Britain; and sooner, as a general custom.

"The barrows in Denmark differ in size, roundness, various and distinct rows of stones. The ruder sort are of earth only, or for generals and officers with one circle of stones round the base. In the more improved ages, they added larger stones on the top and sides, as well as round the bottom; and
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We can scarcely suppose that these invaders possessed sufficient security and leisure to erect any of the larger barrows of Britain [works so laborious and stupendous!] while engaged in unrelenting warfare with the more ancient possessors of the soil; and it is certain that we have no internal demonstration of their having constructed such tumuli, in contradiction to the opinion which may be thus formed on rational conjecture.

Many antiquarian writers, relying implicitly on tradition, have ascribed more particularly to the Danes those *small barrows in clusters* which are found in several parts of this island. Such tumuli have formed objects of careful research with Mr. Douglas; and that gentleman has not discovered any document whatever to render it likely that they were raised by the Danes.* The same writer observes "that the Danes, in the 7th century, adopted Runic inscriptions on their places of sepulture; and as these barrows in clusters evidently attest that the inhabitants existed in a peaceable state, there would have been a great probability that some remains of paganism, with their inscriptions, would occasionally have been discovered."† None such, however, have rewarded the utmost industry of the examiner.

It is, indeed, a surprising circumstance in the annals of antiquarian pursuits, that where so much has been surmised, and traditionally reported to exist, so little should have been discovered to illustrate the propriety of conjecture.

In Mr. Wallace's Description of the Isles of Orkney, it is said that "In the links of *Tranabie*, where the sand was blown away, were found graves, in one of which was a man lying, with his sword on the one hand and a Danish axe on the other." In similar graves were discovered combs, knives, and often the

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bones

some of the former inscribed. Those of an oblong shape, and flatter, surrounded by large stones (the biggest at the end) Wormius considered as receptacles of a whole family." Sepulchral Mons. Vol. II. p. 47—48.

* *Nenia Britannica, Passim.*

† *Ibid.* p. 124.

bones of dogs, which had been buried with the human remains.* Such, probably, was the character of interments usual among the first Danish piratical invaders of Britain.

It is observed by the author of *Munimenta Antiqua*, that, notwithstanding the great variety of diffuse traditional tales respecting the formation of barrows by the Danes, no tradition ascribes a barrow to any particular Danish king, except in the instance of Hnbbæ, who is said to have been buried near the village of Appledore, in Devonshire.† The sea, many years back, swept away this funeral mound, with all its vestigia.

Few observations can be offered, relating to the marks by which it is supposed that the sepulture of this people in Britain may be distinguished. It will, however, be recollected that the Danes are confidently believed to have disused, as a general practice, the custom of burning the dead, before their expedition into this country; although, in the instances of those deemed particular heroes, the body might probably be exposed to the operation of fire previous to burial. Such persons were heroes with their own party only, and were sanguinary spoliators in the esteem of discomfited opponents. Affectionate respect, if such a feeling may be attributed to accomplices in rapine, therefore rendered its best tribute by placing fire beneath the deceased warrior's frame; thus removing it, by a destructive flame, from the impotent vengeance of the aggrieved.

Presuming on the correctness of the above remarks,‡ it will be obvious that where we find urns, containing ashes; or any vestiges of the human body, having undergone cremation; we must

* Some barrows in the *Links of Skail* were opened, about the year 1772, under the direction of Sir Joseph (then Mr.) Banks; but not any vestige was discovered which enabled the examiner to attribute the interment to any particular people. See *Archæol.* Vol. III. p. 276.

† *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. I. p. 269; and *Beauties for Devonshire*, p. 261—2.

‡ For an illustration of their probable correctness, see *Nenia Britannica*, Section *Observations*, with the authorities there quoted; and Gough's *Sepulchral Mon.* Vol. II. Introduction.

must entertain great diffidence in ascribing the sepulchral deposit to Danish hands. According to Wormius, the Danes, in their own country, when they buried in large barrows, placed all the most valuable ornaments of the deceased in the vicinity of his remains.

After what has been said in previous sections, it is nearly superfluous to observe that *battle barrows* were probably raised by the Danes, in common with other nations. Such emphatical monuments of desolating contention [which call forth a shudder of unmixed repugnance, now that time has caused the victor's laurels to wither, and his harvest of plunder is all consumed] are to be seen in many parts of this country; and, in frequent instances, they were undoubtedly raised by the Danes, after battles with the rival Saxons and harassed Britons.

It has been already suggested that not any authenticated sepulchral monument of the Anglo-Danes, subsequent to their conversion to Christianity, is now existing.

ON THE COINS OF THE ANGLO-DANES.—The coinage of the Anglo-Danes requires only a short notice. The English penny continued to be the standard coin of the realm,* and each of the Anglo-Danish sovereigns issued coins. Those of *Canute* are of the most frequent occurrence. It is observed by Mr.

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North,

* It may be observed in this place, that the series of English pennies extends, almost without any failure, from the reign of Egbert to the present time. Mr. Pinkerton remarks that the "Norman conquest made no alteration in the English penny, the only coin. William the First, even bears, sometimes, the same reverses with Harold the Usurper, his predecessor. The old English penny, or *Anglicus*, was a coin celebrated all over Europe in the middle ages. In neatness of fabric, such as then was, and in purity of metal, it is superior even to Italian and French coins of the period." Pinkerton on Medals, Vol. II. p. 66. Old English historians inform us that the lay barons had the privilege of coining. But there are not any coins distinguished by a baronial title, or peculiar mark, although the coins of English bishops are frequently seen.

North, "that no king that ever reigned in England coined in more different places than Canute. Keder gives 26 cities and towns. Whether this proceeded from the pride of the Dane, or was granted to many towns to procure their affection, cannot be determined. The privilege of coining was not quite free and unpaid for."

Mr. Gough, who presents the above quotation, adds that the greatest number of coins of Canute extant in any cabinet, was formerly believed to be those enumerated by Keder, amounting to seventy. "In the summer of 1774, however, above three hundred came to light, with many silver fibulæ, in two cow-horns, in a great moss about two miles from Kirkwall, in Orkney. The bulk of them became the property of Thomas Dundas, Esq. of Castlecary; and 42 specimens of the varieties as to place, were engraved in a *Catalogue of Coins of Canute*, published on that occasion."*

The coins of *Harold the First*, and *Hardicanute*, are of considerable rarity. Specimens of the coins issued by each of the Anglo-Danish monarchs are engraved in the Saxon tablea of Hickes, Gibson, and Gough, already noticed under the head of *Anglo-Saxon Coins*.

It has been observed in a former page,† that the Danes introduced to England the two denominations of money termed the *Mark* and the *Ora*; and the relative value of these representatives of coin is explained in the same place.

In concluding my brief hints towards information concerning the coins of the ancient Britons; the Romans in connexion with Britain; the Anglo-Saxons; and the Anglo-Danes; it is necessary to observe that not any coin bearing the head of a *WELSH* prince, or which can in any respect be supposed to have
issued

* Article Saxon Coins, Gough's Edition of Camden's *Britannia*, p. 117.

† Vide *Ante*, p. 285—286.

issued from the mint of a prince of that country, is known to be extant.*

This is a curious and surprising circumstance, as it would appear from many of their laws that Welsh princes, coeval with the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, did actually coin money. It is observed by Dr. Henry† that, "by one of these laws, the coining of money is declared to be one of the four unalienable prerogatives of the kings of Wales;‡ a ridiculous declaration if it was known that no money was ever coined in Wales. The kings of England imposed a certain tribute on the kings of Wales, part of which was to be paid in money; which they never would have done if they had known that these princes had no money of their own. The salaries of the great officers in the courts of the kings of Wales were paid in money; and the prices of all commodities were rated, by the laws of Wales, in money.§

"The smallness of the number of these Welsh coins; the injuries of time, wars and revolutions; and the long subjection of that country to the crown of England; are the true reasons why all these coins have disappeared, though it is not impossible that some of them may yet be discovered."

Although such remarks appear to be the best that can be presented, they are certainly far from satisfactory. That money circulated in Wales, at an early period, is evident from the Welsh laws; and it will be an extremely interesting occurrence to the numismatic antiquary, when a coin shall be found, to
prove

* With this fact collectors are well acquainted. For a remark, proving the justice of such an assertion, see Archæol. Vol. I. p. 282.

† History of Britain, 8vo. edit. Vol. IV. p. 283—4.

‡ Leges Wallicæ, p. 71.

§ In addition to these remarks of Dr. Henry, it may be observed that "the Welsh laws of Hoel dda use *punt*, or *pund*, as one of their terms for money. They have, also, the word *ariant*, which means literally silver, and *ceiniawg*; both these seem to imply a penny. See Wotton's Leges Wallicæ, p. 16, 20, 21, 27. Their word for a coin is *bath*." Turner's Anglo-Saxons, Vol. II. p. 135.

prove that such money really issued from the mint of a native prince.

THE ANGLO-NORMANS.

The death of Edward the Confessor, without issue, led to disputes concerning a succession to the English crown, which rendered the country once more an attractive field of enterprize to bold and ambitious neighbours. A powerful prince, equally courageous and aspiring, was close at hand; and he established, by the exercise of the sword, a new and lasting dynasty in another foreign line.

As the settlement of the Normans in this island, and the introduction of their influence over manners, arts, and laws, are subjects of great interest with the topographer, it may not be superfluous to remind the reader, in this place, of the origin and previous circumstances of these successful invaders,—the latest contributors to the parent-stock of the present population of England.

Shortly after the commencement of the 10th century, *Rollo*, or *Rolf*, a Norwegian chieftain, joined in the invasions to which France was then subject from the ferocious tribes of the north, and conducted his assault with so much bravery and skill that Charles the Simple, who then reigned in France, appeased his hostility by ceding to him a considerable tract of country. The district thus presented as a peace offering to his ambition, consisted of "all the maritime country from the river Andelle, three leagues above Rouen, to the Epte, which passes by Gournay, Gisors and St. Clair; and also the country beyond the Seine. This cession comprehended all that country between the sea, Brittany, and the Maine."*

Rollo

* Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. I. p. 462—3; and the authority there quoted.

Rollo now embraced the Christian religion; and his power and reputation were so considerable, that the king bestowed on him his daughter in marriage. The territory relinquished in favour of this successful adventurer, shortly assumed the name of *Nor-mandy*; and, at no distant date, became conspicuous for the good-order, as well as the energy and persevering spirit, of its inhabitants. Rollo, indeed, proved eminently worthy of his exaltation. He augmented the population of his infant state, by inviting foreigners to settle there; and enacted wise laws for their security, and for the encouragement of industry among every class of his subjects. Intent on founding a durable government over a civilized and improving people, he likewise rebuilt the cities and the churches which had been reduced to a state of ruin by the previous ravages of his idolatrous followers.

Influenced by so wise and benignant a genius, the inhabitants of Normandy gradually quitted their barbarous propensities and manners. In succeeding generations they emulated the polish of their paramount neighbours; and appear to have taken pride in being accounted Frenchmen, while they sedulously cultivated an affinity to that people in language and customs.

Rollo, the founder of this provincial government, died in the year 931; and, after four intermediate reigns, *William*, destined to conquer England, acceded to the ducal throne.

On the death of Edward the Confessor, William, Duke of Normandy, preferred a claim to the Anglo-Saxon sceptre, in opposition to Harold, the son of Godwin; who took advantage of his residence in England at the time of the king's decease, and ascended the throne. The families of both competitors were connubially allied to the late monarch; and both had been admitted by him to habits of familiarity. William, who had entertained him in Normandy, and had visited him in England on most friendly terms, asserted that he had received a direct nomination as his successor. But the sword, and not a claim founded on promise, or testamentary appointment, was calculated to advance his object; and to this decisive tribunal he promptly appealed.

The

The progressive circumstances, and the final event, of the battle of Hastings, are too well known for repetition. This memorable battle, unquestionably the most important that ever took place on British ground, was fought on the 14th of October, 1066; and was rendered so determinate in result, by the death of Harold, and by the subsequent inertia of the great majority of the English, that William was crowned, at Westminster, on the Christmas-day of the same year. Without entering into political calculations concerning causes and effects, it is, at any rate, pleasing to view a great revolution produced with so little bloodshed, in an age prodigal of human life when ambition was weighed against mercy.

It would be trite to expatiate largely on the importance of the events attendant on the triumphant accession of William to the crown of England. Every section in the history of Britain for many succeeding ages, whether civil, military, or religious; whether appertaining to arts, customs, or manners; is affected by this great era in our annals, either through immediate or relative operation; and, in most instances, assuredly in a beneficial way. Contemplated in a general and national point of view, the Norman conquest introduced to this country a spirit of commerce, by facilitating the approach to continental markets, and by conducting foreign merchants to our exchange. To the upper classes it imparted a degree of politeness, before unknown or disdained; and, amongst every division of the people, it renovated habits of piety, which had become dormant in the iron ages of civil commotion and sanguinary rapine. In the government of William we see an efficiency of ruling power, so wisely though severely knit together, that all parties are united by interest in the support of the throne.

The effects of the conquest on such circumstances as are presumed to be of leading interest with the reader of the present work, are numerous and truly important. The great accession to our stock of national architecture, will be noticed in the pages which present remarks on the most conspicuous vestiges

tiges of buildings constructed by the Anglo-Normans. In this place, some attention is required to the changes produced by the new government in the state of society.

The prevailing feature in the innovations effected by the Norman sway, will be found to consist in the introduction of the system of *Feudal tenure*. In regard to those laws which regulate the familiar occurrences of life, and are unconnected with the tenure of what may be termed natural property [the soil and its inartificial appurtenances] the conqueror usually suffered the enactments of Saxon legislation to remain in force. Some laws promulgated at this period are evidently of Norman origin, and were introduced to England by the invaders, in attention to their previous habits of life; while other novel enactments appear to have been purely the offspring of temporary conviction and expediency. But, independent of the system of feudal tenure, the principal changes effected in the morals and manners of the people were produced by example, rather than by the coercion or incitement of legal interference.*

The *Feudal System*, by which term is to be understood a form of tenure that admits the idea of the sovereign being proprietor of all the lands in his dominions, and the holders under which are, accordingly, subject to the payment or performance of certain direct services to the crown; existed, as to effect, in the time

* For proofs of the correctness of these remarks, see Turner's *Hist. of England*, Vol. I; and Bawdwen's Introduction to the translation of *Domesday*. But it will be observed, that if most of the laws remained the same, the form of judicial proceedings experienced considerable alteration.—As the judges and pleaders in the courts of England were now almost invariably Normans, the Norman, or French, language was both spoken and written in law-transactions.—As a circumstance of some curiosity, it may be recollected that the confirmation of deeds and charters by *seals* of wax, impressed on the document, or appended to it, was now commonly substituted for the Anglo-Saxon mode of using the sign of the cross, as a confirmatory appendage to the subscription of a witness.—See some remarks on the modes of subscribing to Anglo-Saxon charters, and other instruments, *Arebmol*: Vol. X. p. 232.

time of the Anglo-Saxons; since most proprietors of land were then bound, as such, to attend the king in military expeditions, besides rendering other minor duties. When the wealth and power of the country were entirely vested in the land-holders, and the science of government was in its infancy, an exaction of military service, proportioned to the extent of landed property, was, perhaps, necessary to the safety and well-being of the state. But even this groundwork and foundation of feudal customs, was, in some instances, relinquished by the Anglo-Saxon kings; and the minor burthens to which land was subjected under their sway, were chiefly such as were essential to public welfare; namely, assistance in the constructing and repairing of three kinds of buildings: bridges; fortresses; and defensive walls. The above three services have been termed by later writers the *trinoda necessitas*.—William the first increased the duties, and directed their effect more peculiarly to the support of the crown, through various descending ramifications; thus completing the system of feudal tenure, according to the mode of the duchy over which he had ruled from childhood.

Unhappily, this rigid establishment of feudal customs was a matter that, at the time of its imposition, required little discussion among the English. The numerous forfeitures consequent on the battle of Hastings, and various subsequent but partial revolts, placed a great proportion of the lands of England in the hands of the conqueror; and the possessions thus revolving to the crown were bestowed, with tyrannous munificence, on William's Norman followers.*

It

* The conqueror appears to have bestowed on the Earl of Mortain 793 manors; on the Bishop of Baieux 439 manors; and on many other Normans, possessions almost equally extensive. Unless we suppose that these great lords possessed merely a paramount seignior over many of the manors entered as theirs in the record of Domesday; and thence were entitled to no profits from such estates, except the military service of the under-tenant, when they accompanied the king in his wars, and the wardship of minor heirs;

It is observed by Blackstone, that the introduction of feudal tenures into England by King William "does not seem to have been effected immediately after the conquest, nor by the mere arbitrary will and power of the conqueror; but to have been gradually established by the Norman barons, and others, in such forfeited lands as they received from the gift of the conqueror, and afterwards universally consented to by the great council of the nation, long after his title was established."* Whether this statement be entirely correct or not, it is unquestionable that the institution of military feudal services, according to the Norman mode, promised, in the early simplicity of the design, to afford a strong mean of national defence, with little attendant penalty or inconvenience; and it was, therefore, agreed to by a great council convened for that purpose.

But in after-ages, when property passed from the hands of those who willingly submitted to the feudal yoke, and when succeeding monarchs took an inordinate advantage of their prerogative, the establishment of feudal tenure, with its various services and prestations, was found to be a grievance of insupportable magnitude. Nor were the calamities of this system confined to those who held directly of the crown. They extended to all classes which possessed landed property; for the baron exacted from his vassals the same duties in the limited sphere of his own estate, which himself rendered to royalty; and even the vassals of the baron sometimes granted subinfeudations, in strict attention to the same plan. Thus, in its involutions, the system of feudal tenure inflicted a degrading taint of slavery upon the landed proprietor of every rank, which, although lessened in the reign of John, was, perhaps, finally abolished only at the great revolution of 1688.

In this state of society, it was natural that many sighs should be

heirs; their wealth and power must have been inordinate, beyond all comparison with disproportionate rank in any other age.

* Blackstone's Comment. Vol. II. p. 48.

be heaved after the comparative liberty enjoyed under the Anglo-Saxon monarchs. But these unavoidable aspirations were confined to the classes above noticed; to those who had a share, by deed, in the property of their native soil. No sigh was due from the lower part of the community, which constituted its great bulk. They were abject and despised under the Saxons; and the Normans could treat them no worse.

The penalties inflicted by the complete establishment of the feudal system were severe; but many of its forms and ceremonies probably imparted a real benefit to society, at this dreary juncture in the annals of Britain, by encouraging a competition in polish of manners and appearance, through the medium of periodical public solemnities. The vigour of the government, the growth of commerce, and the increase of social habits, were likewise favourable to the cultivation of art and science. Learning now arose from the cloud by which it had been long oppressed. William the First is celebrated as an encourager of literature; and his wish to advance the interests of letters must have been greatly facilitated by the numerous monastic establishments, which were founded in the years shortly succeeding his accession to the crown. Aided by the affluent leisure of such societies, learning, although confined almost exclusively to the clergy, experienced a revival in this reign, from which it never afterwards sank to entire neglect.

The manners of the superior classes were much altered at this period, and were certainly raised a step in refinement and respectability, by the spirit of *Chivalry* which the Normans introduced to our island. However fantastical in some points of operation, this animating principle involved lessons of morality, and inculcated a high sense of honour, which must have greatly assisted in humanizing the disposition of a people accustomed, almost beyond the reach of tradition, to view a prostrate foe as the destined victim of the sword, and to connect the idea of bloodshed with that of rapine. The pomp of arms attendant on the pursuits of chivalry, and the romantic devotion for the fair sex evinced

evinced by those who aspired after its distinctions, may appear trivial to the phlegmatic examiner of history; but they were, assuredly, of great importance in stimulating the youth to warlike habits, and in softening their temper in the hour of spoliation. The recollection of these scenes, so fanciful, and gallant in display, may sometimes occur when we contemplate the rugged fragments of a Norman castle; and may, at least, bestow a harmless prism of animation on the deserted neighbourhood.

In the same page with chivalry may be noticed the trial by *Judicial combat*, a mode of determining differences introduced to England at a similar period by the Normans. According to the tenour of this irrational appeal to Heaven for an immediate manifestation of its omniscience, the person worsted in legal duel was pronounced guilty, by supposed divine decision; and, if he survived, was subjected to the penalty affixed by human laws to his crime. As such a prompt, mysterious, and martial mode of trial was well suited to the superstitious, yet bold, character of the age, it soon grew into public esteem, and was not only resorted to in cases of alleged treachery, or military default, but became a frequent practice in civil disputes.

This solemnity was performed in the presence of the king, if the combatants were immediate vassals of the crown; or, otherwise, in that of the baron to whom the contending parties owed homage. If the accuser were vanquished, he was liable to the same punishment which, on a contrary issue, would have fallen upon the defendant; but a discretionary power of mitigating, or remitting, this penalty, formed a part of the sovereign's prerogative. In civil cases, the victor in the duel was the gainer of the cause.

Many persons, such as priests; the sick and mutilated; the young under twenty, and the old above sixty years of age; were exempted from the necessity of resorting to this mode of decision. But all the exempted parties had the option of employing champions to fight in their behalf; and many adopted so strange a mode of substitution, contented to receive an indication

of the will of Heaven through the wounds, or safety, of a person interested in the case only by the payment which he received for the hazard of his blood.

One of the most memorable events in the reign of William the Conqueror, as it relates to a gratification of the inquisitive spirit of future ages, and in some instances still affects the tenure of property, was the compilation of the record termed *Domesday*;^{*} which was begun in the year 1080, and completed in the year 1086.

In my notice of the customs and the legal code of the Anglo-Saxons, I have reminded the reader that a book of this nature, since lost, was compiled, about the year 900, under the direction of King Alfred. The loss of the survey effected by order of that great king and wise legislator, is a matter of unavoidable regret with the antiquary. The record made in the reign of William the First, is still extant; and from this invaluable source we obtain the first authentic account of the political divisions of England, and of the real state of the face of the country, in the latter Anglo-Saxon and in the early Anglo-Norman ages. The conditions of society, and various particulars respecting the manners of the people, may likewise be collected from the same authority.

The legal utility of this record, in many ages following the commencement of the Anglo-Norman dynasty, must have been incalculably great; and still "what manor is ancient demesne, and what is not, is determinable by *Domesday* alone."[†] Its value, as an historical document, with the enquirer into the degrees of society and their customs; the political divisions of England; the aspect of the country; and numerous statistical particulars, in the 11th century; cannot be too highly appreciated at the existing period.[‡]

The

^{*} The word *Domesday* is of Saxon original, and signifies the book of judicial verdict.—*Domesday Book* illustrated by Kelham, p. 9.

[†] Ibid, p. 7. after Burrow's Reports, Vol. II. p. 1048.

[‡] Some further account of the Record called *Domesday* is given in the *List of Books* appended to this "Introduction."

The pernicious act of King William the First, in separating the ecclesiastical and the civil courts, is a circumstance of so much influence in topographical history, that it requires a brief notice in this place. It is well known that every baron, during the early feudal ages, possessed the privilege of dispensing judgment to the tenants within his own domain, even to the dreadful extent of inflicting capital punishment. Prelates, abbots and priors, who held baronies of the crown, were, likewise, invested with the same power.

In addition to these local and peculiar seats of justice, each county had its court, over which the *earl* of that district presided; for the title of earl then involved official duties, both military and civil. In reward of the exercise of his judicial capacity in the court of his county, the earl received the *third penny* of all the dues, amerciaments and profits there arising.* This was necessarily a court of great importance. The bishop of the diocese sat with the earl, and all the principal ecclesiastics and freeholders of the county were constrained to attend.

But King William, about the year 1085, separated the ecclesiastical from the civil part of these county courts, directing that all causes relating to the church should be tried in courts consisting entirely of the clergy. It has been observed, on the authority of Blackstone,† that, in consequence of this regulation, "the crown and mitre were set at variance. The ecclesiastical courts, by putting themselves under the immediate protection of the pope, formed the clergy into a separate state under a foreign sovereign; which was productive of infinite mischief and disorders."

The ecclesiastical courts now erected were three in number:—the *archdeacon's*; the *bishop's court*, or *consistory*; and the *archbishop's court*, beyond which an appeal was permitted to the pope.

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The

* Vide Selden's *Titles of Honour*, &c.

† Blackstone's *Comment*. Book 3, c. 5.

The evils produced by this separation of the religious and civil authorities were felt through many succeeding ages, in the violations of social justice committed with impunity by the dissolute part of the clergy, and in the interdicts, excommunications, and other censures, imposed by the courts formed of ecclesiastics.

The modes of tenure introduced at the era of the Norman conquest, or growing into use as consequences of the system of government, and regulation of property, then adopted, involve several terms which demand observation. Such are the words *Honour* and *Barony*, concerning the exact meaning of which a considerable misapprehension often prevails.

It is remarked by Mr. Madox, in *Baronia Anglica*, that, "In ancient times, the word *Honor* usually signified the lordship or fee of an earl, and the lordship or fee of a baron. But, in process of time, honor and barony came to be used as words of the same import. An honor, then, was the fee, or seignury, of an earl, or baron; *relieving of the crown of England*."*

In

* *Baronia Anglica*, p. 2.—In the reign of Henry the Eighth a new species of *Honour* was created, in the instance of certain manors belonging to the crown. These were the manors of *Amphill*, *Hampton Court*, and *Grafton*. But although they might, by the exercise of the royal power, acquire some of the properties of an honour, in being composed of several manors united together, and possessing a capital seat; yet they were incorrectly styled honours, as they had not previously constituted baronies, or the capital seats of baronies. It is observed by Madox (*Baron. Angli.* p. 9.) "that the essential and distinguishing property of an honor, vested in the king, was to be a *Barony escheated*;" which was not the case with the above-named manors, and they were consequently nominal, rather than proper, honours.—The existence of other nominal honours, which partake still less of the original meaning of the term, is noticed and explained in the following passage of Blackstone (*Comment.* Vol. II. p. 90—91, 8vo. edit.) "In the early times of our legal constitution, the king's greater barons, who had a large extent of territory, held under the crown, granted out frequently smaller manors to inferior persons, to be holden of themselves; which do, therefore, now continue to be held under a superior lord, who is called, in such cases, the lord paramount

In speaking concerning *baronies*, we should hold distinctly in remembrance that the same word is sometimes used to express two different circumstances of possession; viz. the land-barony and the titular barony. In addition to what is said above, concerning the former, it may be added from Madox, that "a *Land-honor*, or *barony*, is so called because it was annexed and united to land. It was bounded by a determinate extent of ground, like as a manor, liberty, or ferme, was bounded.

"There were in England certain honors which were often called by Norman, or other foreign names; that is to say, sometimes by the English, and sometimes by the foreign name. This happened when the same person was lord of an honor in Normandy, or some other foreign country, and also of an honor in England." Mr. Madox mentions, as an instance of this practice, that "the Earl of Brittany was lord of the honor of Brittany, in France, and also of the honor of Richmond, in England; whence, the honor of Richmond was sometimes called by the foreign name, the honor of Brittany, or *the Honor of the Earl of Brittany*." The recollection of this practice will often be found useful by the reader of the "*Beauties of England*."

The *Titular baronies* of this country are well described in the following paragraph, which, likewise, presents some conjectures concerning their origin and ancient characteristics: "The original and antiquity of baronies have occasioned great inquiries among our English antiquaries. The most probable opinion seems to be, that they were the same with our present lords of manors; to which the name of *court baron* [which is the lord's court, and incident to every manor] gives some countenance.*

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paramount over all these manors; and his seignory is frequently termed an honour, not a manor; especially if it hath belonged to an ancient feudal baron, or hath been at any time in the hands of the crown."

* "Lords of manors, who had granted to others, by subinfeudation, part of that estate which they held of the king, would necessarily be barons; but it does not follow, conversely, that a baron was of necessity a lord of a manor;

It may be collected from King John's *magna charta*, that originally all lords of manors, or barons, that held of the king *in capite*, had seats in the great council, or parliament: till, about the reign of that prince, the conflux of them became so large and troublesome, that the king was obliged to divide them, and summon only the greater barons in person; leaving the small ones to be summoned by the sheriff, and [as it is said] to sit by representation in another house; which gave rise to the separation of the two houses of Parliament. By degrees, the title came to be confined to the greater barons, or lords of Parliament only; and there were no other barons among the peerage but such as were summoned by writ, in respect of the tenure of their lands or baronies, till Richard the Second first made it a mere title of honour, by conferring it on divers persons by his letters patent."^a

The spiritual lords, consisting of two archbishops and twenty-four bishops, are considered as holding certain ancient baronies under the king. William the Conqueror changed the spiritual tenure of frank-almoign, or free alms, under which mitred ecclesiastics held their lands during the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, into the feudal tenure by barony. "This subjected their estates to all civil charges and assessments, from which they were before exempt. But, in right of succession to those baronies, which were unalienable from their respective dignities, the bishops, and abbots, were allowed their seats in the House of Lords."[†]

In explanation of a term which often occurs when speaking of lauded property subsequent to the Norman conquest, the reader may be reminded that, on the introduction of the feudal law in
its

manor; for the king's tenant, who retained all the estate granted him, and alienated no part of it, would certainly be as complete a baron as a lord of a manor." Note to Blackstone's Comment, edit. 14th, by Edward Christian, Esq.

^a Blackstone's Comment. Vol. I. p. 399.

[†] Ibid, p. 156.

its full extent of rigour, the whole of the lands in this kingdom were divided into what were called *knight's fees*. This division obviously originated in the institution of tenure by knight's service. In constituting such a tenure, a certain portion of land was necessary, which was termed a *knight's fee*. But the best writers differ as to whether the requisite fee of a knight was necessarily determinate in quantity, or otherwise. The measure of a knight's fee is said by Blackstone to have been estimated, in the third year of the reign of Edward the First, "at twelve ploughlands; and its value [though it varied with the times] in the reigns of Edward the First and Edward the Second, was stated at 20*l. per annum*."^e

On the contrary, Mr. Selden contends "that a knight's fee did not consist of land of a fixed extent, or value; but was as much as the king was pleased to grant upon the condition of having the service of one knight;" and this opinion is considered as the more probable by Mr. Christian, in a note on the above passage in the "Commentaries."

The service due from a person holding a whole *fee* by knight's service, consisted in attending his lord to the wars for forty days in every year, if called upon. In consequence of the subdivisions of property, we find frequent mention of the half, or fractional proportion of a knight's fee. In these cases the service due was divided between the participators in the land; the person holding half a knight's fee performing twenty days service.—The number of knight's fees into which England was divided, is usually believed to have been about sixty thousand.[†]

ON THE MILITARY ARCHITECTURE OF THE ANGLO-NORMANS.—Although many fortified buildings of stone had been

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raised

^e Blackstone's Comment. Vol. II. p. 69, and the authorities there quoted.

[†] Vide Selden's Titles of Honour, &c.—For many remarks on the probable number of knight's fees in England, the reader is referred to Madox's Baronia Anglica, Book I. Chap. 2.

raised by Alfred and his successors, the inadequacy of these to the defence of the country was obvious at the accession of William the First; and by that warlike and politic king, the erection of additional castellated structures was constituted one of the first cares of his new government. The prodigious power vested in a conqueror's hands rendered his plan easy of execution. He not only built, by public aid, strong castles in the principal towns within the royal demesnes,* but stimulated the nobles whose possessions were derived from his pleasure, to construct similar fortresses on their respective estates; for the great object of his policy was necessarily directed to an effect of immediate operation,—the security of the Anglo-Norman government against the discontents of his native English subjects. The evils arising from such a phalanx of strong holds, vested in barons who might not always be obedient to the crown, were to be felt at a future day.

In this spirit of political intention he was imitated by his immediate successors; amongst whom William Rufus is said by ancient writers to have exceeded even his father in a fondness for erecting castles of defence.

As the feudal system acquired strength, the number of castles increased; and when the exigencies of the crown no longer demanded an augmentation of strong holds for the defence of the state, ambition amongst the barons acted as a sufficient inducement. Disputes concerning a succession to the crown likewise favoured this increase of defensible retreats. Whilst the dignity of the throne was tarnished by party-conflict, and the interests of the people lay quite neglected, numerous castles were raised by the partizans of each contending faction.—The troubled reign of
Stephen

* Royal castles, from the earliest period at which such fortresses are recognised, were erected and preserved in repair at the public expense. It will be recollected that this duty formed one of the three obligations imposed upon all lands in the Anglo-Saxon times, usually termed the *trinoda necessitas*.

Stephen is the era most conspicuous for the erection of such fortresses, although less architectural skill is displayed in his buildings than in those of many other ages.

In the present section, our attention will be confined to such castles as strictly evince a style introduced by the Normans; and will, therefore, be limited to structures erected shortly after the conquest. For more complex modes of military architecture were speedily adopted, which may be noticed with greater propriety in future pages.

While discussing this part of our subject, it appears desirable to adopt, in some measure, the arrangement of an antiquarian writer whose works are of great utility in such investigations, if the authenticated portion be carefully separated from that which partakes of fancy, or hypothesis. Mr. King, in the "*Sequel to his Observations on Ancient Castles*,"* divides the determinate military architecture of the Anglo-Normans into two classes; that which they practised in such structures as were raised by William the First, for the purpose of immediate defence; and the more artificial mode which was afterwards introduced, and is supposed to have been carried to its greatest perfection, by Bishop Gundulph.

Concerning *the first Anglo-Norman style*, it is observed by the same antiquary, "that the Normans, magnificent as they were, seem, at first, to have entered this country with ideas of fortification quite different from, and inferior to, those of the Saxons; though they afterwards adopted the latter, and even greatly improved upon them.

" Their first castles, and their first style of architecture, are almost every where to be distinguished. Descended from the Danes, they still retained Danish ideas, and considered the *high mount* as the most essential part of a fortress. The high insulated hill, as the basis of a *round tower*, is characteristic of all the *first Norman castles*."†

In

* Archæol. Vol. VI.

† Archæol. Vol. VI. p. 257.

In illustration of the correctness of these remarks, may be noticed remains of such structures at *York*,* *Lincoln*,† *Titchhill* in Yorkshire,‡ and *Tunbridge*.§ These examples are selected, as each has afforded a subject of observation to the author above quoted; but vestiges of other castles, possessing the same general characteristics, occur in different parts of this country, and are described in respective portions of the "*Beauties of England and Wales*."

The keep of *Lincoln castle*, which was built by order of William the First, in the early part of his reign, was nearly round, and was situated on a high artificial mount, the summit of which it almost entirely covered. In the instance of *York*, the keep was excluded from the castle area; but here, at *Lincoln*, "the walls enclosing the whole circuit of the fortress were made to ascend on each side the slope, and to join to the great tower; which was, in other respects, in consequence of the steepness of the hill, and its talus, equally inaccessible, both from within the castle-area and from without, except by a steep flight of steps, and a draw-bridge over a ditch."

It is observable that in this, and other fortifications constructed at nearly the same period, the chief reliance for defence was placed on the massy character of the walls, and the steepness of the artificial hill on which the great tower was raised; for, in several instances, the principal portal is found level with the ground, and not elevated on the side of the wall, as was the practice of ages better skilled in the science of defence.

Besides the keep [or citadel of the fortress, containing the rooms of state residence] there was at *Lincoln*, another tower, of smaller proportions, also placed on an artificial mount, and communicating with the former by means of a covered way. The
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* *Beauties for Yorkshire*, p. 236.

† ——— *Lincolnshire*, p. 647.

‡ ——— *Yorkshire*, p. 839.

§ ——— *Kent*, p. 1286.

outer walls of the castle enclose a very large area ; but so many alterations have been effected by later ages, in these parts of the works, that such vestiges as are really of an early Norman date cannot be distinguished with accuracy.

Although it has been deemed expedient to divide variations of the style introduced by the Anglo-Normans into determinate classes, it must not be imagined that either of those distinct modes had a precise and definite term of prevalence. A defective fashion might find imitators after a better manner was introduced ; and, in regard to these Norman plans of military architecture, if we suppose that which was first used to have been the chosen practice of the Normans in their own country, we may readily believe that chieftains, newly settling in England, in an after-age, might bring with them a national partiality, and might raise structures in the first Anglo-Norman mode, in neglect of the improvements introduced since that fashion was rejected by the majority.

Indeed, no attempt can be more futile than that of seeking to ascertain the exact age of any pile, whether religious, military, or domestic, merely from its agreement in certain particulars of architectural disposal with other buildings, concerning which the date of erection is positively ascertained. There are reasons for supposing that such a method of calculation may with more safety be applied to the early and middle ages of English history than to those more recent ; but fancy, caprice, necessity, and many other inducements, must have caused deviations from the best and most frequent modes, in every era.

Thus, many castles, erected at a date subsequent to the early part of the first William's reign, are found to display the manner noticed in the above pages as being introduced at that period. Among these may be mentioned the *castle of Tunbridge*, which appears to have been built after the completion of the record termed Domesday, and, probably, not before the time of William Rufus. Yet we here view a retrocessive adoption of the style first used by the Anglo-Normans ; for the original keep,
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and principal part of the fortress, consisted of a spacious and strong, oblong tower, situated on the summit of a high artificial mount. The additions made by succeeding builders,* together with the dilapidations effected by the wear of ages, and the tasteless severity of persons through whose possession the estate has passed in modern times, have caused an inextricable confusion to prevail in regard to the outworks; but it appears that the keep and dependant area were originally protected by lines of massy wall, and deep ditches, which were supplied with water by skillful and laborious contrivances.

It is the laudable practice of many popular antiquarian writers of the present day, to avoid an indulgence in hypothetical calculation, and to adhere only to plain and unequivocal matter of fact. Such a mode of enquiry cannot be too highly commended, while it simply rests on the firm basis with which it commenced, and does not, in its progress, endeavour to discourage, by ridicule without argument, the efforts of the more excursive to illustrate doubtful circumstances by the rational aid of general analogy. The usual futility of attempts to ascertain *precise dates* of erection, by an affinity of architectural arrangement, has been already pointed out.—It would, however, appear that we may with security place reliance on the above appropriation of style, as the dates of several buildings there noticed are ascertained on sound historical testimony.

And with the same confidence we proceed to an examination of the *second, or improved, Anglo-Norman style*; for it is known that the fortifications of the *castle of Rochester* were begun under the direction of Bishop Gundulph, about the year 1088; and it is probable that the greater part was completed according to his plans

* The tower of entrance is the addition most worthy of notice. This is an extensive building, flanked by round towers, and containing many spacious apartments. From the character of its ornaments, it is supposed that this part of the castle was erected about the reign of John, or that of Henry the Third, and it forms an instance of the *Gatehouse*, which is so distinguished a feature in many castles constructed in the Middle ages.

plans, and under his care. The improvements which had taken place in military architecture are here obvious, and of high interest. But it is not to be supposed that the whole were first introduced in this instance. Each had, unquestionably, been for some years in that progressive state which is incidental to works of art in their approach towards perfection; and relics of anterior and less refined efforts, similar as to intention, are probably still to be noticed in several parts of England.

Intent on raising such fortresses as might effectually supply a necessity long felt in Britain, and at once assist in defending the state against foreign and factious assailants, King William the First, and his successor, carefully selected persons most renowned for architectural skill, and directed their attention towards the construction of castles of defence. The peculiar talent of Gundulph, and the general character of the improvements which are ascribed to him, are well explained in the following passage.

“ Amongst other persons whom William employed and consulted in the advancement of his favourite plan, was Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester. This extraordinary genius began to reason with more acuteness upon the subject than any architect had done before: and determined to unite together all the excellencies of former structures, [both those of Alfred’s castles, and those of the great round towers of his own countrymen:] and to add many new inventions; for the sake of increasing not only the security, but also the magnificence of these piles. His mode of building was immediately so greatly admired, and so soon came into fashion; that although the prejudice in favour of the old plan, long continued amongst the Normans; and many castles were still daily built according to it; yet many also, in the very same age, and even in the very same years, were erected on Gundulph’s.

“ He determined to get rid of the awkward labour of raising high artificial mounts, by way of defending the entrance and approach to the keep; despised the inconvenience of the central well

well, for the purpose of affording air, and light, in the round towers; and saw many defects even in the great castles of Alfred; especially in their want of inward defence to the loop holes in the lower apartments, and in the unguarded design of their great windows above. In short, to him appears clearly to be due, the honor of the invention of the noble high elevated portal, so completely defended by draw-bridges, gates, and portcullises, [all placed in the most judicious manner] in lieu of the high mount; the invention of the mode of properly defending loop holes; the invention of wells, concealed in the walls, for the purpose of drawing up timbers; the improvement of the manner in which galleries of communication were constructed in the walls; and other judicious devices, with regard to the situation of staircases, and an improved mode of constructing even the very dungeons.

"The noble proportions, and disposition of the state apartments, was also another excellence in Gundulph's keeps; as well as the stately mode of approach, and ascent to them."^{*}

The castle of *Rochester* is the latest effort of Bishop Gundulph in castellated architecture; and it presents a fine and venerable instance of his skill, as the whole of the improvements known to have been introduced by him are here assembled in one impressive display.

This castle is so amply described in the *Beauties of England for Kent*,[†] that a notice of its leading characteristics, as a standard of comparison with the modes of other eras, must be all that is required in the present place.

Rochester castle is situated near the brow of a natural eminence, which rises abruptly from the river Medway; and its principal tower, or keep, is of extensive proportions, and of a quadrangular form. Thus situated, the river formed on one side a line of defence, without labour or expense. In other directions
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^{*} Sequel to *Observations on Ancient Castles*, Archæol. Vol. VI. p. 295—6.

[†] *Beauties for Kent*, p. 623—628.

the keep was secured by strong outworks and deep fosses; and had, around it, a large area for the use of the garrison.

The outward walls formed an irregular parallelogram, of about 800 feet in length; and were strengthened by several square and round towers, embrazured, and provided with loop holes and machicolations. The shape of these towers was, however, not uniformly confined to the two modes noticed above; as the remains of one that was of a semicircular form are still to be seen in the south-east angle of the outward walls; and it would, indeed, appear from many instances that the Anglo-Normans, generally, did not adhere to any particular fashion in constructing the towers of their outworks; but introduced, in the same structure, the square, the round, and the polygonal.*

The methods adopted for the protection of the garrison in time of close siege, and after the outworks should be taken, displayed many ingenious refinements on the science of defence.

In regard to the exterior aspect of the great tower, or keep, there were on the ground-floor, no windows, and only a few loop holes; which were not much more than six inches square. The story above was, likewise, lighted merely by loop holes. But the third story, containing the rooms of state, was accommodated with "magnificent windows," which, however, were placed high in the lofty apartments, for the purpose of security against weapons discharged from without.

Various devices to mislead the assaults of an enemy, by deceptively exhibiting an appearance of exterior weakness, where, in fact, lay the greatest strength of the citadel, are conspicuous in this tower. But similar efforts at deception are visible in castles

* The outworks of Rochester castle were certainly much injured, and are said by Holinshed "to have been thrown down," when the fortress was besieged in the reign of John. It is believed, however, that they were restored according to the original design. Even if they were rebuilt in a different taste, such a circumstance does not affect the propriety of the above assertion respecting the various shapes used by the Normans in minor towers of the same structure.

ties attributed by several writers to an earlier date; and are supposed, by those authors, to have been invented by the Anglo-Saxons.

The dungeon for the reception of prisoners (that invariable and dreadful portion of every ancient castle in this country) was constructed beneath the small square tower adjoining the body of the keep; and was descended by means of a very narrow and steep flight of steps, cut in the wall. Air was admitted to this dreary receptacle only by an aperture in the roof, which was secured with a falling, or trap-door; and it is likely that the prisoners were often introduced to their cell through that secret doorway, and were supplied with provisions through the same medium of communication.

The entrance to the keep was adapted to the double purpose of state and security, and consisted of a grand portal, at a considerable height from the ground; which was ascended by a staircase, that went partly round two of the fronts of the castle on the outside. Before this portal could be entered, there was a drawbridge to be passed, and also a strong gate. Nor did the grand portal lead immediately to the keep, but was merely the entrance of a small adjoining tower, the whole of which might be demolished "without any material injury to the body of the castle." Beyond this tower, which acted as a kind of vestibule, was the real entrance to the keep; and both these portals were guarded by portcullises as well as by strong gates. There was no other mode of ingress or egress, except that afforded by a small sally-port, or narrow doorway, situated directly under the drawbridge, at a considerable height from the ground: and careful provision was made that in case the entrance thus strongly guarded should be forced, admission to the recesses of the keep should still be attained only with great difficulty and danger.

There are, within the massy walls of this castle, three square wells, which open at the bottom on the ground-floor, and are carried to the top of the structure, having, in their ascent, branches of passage leading to galleries on the two upper floors. It is
believed

believed that such cellular passages within walls, first occur in castles constructed by Bishop Gundulph, or in attention to his designs; and the use for which they were intended has led to much conjecture and discussion. It has been hastily supposed by some persons that they were "made merely for the purpose of drying the stone-work." But it is forcibly observed in reply, that they are much larger than would be necessary for such an intention, and "that they are, in fact, very ill-adapted to it, because they open inwards and not outwards." Their real use cannot be ascertained beyond controversial limits. But, according to the most ingenious surmise which has hitherto been made towards their appropriation, they were designed "for the easy conveyance of the great engines of war into the several apartments, and up to the top of the castle."^{*}

Such were the improvements introduced in the latter years of William the First, and in the early part of his successor's reign. Modes so judicious, at once combining an increase in the security and stateliness of a fortified residence, were necessarily adopted by many of the powerful and discriminating. Several castles, evincing an imitation of Gundulph's methods, are described in the "*Beauties of England*." The following may be mentioned, as having chiefly engaged antiquarian notice: — *Canterbury*; *Dover*; *Ludlow*; † *Richmond*, in Yorkshire; and *Hedingham*, in Essex. ‡

I must be allowed to repeat that, although the above classification of styles will be found, as I believe, to afford characteristics of the majority of great castles erected shortly after the conquest, it is by no means descriptive of the whole of the castellated structures raised in those years. A departure from the prevalent out-

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* See arguments concerning the design of these passages, *Archæol.* Vol. IV. p. 384; *ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 296.

† Two views of Ludlow castle are presented in the *Beauties for Shropshire*.

‡ The *Beauties for Essex* contain an engraved view of Hedingham castle.

lines of both modes, assuredly occurs in several remaining buildings. But, still, the rise, and the frequent adoption in this country, of the two methods of military architecture mentioned above, are proved by the dates of the buildings there adduced as respective examples; and it will be seen, in the succeeding section, that the general principles of these two Anglo-Norman styles (the early and rude, and the later and improved,) prevailed through several ages, although many subordinate particulars underwent alterations, from changes in the modes of warfare, and an increased sociability and refinement of manners.

THE MIXED, OR IRREGULAR, MILITARY ARCHITECTURE OF THE ANGLO-NORMANS.—The variable modes of castellation which grew into use with the military architects who succeeded to Bishop Gundulph and his strict imitators, admit of no definite classification, as to a marked style of defensive arrangement existing at a positive date, until we arrive at an age far distant,—the martial, but more polite, and prosperous reign of Edward the First.

Although the methods of fortification, and the customs prevailing in regard to a disposal of the enclosed buildings, experienced no important change during those numerous intervening years, it was otherwise with such parts of the castellated structure as admitted a display of minor architectural fashion. The introduction of the pointed, or English style, supplanted in the principal divisions, even of such harsh buildings, the circular-headed windows and doorways which had been so long in use; and it is, therefore, evidently desirable to apply the term of *Anglo-Norman* to the majority of castellated, as well as religious buildings, from the time of the Conquest until the accession of Richard the First. The succeeding pages will shew that such a consideration presents almost the sole inducement for distinguishing the military architecture of the periods now under notice, from those which subsequently occur, before the introduction of a more noble style by the first Edward.

It has been already suggested that the evil long felt by England,

land, in a want of castles of stone strongly fortified, was carefully remedied by William the Conqueror and his immediate successors. But it is the common lot of human effort to produce no benefit without an intermixture of penalty. The erection of many royal castles, built by means of public contribution, and defended by national soldiery, was evidently a felicitous step towards the independence and security of the island. William the First, however, had an aim more selfish, blended with the advancement of the national prosperity. In the same course of policy he was followed by his sons; and the barons,* thus stimulated, produced an assemblage of fortresses eventually dangerous to the reigning power, and most certainly injurious to the comforts, and fair privileges, of the inferior classes of society.

The active and military disposition of the Anglo-Normans is forcibly evinced by the celerity with which they raised fortifications so numerous and so massive, in a country lamentably deficient in artificial means of defence previous to their invasion. The great and good Alfred complained that he had few fortresses of stone to defend his upright government against the predatory Danes; and the crown, perhaps, finally passed from an Anglo-Saxon dynasty, through the same national poverty in castellated resources. Yet, before the termination of the 12th century, we find that the busy population of England, under the sway of the Normans, had so far loaded the island with fortified piles of stone,

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that

* The reader will recollect that a residence in strong castles was not confined to the lay-barons, but that prelates also constructed such edifices, and dwelt there, in a resemblance of military severity. This, however, appears to have been contrary to the canons of the church; but was only a natural consequence of that Anglo-Norman regulation, which compelled the bishops and abbots to serve the state in a military capacity, although by proxy.

An idea of the usual residence of a bishop, in the Anglo-Norman ages, may be formed from the ancient part of *Durham castle*, noticed in the *Beauties* for that county, p. 60; and from the ruins of *Lawhaden castle*, described in the *Beauties* for South Wales, p. 806.

that the whole kingdom is said, in the Saxon chronicle, "to have been covered with castles."

This figurative expression is less extravagant than it appears to be at the first glance, when we reflect on the comparative scantiness of population, and the small division of land cleared for the use of agriculture. Populated England, as it would then appear on a map, was, perhaps, not more than one-fourth the size of the present cultivated portion of country; and over those narrow tracts of busy scenery, interspersed amongst deep and wide-masses of woodland, were spread, in the latter days of King Stephen, no less than eleven hundred and fifteen castles.*

When the standard laws of the realm were ill-defined, and the great court of appeal, or that in which the king presided in person, was ambulatory, and difficult of access; the evils proceeding from the licentious conduct, even of the garrisons of royal castles, were found to be vexatious and oppressive. But these formed only a small part of the grievances arising from an inordinate multiplication of strong holds.

Very considerable power was vested in the hands of each particular baron, by the nature of the feudal system; and, in the troubled times which shortly succeeded to the introduction of that mode of tenure in its complete form by the Normans, these great landholders assumed on the privilege which was granted to them by the crown, of administering the law within their immediate territories, and violated justice with impunity, in attention only to their own interests, or the dictates of their passions. Secure in their fastnesses of stone, they often derided even the sovereign's retributive threats; and the crown, too weak for the real good of the country, passed unnoticed their local tyranny and aggressions, while assured of their loyalty, and calculating on the aid to be afforded by their castles in a day of need. The afflictions of the subordinate classes of society, when castles were so numerous, and their possessors so little restrained by legal maxims.

* Grose, apud *Registrum Prioratus de Dunstaple*, &c.

maxims of justice and forbearance, are mentioned in emphatical terms by many ancient historians, and may be readily apprehended without an extract of those writers.*

The political dangers arising from such a multitude of fortresses (the nurseries of civil war,) placed in the hands of potent and factious subjects, speedily alarmed the ruling power. In the treaty between King Stephen and Henry, Duke of Normandy (afterwards Henry the Second,) it was agreed that all castles erected within a certain period, should be razed to the ground; and many were, in consequence, utterly destroyed. When Henry acceded to the throne, several other castles shared the same fate; and he prohibited all persons from erecting such fortified buildings without an especial licence from the crown. The same necessity of permission from the sovereign, or a power delegated by him, prevailed through numerous succeeding reigns, as is obvious in many pages of the Beauties of England and Wales, where (in treating of the date of a castellated structure) it is observed that the founder *obtained the king's licence to fortify his residence.*†

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* Whilst noticing the injuries which the property, and the domestic peace, of the laborious classes appear to have sustained from the tyranny of rapacious and sensual chieftains, who were indifferent to remonstrance when shielded by massy lines of fortification, it must be observed that the castle of the baron afforded to the trader and artizan some occasional protection.—Markets and fairs were exposed to considerable danger in these turbulent times, from open rapine, or covert but determinate injustice. By a law of William the First, it was decreed that all fairs and markets should be kept “in fortified cities, towns, or castles.” Although this law had, probably, for its chief object a careful collection of the royal tolls, the security afforded by the castle, and the redress to be there obtained in cases of dispute, were circumstances of great public advantage.

† The Bishop of Durham, as possessing a Palatine right, had the privilege of granting licenses to fortify; and it is supposed, but I believe not proved, that the same power was possessed by other Palatine nobles. A translation

from

In the above remarks we view the evils arising from the existence of fortified piles (so massy and well-contrived, that, before the use of gunpowder, they were nearly impregnable) when they were diverted from their original purpose, and, instead of barriers of national defence, became the mere seats of barons, and the protection of local tyranny.—A view so severe, and confined to the repulsive side, would be calculated to add fresh tints of gloom and terror to the rugged fragments of those ancient structures; and might induce us to reflect, with unmixed pleasure, on the events which have dismantled their towers, and robbed their halls of almost every relic of tenantry. But there are circumstances connected with the hours in which the battlements were perfect, and the courts and passages thronged with population, that demand regret, at least through one short minute, for their present dilapidated condition.

Although a petty tyranny, of dreadful local influence, disfigured some of these abodes, and renders them still hateful to contemplation, the valorous and renowned, the Percys and Talbots of history, resided in others; and who will not be gratified to reflect that the walls within which they dwelt are still remain-
ing,

from the French, of a licence to "embattle and crenellate," granted by the Bishop of Durham, is presented in the *Beauties* for that county, p. 228.

Few licenses to construct castles occur after the reign of Edward the Third. One, however, granted by Richard the Second, is noticed in the preface to Grose's *Antiquities*; and two further instances of similar licenses, obtained in the same reign, are mentioned in the *Beauties of England* for the county of Durham, and will be specified in subsequent pages of this "Introduction."

It is observed in the *Beauties for Norfolk* (p. 276.) that Sir Edmund Bedingfield obtained a grant, or patent, of King Edward the Fourth, in the year 1482, to build his manor-house, termed *Osburgh Hall*, with towers, battlements, machicolations, &c. This building is a fine specimen of the *castellated mansion*.

The privilege of erecting a mansion, without a licence from the crown, or authorities thence appointed, did not exist until the reign of Henry the Eighth.

ing, the monuments of their hospitable dignity! Those ruined structures which we now behold, scattered in deserted magnificence (the striking emblems of mortal evanescence!) when new, and the boast of their respective counties, formed the schools of chivalry, and were the theatres of courtesy, wit, and wisdom, through a long succession of ages. If attentively examined, their remains present the best criteria for forming a judgment of the progress of manners and customs, in periods little illumined by the tomes of the historian.

Whilst security alone was the object of the chieftain, we have seen that the keep of his sullen retreat was as contracted, insulated, and cheerless, as were his own notions of enjoyment. When each baron's castle became a court of chivalry, the select and most noble youth of the land resorted to it, and here acted as pages, until by trials of skill and exercises of hardihood, chiefly performed in the neighbourhood of the same military edifice, they proved themselves worthy to receive the honour of knighthood.

The softer manners of the age were connected with such a probationary service. Many noble, or well-dowered, females, were wards* to the great barons possessing such castles; and in the hours of festivity both sexes were mingled. The banquet and the dance, in such society, were lessons of gallant courtesy to the youthful page; and when we reflect on such scenes, while viewing these fabrics, now abandoned and lonely, we may remember that some of the few bright virtues of the iron and unlettered ages, emanated from a deference towards the weaker sex, here carefully cultivated.

Whilst we recollect the pompous manners ascribed to the lords of such structures; their chivalric celebrations, their long ranks of retainers, and the numerous youth of both sexes protected in

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their

* The minor heirs of all noble or affluent deceased vassals of the crown, were wards of the king, during the strict prevalence of the feudal system; and the management of the estates belonging to such minors was a source of considerable profit to the royal revenue. The person of the ward was committed to the guardianship of some distinguished, and favourite courtier.

their halls, as pages or as wards; we naturally enquire concerning the situation of those "halls" (on which tradition and fancy have bestowed so much splendour;) and of the "bowers" in which the noble inmates of the castle reposed.

In reply to enquiries so natural, it must be observed that if we form an estimate of the imaginary needs and luxuries of life, in the middle ages, from the factitious wants or enjoyments of modern society, we shall certainly argue on most deceptive data. Grandeur and luxury are well known to be words of a comparative meaning. Homer's heroes and princesses were both grand and luxurious, in the esteem of the commonalty, three thousand years back; and the middle classes of society, at the present day, have an amplitude of apartment, and a delicacy of provision, unknown to persons of exalted rank in ages when even tables and arris-hangings were moved as valuables, and the softest form reposed upon sheets spread over straw. In calculating upon the halls and chambers required, in the early and middle centuries of English history, for the splendid reception of a large and noble family, we must not neglect to bear in remembrance this progressive change of manners.

But, although our notions of splendour are so entirely comparative, it is still certain that the large retinues of wealthy and stately barons could not receive even bare accommodation in such structures as now remain, the sole monuments of their domestic habits.—It would appear to be unquestionable that the apartments in the keep tower were considered as principal rooms of state, from the earliest period down to the latest date at which defensible castles were inhabited by their noble owners. But it is equally undoubted that numerous buildings for the exercise of hospitality, and the reception of attendants, were constructed in the vicinity of the keep, so as to be defended by the strongest outworks of fortification, in the same early ages; and were much augmented and improved even under the direction of the Anglo-Normans.*

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* The habitual piety of the Normans led to the introduction of a gratifying

It is presumed that such buildings, in the earliest ages of castellated architecture (as regards this country) were merely wooden fabrics; and we have not relics to prove that, even in the reigns now under consideration, they were *uniformly* constructed of more durable materials. Until the truly splendid style of castellation introduced by the Edwards, these additional buildings appear, indeed, to have been considered as mere excrescences of the structure; and such, unquestionably, they were, while, from the convulsed state of the country, the fortress was in continual danger of attack, and was chiefly viewed as a fortified encampment.— Yet, in these extraneous erections, many grand celebrations were probably held; and here must have sojourned such retainers and affianced friends as could not possibly be accommodated within the narrow limits of the keep.

The period at which these auxiliary edifices were first constructed of stone, has not been ascertained in a manner completely satisfactory; but it has been thought, and, perhaps, with correctness, that they were first partially built in so firm a mode in the reign of Henry the First.* Although formed of stone, they were, in general, not calculated for very long duration; and, when

ing appendage to castles of great extent and magnificence.—A chapel, often of capacious dimensions, and constructed in a manner equally solid and elegant, was now deemed necessary to the completion of a noble residence. Instances of such buildings, raised by Anglo-Norman barons, within the embattled walls of a castle-area, or base-court, may be noticed at Oxford (Beauties for Oxfordshire, p. 74—5.) and at Ludlow (Beauties for Shropshire, p. 251.) A part of the latter chapel is still remaining, and is represented in an engraving, inserted in the Beauties of England for Shropshire.—Bishop Gundulph erected, in the Tower of London, “a chapel 55 feet long, with a nave and aisles; the former 15 feet broad.”

* Vide *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. III. p. 166, and the authority there quoted. Some instances in which these buildings, intended for state and convenience, and evidently forming parts of the structure unconnected with fortification, still remain, but in a dilapidated condition, occur in the Beauties of England for the following counties:—Gloucestershire, p. 719; Hampshire, p. 208; Monmouthshire, p. 143; 174; and 177.

when they were deserted, they, in most instances, sank a ready prey to the wear of seasons, and the hands of sordid spoliators. The keep, meanwhile, intended for defence, with a slight intermixture of stately arrangement, remained superior to all vicissitudes of weather; and has been often seen to deride the efforts of those who were desirous of reducing it to the ground, for the purpose of profiting by its materials.

The reign of Stephen is that most celebrated for the erection of castles, during the prevalence of what I have ventured to term the mixed Anglo-Norman style of military architecture. An example of that date is, therefore, presented, as being most likely to convey useful hints of information to the examiner into the castellated antiquities of the 12th century.

The castle of *Newark*, in *Nottinghamshire*,* is believed to have been erected by Alexander, the "munificent bishop of Lincoln;" who, in order to expiate the seeming offence of his fondness for military architecture, built the same number of monasteries as castles, and filled them with religious societies. This castle is now in a state of confused ruin; but here, as in many other fortresses, the original and most important parts of the structure still exist, while many additions in later ages have sunk under the inroads of time, and scarcely left a fragment to denote their character.

The remains of this building exhibit "a part of the enclosure of a large area, which was an oblong square, situated on an high bank by the side of the river Trent." The entrance, was, probably, on a fortified line of the area which is now demolished; but the original keep, undoubtedly the chief place of residence, yet remains, and appears to have been placed near the centre of one of the ends of that oblong square which formed the boundary of the

* *Beauties for Nottinghamshire*, p. 233, with an engraved view. The castle of *Tiserton*, in *Devonshire*, as described in the *Beauties* for that county (p. 287—9.) presents, in some of its parts, an interesting specimen of the style of castellation in the reign of Henry the First.

the fortification. This building, like the defensive outworks, is of an oblong form, and consists of three stories. On the ground-floor are two rooms, neither of which is lighted either by window or loop-hole. Beneath one of these lower rooms was a well for water; and a recess, still preserved, appears to have led down to a close and dismal dungeon.

The next apartment above, was the first principal room; and, here, "the entrance was by a covered way from the adjoining wall, similar to that of an old Norman castle, the passage being a winding one, by which admission is gained into a small vestibule, wherein still are only two narrow lights, like loop-holes; but from hence, by an arched doorway, is a passage to the guard-room, which has two fine arched windows."

The grand staircase of the keep commences on this floor, and leads to the state-apartments, which are situated immediately above. These were not of extensive dimensions, and were of a chill aspect. The principal room, however, was lighted by a large window, now in ruins, but which appears to have been of a very splendid character.—An outer staircase proceeded from the base of the inner court, straight to the battlements and top of the building, having no communication with the apartments of the keep.

At one angle of the oblong outline of fortification, is still remaining a tower, of smaller proportions than the keep, with extremely thick walls, pierced for loops; and it is probable that a similar tower was originally situated at each corner of the fortress.

In regard to the arts of fortification here practised, it appears that mock arches were constructed on the exterior, for the purpose of deception, as in several castles already noticed; while, in other respects, the buildings exhibit a mixture of the style introduced by the early Normans, with that of the more scientific mode carried to so great a degree of perfection by Bishop Gundulph. Still, the whole fortress would appear to be ill-designed, if compared with prominent examples either of the one style or the

the other; and such is often the character of castles erected in King Stephen's reign; many of which were built in haste, and with little evidence of refined skill.

The purpose of such structures being chiefly that of defence in the prosecution of party-quarrels, they may almost be considered as mere fortified camps; and we, consequently, see little attention paid to splendour, or even commodiousness, of internal arrangement, except, in the latter instance, for the accommodation of the military. In succeeding ages, when the times, although still of a troubled complexion, allowed longer intervals of peace, and more rational hopes of security, large additions were frequently made to those castellated structures which became fixed seats of baronial residence. Vestiges of such additional buildings must be discriminated with a careful eye from the plan of the original fortress. Such an augmentation is evident here at Newark, in the relics of a great hall, constructed at one of the angles of the outward fortification, and extending far into the base-court; having, beneath, a curious arched vault, supported by a row of pillars in the middle, with loops and embrasures on the side towards the river which flows at the base of these ruins.

The three following may be noticed amongst the strongest castles erected in the reign of Stephen; *Norham*, in *Northumberland*;* *Sheriff-Hutton*, in *Yorkshire*;† and *Brancepeth*, in the county palatine of *Durham*;‡ which latter fortress is believed to have been built in the early part of Stephen's reign.

The persons most distinguished in history, for the erection of castellated structures, in the reigns of Henry the First, and Stephen, like the illustrious architect of the ages immediately preceding, were ecclesiastics, and of mitred dignity. These were Roger, Bishop of Sarum, and his nephew, Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln. The works in military architecture of the
former

* *Beauties for Northumberland*, p. 225.

+ ——— *Yorkshire*, p. 249.

‡ ——— *Durham*, p. 200.

former celebrated prelate are commemorated by several historians, and particularly by William of Malmesbury, a contemporary writer. Unlike Bishop Gundulph, his great predecessor in architectural renown, the structures which he erected were intended for the residence of himself; for the aggrandisement of political strength, and the gratification of personal ambition. He is said to have built, or to have much enlarged, the castles of *Malmesbury*, *Devizes*, *Sherborne*, and *Sarum*. The above historian describes these buildings as being "erected at vast cost, and with surpassing beauty; the courses of stone being so correctly laid, that the joint deceives the eye, and leads it to imagine that the whole wall is composed of a single block."

In a comment on this passage, presented in Mr. Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, it is observed, "that as such a peculiarity of construction was, at that time, an object of admiration and surprise, we may infer that the mechanical art of masonry was then advanced to a state of excellence which was before unknown. In an age of almost perpetual warfare, *strength* in buildings is the first object of consideration; and this appears to have been the chief characteristic of the early Norman structures; but, during the reign of Henry the First, something like beauty and decoration was aimed at; and the notice which William of Malmesbury takes of the buildings erected by Bishop Poor, clearly indicates that some novelty, or extraordinary improvement, was manifested in the architecture of that age."*

The structures on which is founded the fame of Bishop Roger, as a builder of military edifices, are (with an exception of *Sherborne*, of which a ruined part remains) so utterly destroyed, that we are unable to appreciate justly the commendation bestowed by William of Malmesbury, his contemporary. But, according to Dr. Maton, as quoted in the *Beanties* for Dorsetshire, "the castle of Sherborne was, in every respect, correspondent to the description," given by that ancient historian; "as we may perceive,

* *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 4.

esive, even from its ruins."* It is, therefore, probable that an improvement in the art of masonry was introduced to such of the most costly structures of these periods, as were erected in years least exposed to factious trouble.

We have a specimen of the works of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, in the castle of *Newark*, already described.

In the present stage of our work, whilst viewing the castellated structures of this country chiefly as fortifications, it may be desirable to present *an explanation of the terms used in describing several component parts of the keep and outworks*. Such a section, although superfluous to many readers, may yet be acceptable to others, and can scarcely prove uninteresting to any.

The keep (in some instances called *the dungeon*, and, in others, emphatically styled *the tower*) was the strongest part of the castle; and, consequently, formed the great dependence of the garrison in time of close siege. It was, indeed, the citadel of the fortress. Here were constructed the apartments in which the lord and his family resided; and, in early times, all the rooms intended for purposes of state and hospitality were, likewise, contained in the same isolated and limited part of the fortress.† Although these rooms maintained a superior dignity in the esteem
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* Observations on the Western Counties, as quoted in the *Beauties for Dorsetshire*, p. 502.

† In Mr. Dallaway's "Observations on English Architecture," is the following remark, which it may be amusing to quote, in illustration of a term sometimes bestowed on the chief tower of an ancient castellated structure:—
"Amid the ruins of castles, we are frequently shown those of one called the *"Maiden Tower,"* as in Lord Surrey's sonnet, at Windsor castle:

"With eyes cast up into the maiden's tower,"

Warton, in a note on this word, very satisfactorily proves that it did not refer to the habitation of the fair sex, or to the tower's having never been taken, but simply a corruption of the old French "*magne*," or "*mayne*," great. *Hist. Engl. Poet.* Vol. III. p. 13.

of later ages, additional halls, (as has been previously observed) unconnected with the massy outlines of the keep, were erected, as society attained a greater polish and more enlarged notions of enjoyment.

The keep was commonly situated near the centre of the fortified works; but not invariably so. Instances in which this custom was neglected, and the keep was placed in a line with the exterior walls, occur in several pages of the *Beauties of England*.^{*} The outward form chiefly prevailing in this part of the castle, at different eras, is noticed in the respective sections of these remarks on the progress of military architecture.

In the improved state of the science of fortification, the entrance to the citadel, or last retreat of the garrison, was guarded by *portcullises*,† as impervious to assault as were the ponderous walls of the structure; or by *machicolations*,‡ from which, destructive weights,

^{*} It is observable that the keep at *Portchester*, *Goodrich*, *Castleton*, and several other fortresses ascribed by some antiquaries to an ante-Norman date, stands close to the outward wall of the castle.

† The *portcullis* is believed to have been first introduced to the military architecture of this country, in the instance of early Norman castles. The nature of this machine is almost too well known for repetition; but it may be observed that the horse, or portcullis, was a strong grating of timber, fericed with iron, and made to slide up and down in a groove of solid stone work, within the arch of the portal. The bottom was furnished with sharp iron spikes, designed to strike into the ground, for the sake of greater firmness and solidity, and also to break or destroy whatever should be under it, when it was let fall. The groove in which it rested was always contrived so deep in the stone work, that it could not be removed by assailants without pulling down the whole wall.—See *Archæol.* Vol. IV. p. 370.

‡ *Machicolations* “over gates, are small projections, supported by brackets, having open intervals at the bottom, through which melted lead and stones were thrown down on the heads of the assailants; and, likewise, large weights fastened to ropes or chains, by which, after they had taken effect, they were retracted by the besieged.” Grose, preface to the *Antiq. of England and Wales*.—It must be added that machicolations were not always projecting works, but sometimes consisted of rows of square holes in the vaulting of portals,

weights, or heated fluids, were precipitated on the heads of those who endeavoured to force a passage.

The *walls* of the *keep* were chiefly designed for protection, through a massiveness of character which derided assault before the use of artillery. Their few *embrasures*, or *loops*, for the discharge of arrows, were calculated for the annoyance, rather than the discomfiture of an enemy. The great theatre of active defence was situated on the top of the castle, where a platform was generally constructed, with an embattled parapet; and, from this elevated spot, the defendants discharged swarms of darts, or loads of weighty stones, by means of various engines.

The *dungeon*, or *prison*, of the castle, was a comfortless subterranean cell, usually, but not uniformly constructed immediately beneath the keep-tower. At *Rochester* we find it placed under a smaller tower, which adjoins the keep; and in the castles of *Warkworth*, Northumberland; and *Spofford*, Yorkshire; two former seats of the noble family of Percy, the repulsive cell designed for the incarceration of offenders, is situated beneath a tower entirely detached from the main body of the structure, or that inhabited by the baron and his family.

Whilst mentioning the dungeons of ancient castles, (which have by some persons been confounded with the whole keep) it is desirable to remind the reader, that, although *grants for castles to become state-prisons* were usual in the early Norman ages, we are not to understand that, in consequence of such a grant, the whole castle became a prison. The fact appears to be, that, by virtue of this permission from the crown, "the usual dungeon of the castle was, by royal authority, appointed to be a public and privileged prison at all times; whereas the dungeons of other castles were permitted to be used as such only in time of war, and it was unlawful at other times to confine any persons therein. But the upper apartments of these keep towers, in which the
dungeons

portals, used, as is stated above, for pouring down heated sand, melted lead, and other destructive articles.

dungeons were, continued, in both cases, to be constantly used as state apartments, for the residence of the lord of the mansion, notwithstanding the prison underneath. And hence, perhaps, arose the practice, in early times, of committing state prisoners to the custody of different lords at pleasure; which custom was continued even to the time of Elizabeth, when the origin of it was forgotten.”*

The outworks, however formidable, being the weaker parts of a castle, and those, from many causes, most subject to demolition, they in few, if in any, instances retain to the present day the precise features of their original construction. The great varieties of form observable in the ground-plans of ancient castles, will be obvious on an inspection of those pages of the “*Beauties*” which treat of such structures. Natural circumstances, and the excursions of caprice, often operated so largely on the architect’s design, that it is, indeed, impossible to present any single example, as a satisfactory illustration of the mode used in the distribution of the outline and attendant works.

The following remarks on this head may not be unacceptable. It would appear that the *Anglo-Saxons* constantly affected the circular form, in regard to exterior lines of defence, where such a method was not denied by imperative natural circumstances; and encompassed the keep with concentric walls. The *Anglo-Normans* were more variable, and introduced many bold novelties of style in the disposal of their outworks.—The fortified area attendant on the keep of most castles, of a date not earlier than the advent of the Normans, may, however, in general terms, be stated as consisting of two divisions, named the *outer* and *inner ballia*.

On the extremity of the works was a circumambient ditch,†

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uniformly

* *Archæol.* Vol. IV. p. 403; and *Monimenta Antiqua*, Vol. III. p. 251.

† *Ditch, meat, fosse, or vallum.* These various terms are used to express a hollow space on the outside of walls, or ramparts. *Archæol.* Vol. XII. p. 146. When the ditch was dry, there were, sometimes, subterraneous passages, through which the cavalry could sally. Grose’s Preface to *Antiq. of England and Wales*.

uniformly filled with water, when such a circumstance was attainable; but a ditch, or fosse, was still formed, even if it remained dry.

The most prominent part of the architectural fortification was termed the *Barbican*, or *Barbacan*; which may be succinctly described as a "small tower, for the station of an advanced guard, placed just before the outward gate of the castle-yard, or *balium*."* Mr. Grose, in the preface to his *Antiquities of England and Wales*, quotes "diverse authors," in regard to the meaning of the word *Barbican*, and the use to which this part of a castle was assigned; who "all agree that it was a watch-tower, for the purpose of descrying an enemy at a greater distance."†

But such an opinion appears liable to this objection:—the barbican, as usually described, was a small tower, of much less altitude than the keep; and, therefore, was not nearly so well calculated for the discovery of an enemy approaching in the distance. If we reject the probability of it being designed as a tower of observation, we can scarcely believe that it was intended as a serious addition to the strong defensible character of the fortress; for it appears to have been of an inconsiderable size, and, as it was often protruded beyond the ditch, must be more easy of assault than the towers on the mural line protected by that wide and deep vallum. Possibly it was, in most instances, rather an appendage of honour to the castle; the spot for receiving stately announcements, and returning answers, by voice of herald. But, at the same time, it, assuredly, acted as a protecting cover to the entrance; although, if its customary situation, and comparative strength, be accurately described, it must have been of little avail on the occurrence of a regular siege.

The barbican, if placed beyond the outward ditch, was united to the main parts of the fortress by a bridge of stone, in early ages;

* *Archæol.* Vol. VI. p. 308.

† *Antiq. of England and Wales*, 4to. edit. p. 9.

ages; and by a drawbridge afterwards.* When the moat was thus crossed, the outer ballium was entered through an embattled gateway, usually flanked by two strong towers. The walls encompassing the ballia were *embattled*, *crenellated*, or *garratted* (each of which terms has the same signification in military architecture) and were provided, on the inner side, with a footway (*terre pleine*) for defendants, ascended by flights of steps at convenient distances. The walls were, likewise, commonly strengthened by towers, well placed for a command of the intervening lines of rampart.

In such terms may be described the general character of a strong hold, used as a dignified residence. Many varieties are noticed in different volumes of the *Beauties of England and Wales*, and such as are important, in distinguishing between the modes of different eras, are cited in appropriate sections of this introduction.

The various machines used in the attack and defence of these massy fortresses, are enumerated and described in Grose's *Military Antiquities*, and in the preface to the same author's *Antiquities of England and Wales*. The researches of that writer were so peculiarly directed to the ancient military history of Britain, that the following extract, from different parts of his latter work, briefly exhibiting the modes of conducting a siege, before the invention of artillery, must necessarily be considered as a desirable appendage to the above descriptive and explanatory remarks:

“ The method of attack and defence of fortified places, practised by our ancestors before, and even some time after, the invention of gunpowder, was much after the manner of the Romans;

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most

* It appears to be unquestionable that the moats round our oldest castles were crossed by bridges of stone. Such occur in the very ancient castle of *Norwich*; and may be noticed, among other instances, at *Castle Rising, Norfolk*, (*Beauties for Norfolk*, p. 301—2,) a building either of Anglo-Saxon, or early Anglo-Norman original. Drawbridges were a refinement in fortification, which only tardily grew into use.

most of the same machines being made use of, though some of them under different names.

" They had their engines for throwing stones and darts, of different weights and sizes; the greater answering to our battering cannon and mortars; the smaller to our field-pieces. These were distinguished by the appellations of *balista*; *catapulta*; *espringals*; *terbuchets*; *mangonas*; *mangonels*; *briccolles*; the *petrary*; the *matafunda*; and the *warwolf*.

" For approaching the walls, they had their moveable towers, by which the besiegers were not only covered, but their height, commanding the ramparts, enabled them to see the garrison, who were otherwise hid by the parapet. For passing the ditch, they had the *cat/us*, and *sow*, machines answering to the *pluteus*, and *vinea*, or *testudo* and *musculus*, of the Romans: the *ram* was sometimes, but not commonly, used.

" *Mines*, too, were frequently practised. These were either subterraneous passages into some unfrequented part of the fortress; or else made with an intent, as at present, to throw down the wall. Countermine were also in use; and the engineers of those days were not unacquainted with artificial fireworks.

" The progressive steps taken in attacking fortified places, and the methods opposed thereto, as anciently practised, were, allowing for the difference of engines, much the same as at present. In small towns, or castles, the assailants threw up no works; but, having hurdles, or large shields, called *pavais*, borne before them, advanced to the counterscarp; here, some with arrows, slings, and cross bows, attempted to drive the besieged from the ramparts; and others brought fascines to form a passage over the ditch, if wet, and scaling-ladders to mount the walls. The besieged, on their part, attempted to keep the enemy at a distance, by a superior discharge of their missive weapons; to burn the fascines brought to fill up the ditch; or to break, or overturn, the scaling-ladders. In larger places, or strong castles, lines of circumvallation and contravallation were constructed; the former to prevent any attack or succour from without;
and

and the latter to secure them from the sallies of the besieged. In both these, small wooden towers were often erected, at proper distances, called *bristegia*, or rather *tristegia*, from their having three floors, or stages.

“ When the garrison of the place was numerous, and a vigorous resistance expected, they often formed a blockade, by enclosing it with lines, strengthened by large forts, and sometimes even a kind of town. Of the first, there is an instance in the reign of Stephen; when that king, being unable to take by force the strong castle of *Wallingford*, surrounded it with a line, strengthened by forts, the principal of which he called the castle of *Craumer*; he also cut off the passage of the garrison over the Thames, by erecting a strong fort at the head of the bridge. It was, however, held by Brier Fitz Comte, till relieved by Henry the Second, then Duke of Normandy; who, on notice of the danger of this important place, set out from France, encamped before it, and, encompassing these works with a line of circumvallation, to prevent Stephen from succouring them, besieged the besiegers. This brought on the conference and peace between those two princes. The latter is mentioned by Froissart, as practised by King Edward the Third, at the siege of Calais; where, not content with blocking it up by sea, and making lines on the Downs, and at the bridge of Nieulay, he also built a kind of city of timber about the place besieged; where, says that author, there were palaces and houses, laid out in regular streets: it had its markets on Wednesdays and Fridays, merceries, shambles, and cloth-warehouses, and all sorts of necessaries, which were brought from England and Flanders: in fine, every convenience was there to be had for money.

“ It seems doubtful whether any thing like approaches were carried on. It is more probable, that the besiegers took the opportunity of the night to bring their engines and machines as near the walls as possible: batteries were then formed, and covered with an epaulement.

“ The mangonels and petreries began now to batter the walls,

and the working parties to make the passage into the ditch, carrying hurdles and fascines, which, with their bucklers, served to shield them in their approach. They were supported by a number of archers, covered with large targets, arrow-proof, held by men particularly appointed for that service. These archers, by shooting into the crenelles, and other openings, scoured the parapet, and protected the workmen in their retreat for fresh fascines.

“ An easy descent being formed into the ditch, the cattus, or sow, was pushed forwards, where the men, under cover, filled up and levelled a passage for the moveable tower; which being thrust close to the walls, the archers, on the different stages, kept a constant discharge of darts, arrows, and stones; the miners began to sap the wall, or it was battered with the ram. When the mine was finished, the props were set on fire: during the confusion occasioned by the falling of the part mined, which was commonly a tower, the assault was given, and the breach stormed. If there were more works, these operations were repeated. Where no moveable tower was used, both mines were made, and the ram worked under the cattus and sow.

“ On the other hand, the besieged opposed, for their defence, flights of darts, and large stones, shot from their engines; with arrows and quarrels from their cross bows; sallies, wherein they attempted to burn or demolish the machines of their enemies; and mines under their moveable towers, in order to overthrow them. Upon the cattus and sow they threw monstrous weights, to break, and wildfire to burn them.

“ Upon the front attacked, they placed sacks, filled with wool, which were loosely suspended from the wall; and, to break the stroke of the ram, besides this, divers other contrivances were invented; such as nippers, worked by a crane, for seizing it; and, sometimes, they let fall upon it a huge beam, fastened with chains to two strong levers.”*

Such

* Prefa^c to Grose's *Antiq. of England and Wales*.

Such are the most important particulars collected by Mr. Grose, in regard to the modes of attack and defence practised while the ancient fortresses of this island constituted the great strength, and dependance, of its factious barons. The length of time required for such tedious operations on the part of the besiegers, when the services of the military were limited in duration, was a circumstance highly favourable to the defensive party; and, when we remember the massy character of the walls, and the elevated situation of the keep, in many of the ancient castles, we may readily believe that they were nearly impregnable to open assault, conducted in such methods. In respect to the stronger castles, the contending parties, indeed, appear to have chiefly depended, for a result, on the capability of procuring sustenance. A want of aliment for the garrison, more frequently led to the surrender of a distinguished ancient fortress, than the havoc produced by the engines of its assailants.

ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE ANGLO-NORMANS.*—The Anglo-Norman style in ecclesiastical architecture

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* The term of *Anglo-Norman* is presumed, in this "Introduction," to be applicable to all buildings erected in the reigns of William the First and Second, Henry the First, Stephen, and Henry the Second; or from the year 1066, to 1189.

In ascribing to the Anglo-Norman style, the above date of prevalence, I have adopted the plan suggested by "A sketch of a Nomenclature of Ancient Architecture," presented in the first volume of Mr. Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*. Much difference of opinion, however, prevails as to the period at which this style of architecture may be said to have ceased, as a fashion. Mr. Bentham (*Hist. of Ely Cathedral*, p. 34.) seems inclined to restrict it to narrower limits; but "thinks we may venture to say," that the circular mode "was universally used by the Anglo-Normans to the end of King Henry the First's reign." Dr. Milner (letter to the editor of *Taylor's Gothic Essays*, p. 13.) considers the pointed style "to have properly begun in the reign of our first Plantagenet," Henry the Second. Mr. Millers, on the contrary

(Description

ture is, necessarily, a subject of curious enquiry and high interest. Notwithstanding the vicissitudes of many centuries; the rapine of those who followed in the wake of reformation; and the changes effected by fashion, or, rather, the improvements arising from a new creation in architectural manner, at once more scientific, captivating, and august; numerous magnificent vestiges of this commanding style are still remaining, in nearly every division of England, and in several parts of Wales.

In those splendid examples, on which the pride and talent of the conquerors lavished their resources—the cathedral edifices of this country—the relics of Anglo-Norman architecture are mingled with the light, and more beautiful, innovations of the pointed mode.

The monastic buildings of the Anglo-Normans (subject, in at least an equal degree, to the same intermixture) have nearly disappeared, even as sinking antiquities. Bereft of their endowments by the *reforming* spirit of Henry the Eighth, the buildings connected with religious foundations, which that arbitrary prince bestowed on greedy courtiers, as rewards for their acquiescence in his measures, or sold, for the gratification of his own avarice, were quickly despoiled of such constituent parts as were necessary to their preservation. Many of these desecrated structures were disjointed, for the value of their materials; parts of
some

(Description of Ely Cathedral, p. 17.) extends the prevalence of Anglo-Norman architecture to the end of Richard the First's reign.

It will be obvious that no line of demarkation can be drawn with so nice a hand, as to exclude the last instance of the circular style, and embrace the earliest display of pointed architecture. Arches of the peaked, or pointed, character were, assuredly, blended with those of the more ancient form in numerous structures, long before the light and pointed mode obtained predominant favour, and was methodised into any resemblance of an architectural order. But it would appear that the heavy, circular, style of the Saxons and Normans was disused in buildings of leading importance, and discarded as a national fashion, sufficiently near the time noticed above, for any purpose connected with general enquiry.

some few were altered, and converted into dwellings for gentry subservient to the will of the monarch; and others, tenantless and friendless, were left to moulder quietly into dissolution; their materials affording help to the agricultural builder, or to the mender of the roads, as occasion might demand.

In some instances, however, these deserted remains have proved too massive for fortuitous efforts at demolition; or have escaped, through accidental forbearance, arising, perhaps, from a lingering feeling of ancient piety at first, and (although rarely) from antiquarian reverence afterwards. Such fragments unite with the crumbling masses of dismantled castles, in adorning this country, above all others, with ruinous but impressive memorials of the manners of past ages. Pictorial in the irregular beauty of their decay, they at once elevate the imagination and instruct the understanding. Enriched with these half-extinct works of art, the landscape imparts a lesson of pensive morality; and the buildings raised by superstition, teach, in the august spectacle of their progressive dissolution, a sound practical knowledge of the instability of all forms, modes, and institutions, which depend on human art or power.

Parochial churches, free from the dangerous honour of a collegiate endowment, were happily beyond the reach, or beneath the aim, of these reformists; and they present, in some instances, unaltered and uninjured specimens of the Anglo-Norman style; though, in humble and obscure buildings, the date of erection can rarely be ascertained with satisfactory precision.

It has been already stated, on the authority of William of Malmsbury,* (and that of other ancient historians might be cited to the same effect) that the Normans, on gaining possession of the sovereignty of this kingdom, ostentatiously displayed their pious zeal by erecting numerous churches and monasteries, not only in cities and populous towns, but in recluse villages. The same writer adds that the custom of expressing religious fervour
by

* *Vide ante*, p. 268—9.

by founding a church or monastic house, prevailed in so eminent a degree, "that a rich man would have imagined he had lived in vain, if he had not left such an illustrious monument of his piety and munificence."*

In the pride of their superiority over the Saxons of England, as to magnificent notions, and a more careful cultivation of the arts, (results, probably, of happier political circumstances) the Normans not only enriched this island with numerous structures of a new foundation, but supplanted with fresh edifices many ecclesiastical buildings of their predecessors, which had little need of substitution, as far as regarded intrinsic promise of durability. Influenced by this pride, in conjunction with their ardent zeal of piety, they affixed the marks of their massy vast architecture, to nearly every principal religious foundation throughout the conquered kingdom. "It is observable," says Mr. Bentham, "that all

* The zeal with which the affluent contributed towards the erection of ecclesiastical buildings, and the means used for inciting a spirit of pious emulation, are curiously detailed in the history of Croyland Abbey, Lincolnshire. From this history it appears that Joffred, Abbot of Croyland, under whose auspices the monastery was rebuilt, in the twelfth century, obtained of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, remission of a third part of all penances for irregularity of conduct, in favour of those who contributed to that pious undertaking. The most eloquent of his monks were dispatched, to request assistance in foreign countries, as well as in every part of Britain that promised a probability of success; and large contributions were raised by means of those persuasive emissaries. But the day appointed for the ceremony of laying the first stone, afforded the great harvest of *Benefaction*. This propitious day was rendered holy in popular esteem, as the festival of the saintly virgins *Pepetua* and *Felicitas*. Multitudes of all ranks assembled; for devotion, pageantry, and feasting were blended in the ceremonials. When mass was ended, the abbot laid the first stone at the east end; and a stone towards the building was afterwards deposited by every affluent friend, together with a sum of money; a grant of land, tithes, or church-patronage; or a promise of materials towards the completion of the structure. The abbot then spread his blessing over the heads of the contributors, and invited the whole to a sumptuous repast. It is said that not less than five thousand persons were present at these solemnities.

all our cathedral, and most of the abbey churches, were either wholly rebuilt, or greatly improved, within less than a century after the conquest; and all of them by Normans, introduced into this kingdom; as will evidently appear on examining the history of their several foundations.* Those cathedrals, and other churches, which retain to the present day conspicuous marks of Norman design and execution, will be enumerated in future pages.

Although there is no room for doubt as to the mode of architecture in which the majority of these ecclesiastical buildings were erected, it has been supposed that there was cause for questioning whether it accorded, even in many important characteristics, with the early manner of the Anglo-Saxons. But it is allowed

* The following note by Mr. Bentham, although not appended, in his work, to the above passage, affords some hints of information which may be useful in the present section of our enquiries: "The Saxon way of building was, as is observed by Sir Christopher Wren, very strong. There were many cathedral and conventual churches of that kind, at the time of the conquest, which might, therefore, probably have continued to this day, had they not been pulled down, or suffered to run to ruin by neglect; one principal cause of which was the removal of the bishops' sees (some of which had been placed in villages, or small towns) to cities and more populous places, by the council of London, A. D. 1078. This occasioned the old Saxon cathedrals in the deserted sees to be neglected, and fall to decay." (*History of Ely cathedral*, p. 31.)—Independent of the above cause, we may readily admit that the substitution of Norman structures for those erected by the Saxons, did not absolutely imply the unsuitable meanness of such discarded buildings, when we remember that the more extensive and magnificent piles raised by the Normans were subsequently destroyed, or altered, in their turn, to give place to a new mode of architecture. Contributions towards such erections, and an observance of their procedure, assisted in keeping vivid the religious spirit of the laity. New buildings were certainly honourable to all ecclesiastics concerned, and, perhaps, profitable to some. An augmentation of structure was generally attended by an extension of funds, for the support of sacerdotal dignity. It is said that parts of cathedrals, upon the continent, have been designedly left unfinished, with a view of perpetuating a liveliness of attention to the interests of the church.

allowed that the same method of building was practised in this island, even before the advent of the Normans, it being introduced by King Edward the Confessor, who passed much time in Normandy, and was greatly attached to the manners of that country.

William of Malmesbury, who wrote in the 12th century, and finishes his historical work with the reign of Stephen, describes Edward the Confessor, as having introduced, in the instance of the abbey church of Westminster, "a new style of building;" and Matthew Paris, who died in the year 1259, repeats this assertion. Both authorities add, that the style then exhibited was adopted by many subsequent builders of churches, and the former mentions it as the manner prevailing in his own time.

This intelligence has caused some perplexity to the investigators of our ancient architecture. From a description of the abbey church of Westminster, as erected in the reign of Edward the Confessor, which is said to be copied from an ancient manuscript, it would appear that the structure possessed no peculiarity of ground-plan or elevation.* Indeed the testimony of such a manuscript is scarcely necessary, since we have abundant instances of the mode of ecclesiastical architecture prevailing in the early part of the 12th century, with which the building in question is expressly said to have assimilated by one of the authorities noticed above.

The ecclesiastical architecture then in fashion, was of the heavy circular kind, deviating in few particulars from that which we are accustomed to consider as the style that prevailed in this country previous to the reign of Edward the Confessor.

Many intelligent writers concur in an endeavour to account for the ambiguous intimation contained in William of Malmesbury and Matthew Paris, by supposing that the novelty introduced to the church-architecture of this country, by Edward the Confessor,

* The original Latin, together with a translation, is given in Hawkins's History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture, p. 108—9.

sor, consisted only in an increase of dimensions, and consequent stateliness of character. However insufficient such a method of explanation may be deemed by the rigid enquirer, it is certainly difficult to elicit a solution more satisfactory.

It is said by Mr. Hawkins, that "an augmentation of dimensions can, by no mode of reasoning whatever, be termed a new style of architecture, or even a new mode of composition or building; and no rational man would ever think of affirming, that the churches of St. Peter, at Rome, and St. Paul, at London, were of different styles, because they were not of the same size."* But some license of phraseology must be allowed to persons, probably intent on a mode of expression complimentary to the existing dynasty. An enlargement of dimensions, and attendant increase of architectural display, in the sacred structures of every populous neighbourhood, were manifest throughout the kingdom, in the time of William of Malmesbury; and the accession of almost universal dignity of proportions, might, perhaps, warrant the term of novelty, even though the ground-plan and the ornamental arrangement retained the same character, or were subject to only few alterations.

Mr. Millers, a pleasing writer on the propitious subject of Ely cathedral, presents the following remarks and objection:—"Enlarged dimension is the only criterion which has been established, between the Saxon and Norman styles. It has been thought too vague, and certainly is so; for it is perceptible only in large edifices, such as cathedral and conventual churches, which have transepts, side aisles, and arches, tier above tier. But there are many parish churches, built in the Norman age, which, from the simplicity of their form, and the smallness of their dimensions, have been taken for Saxon buildings; and which having none of the grander Norman features, it is extremely difficult to discriminate."—Such small parochial churches, in reclusive situations, act, however, merely as exceptions to a positive rule; and Mr.

Millers

* History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture, p. 113.

Millers himself coincides with the prevailing opinion, by observing, in the same page, that "the Normans were fond of stateliness and magnificence, and though they retained the other characteristics of the Saxon style, by this amplification of dimensions, they made such a striking change as might justly be entitled to the denomination which it received at its first introduction among our Saxon ancestors, of "a new kind of architecture."*

A writer in the *Archæologia*,† "submits (with great deference to the Society of Antiquaries,) whether the *novum genus ædificandi* of William of Malmesbury, applied to the architecture of the Conqueror's reign, does not imply something more than extent and magnificence; and whether, to complete the idea of a new style, we ought not to take in the *pointed arch* and *Gothic ornaments*?" The answer is obvious, as it is contained in every building known to have been erected in the time of the Conqueror.

It will be recollected that the Normans of Duke William's time, although confessedly one of the most warlike, enterprising, and polite nations, then existing in Europe, did not evince any *peculiar* spirit of magnificence in thus enlarging the size of sacred structures. The practice of such an augmentation was general upon the continent, in the eleventh century; and it is probable that the inhabitants of Britain were precluded from participating in the improvement, solely by the distracted state of their country, until a temporary calm was afforded by the reign of Edward the Confessor.‡

In

* Description of the cathedral church of Ely, &c. by G. Millers, M.A. p. 26.

† Mr. Ledwich, *Archæol.* Vol. VIII. p. 198.

‡ The tenth century had proved generally unfavourable to the progress of the arts. It is said that ecclesiastical architecture experienced, on the continent, a signal interruption during that period, in consequence of a strange delusion which subdued the understanding of the great mass of the people.—"It was believed," [writes Mr. Whittington, in his *Historical Survey*,] "that the

In our examination of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Anglo-Saxons, we have seen that the style prevalent throughout all Europe was nearly similar in the same ages; and would appear to have been universally copied [with progressive variations, incidental to national temper, or advancement in art] from the architectural fashion observable in the churches of Rome, the emporium of all kinds of intelligence in those dark centuries. The heterogeneous character of this debased mode, in which the mason *worked up*, in one building, the discordant fragments of diverse noble structures, is likewise noticed in that preceding section.

Imitating from the same source, it appears that the Normans, previous to their triumphant migration into Britain, had no obvious dissimilarity in architectural manner from the Anglo-Saxons, or from any other coeval Christian nation. It would be very gratifying to ascertain, from positive data, any peculiarities,

the thousand years mentioned in the Apocalypse, would be completed at the close of the tenth century, and that the end of the world would happen at that time. So strong and so general was this impression, that scarcely a single building of note was undertaken during this period; and the churches already erected, were suffered to fall into decay."

We can scarcely suppose that such a fantastical persuasion was alone sufficient to produce a total disregard of the arts through several successive ages; but the neglect of church architecture in those years is unquestionable. Acquiring vigour from temporary interruption and apathy, the spirit of architectural improvement certainly burst forth, with very memorable splendour, shortly after the expiration of the year so much dreaded as that of mundane dissolution.—The information on this head afforded by a contemporary Benedictine monk, is thus agreeably conveyed by the author quoted above.—"The Christians at the beginning of the *eleventh century*, relieved from their mistaken apprehensions, hastened to rebuild and repair their ecclesiastical structures: the various cities and provinces, especially of France, vied with each other, on this occasion, in a display of enthusiastic devotion. On all sides new and more stately edifices of religion arose; and the world, according to the expression of a contemporary writer, seeming to cast off its ancient appearance, every where put on a white mantle of churches." Whittington's *Historical Survey*, &c. p. 46. Glaber Rodulphi *Hist. lib. iii. c. 4.*

liarities, however minute, in buildings erected by the Normans in their own country before their invasion of this island. The most laborious writer produced by this nation, on the architectural antiquities of Normandy, is Dr. Ducarel; and his work, in the absence of one more completely satisfactory, has met with much antiquarian notice.

It is stated by Dr. Ducarel, that the circular arch, with a correspondent massiveness of general character, prevails throughout the most ancient ecclesiastical buildings of Normandy. The chapel of St. Thomas l'Abbatu he supposes to be the oldest structure which he inspected; concerning the date of which no records are preserved. This chapel furnishes a solitary instance [as far as regards Dr. Ducarel's observations] of a richly ornamented style of sacred architecture in Normandy. He describes the pillars of the interior as differing much from all others which he noticed in that country. The capitals are "ornamented with the figures of imaginary animals," and display a studied diversity.

But the ornamented style conspicuous in this ancient building, he believes to have been discarded before the period of the Norman conquest of England. A short time previous to that event, "the Normans seem to have entirely disused what, till then, they had considered as ornaments, and which were still retained by the Saxons. From thenceforward they used the round-arch, with mouldings divested of all ornaments whatsoever, except occasionally a zig-zag, which they sometimes introduced."*

The abbey of St. Stephen, at Caen, was founded by William the Conqueror; and that of the Holy Trinity, in the same city, by his Queen, Matilda. The churches appertaining to these foundations are adduced by Dr. Ducarel, and by subsequent authors, as the most strongly-marked and important examples of the architectural fashion of Normandy, in the latter years of the eleventh century.

Both these buildings are of noble dimensions, "and sufficiently shew,

* Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 102.

shew, by their good proportion, that the architect was a perfect master in his profession. All the arches of these two churches, as well those which form the doors and windows, as those which divide the nave from the aisles, are round, excepting only the arches of the inside of the choir of the church of St. Stephen, which having been greatly damaged by the Calvinists in 1562, has since been repaired, and the arches thereof made pointed, according to the manner of the time in which it was repaired. The plain round arch may, therefore, be deemed the fashion of the Conqueror's age, and agreeable to the simplicity then used. It is further observable, that neither of the two abbey-churches of St. Stephen and the Trinity have any kind of ornaments about them."*

The church of St. Stephen, above-mentioned, was commenced under the direction of Lanfranc, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. "The body of this church," says Dr. Ducarel, "is a plain stone edifice, entirely free from ornaments of any sort, either within or without. It is built in the form of a cross; and the inside consists of a nave and two side aisles, separated by two rows of pillars, surmounted with semicircular arches. The tops of all the windows, and doors, of the church, are, likewise of the same form. The middle part of the inside of the transept very much resembles the work of the cross part of the abbey-church of St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, having the same kind of little arched work towards the top."†

The abbey of the Holy Trinity "was founded for Benedictine nuns, by the Duchess Matilda, about the same time that Duke William began to erect that of St. Stephen. In the year 1082, she endowed it with so much munificence, that William de Poitiers makes no scruple of saying that she enriched the church much more than any King, or Emperor, had ever done in the preceding times. The church of this abbey is a plain neat building,

2 B

both

* Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 102—103.

† Ibid. p. 51.

both within and without, and entirely free from Gothic ornaments."*

Mr. Whittington, writing concerning the architecture practised by the Normans on the continent, observes that the "Saxon churches of England were inferior in elevation, massiveness, and magnitude, to those of the Normans, and the Norman mode differed considerably from that which was adopted in the neighbourhood of Paris, and further to the south. The Norman churches were in some instances larger, but exhibited a greater rudeness of design and execution. The columns, in particular, were without symmetry, and shewed but little skill in the art of sculpture, while those of the French artists, whose taste had been improved by the remains of Roman architecture, frequently imitated with success the Corinthian capital, and sometimes the classical proportions. Both styles are wholly deficient in correctness of taste; but the barbarous massiveness of a Norman structure has a more decided air of originality, and its rudeness, when on a large scale, serves greatly to enhance the sublimity of its effect."†

The above descriptions of churches erected in their own country by the Normans, however deficient in minuteness of detail, will be found useful in a critical examination of Anglo-Norman buildings, and particularly as regards those structures which were raised shortly after the Conquest.

In discussing this subject, I first present the most important remarks of judicious writers illustrative of the general character of Anglo-Norman architecture, and shall afterwards notice their endeavours towards an appropriation of distinct varieties in this mode to respective eras.

In regard to *general character*, it may be mentioned, as a succinct manual of remembrance, that the style in architecture
which

* Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 62—63. In the same work are given engravings of the west front of the church of St. Stephen, and of the west front and the interior of the church of the Holy Trinity.

† Historical Survey, &c. p. 55—56.

which is best designated by the term of Anglo-Norman, is marked by the uniform prevalence of the semicircular arch; by massy columns, standing on a strong plinth, or [according to Bentham and Warton,] having "a kind of regular base and capital," which are usually square, the latter being in many instances left quite plain, but, in others, ornamented with foliage, or various representations of natural subjects; by the massive contours of the mouldings; and by walls of great thickness, without any very prominent buttresses.

It has been already suggested that one distinguishing mark of the Anglo-Norman churches, when compared with those described as having existed in the island previous to the Conquest, consists in the magnitude and grandeur of their dimensions. Although some of the principal churches raised during the Saxon sway over this country, were far from being of a humble and confined character, it is unquestionable that the Norman rebuilders enlarged on the plan of these structures, in attention to that spirit which had prevailed so generally on the continent in the 11th century. In numerous cathedrals, which display an evidence of Norman design, we have ocular proofs of the grandeur of their architectural views. The vestiges of several conventual churches [once secondary in magnificence only to those cathedrals] afford the same conviction, even in their ruins.*

2 B 2

In

* The augmentation of dimensions; the form; and the usual procedure in building, the churches of this era, are thus noticed by Mr. Bentham:—"The works of the Normans were large, sumptuous, and magnificent; of great length and breadth, and carried up to a proportionable height, with two and sometimes three ranges of pillars one over another, of different dimensions, connected together by various arches [all of them circular]; forming thereby a lower and upper portico, and over them a gallery; and on the outside three tiers of windows. In the centre was a lofty strong tower, and sometimes one or two more added at the west end, the front of which generally extended beyond the side aisles of the nave, or body, of the church.

"The observation made on rebuilding St. Paul's, in King William Rufus's time, after the fire of London, in 1086, by Mauritius, Bishop of that see, viz:

" That

In every proportion of component feature, the style of the Anglo-Normans was consonant to their augmentation of ground-plan. Their principal buildings do not present a magnitudinous assemblage of small parts, but a ponderous vast whole, from which all ideas of littleness are excluded in every particular.—However rude in design or execution may be deemed these ecclesiastical structures, they assuredly possess a sublimity of effect, which is rarely equalled in buildings more skilfully planned, and of a more beautiful character.

This sublimity was heightened, in many churches of the Anglo-Normans, by a twilight gloom, which would appear to have been studiously cultivated. Their windows, few and narrow, were ill-calculated to illuminate the edifice sufficiently for the purposes of the officiating priests. It is, therefore, probable that the mysterious sanctity of ancient ceremonies was rendered additionally impressive, in such churches, by the use of lighted tapers, even in the performance of mid-day service.*

The

‘That the plan was so extensive, and the design so great, that most people who lived at that time censured it as a rash undertaking, and judged that it never would be accomplished;’ is in some measure applicable to most of the churches begun by the Normans.—Their plan was, indeed, great and noble, and they laid out their whole design at first; scarcely, we may imagine, with a view of ever living to see it completed in their lifetime: their way, therefore, was usually to begin at the east end, or the choir part; when that was finished, and covered in, the church was often consecrated; and the remainder carried on as far as they were able, and then left to their successors to be completed.” Bentham’s *Hist. of Ely cathedral*, p. 33—4.

* Mr. Whitaker, in his “*Cathedral of Cornwall historically surveyed*,” observes, that, in most of our oldest churches, the “officiating divine must generally have gone through the service by that shadowy sort of illumination, which candles awfully diffuse over the evening service of our great churches in winter;” and he supports such an opinion by the following historical collections.—“This practice began very early in the temples of Christianity; an express mention being made by some canons, [which from their spirit, or from their age, or from both, were thought worthy to be denominated apostolical, and are certainly some of the most ancient among Christians] of ‘the
oil

The *arches* of an ancient edifice usually form the primary subjects of curious investigation. Those constructed by the Anglo-Normans, on the interior of a building, are chiefly characterised by plainness and simplicity; relying for effect, as it would appear, on the comparative magnitude of their proportions. But this is far from being of uniform application. Ornament is bestowed on many with a liberal hand; and the arches of entrance to their ecclesiastical buildings were, in the great majority of instances, richly adorned with all the circumstances of embellishment which ingenuity could then devise, or art reduce to practice.*

2 B 3

The

oil for the lamp,' even in the service of the eucharist. We, accordingly, see Conrad, the prior of Christchurch in Canterbury, as early as 1108-9, giving to the cathedral 'a candlestick of wonderful greatness, composed of brass; having three branches upon one side, with three upon the other, all issuing from their proper stem in the middle; and so being capable of admitting seven wax lights into it.' This had only one range of receptacles for candles and was not suspended by a chain, but raised upon a pillar, and so had one receptacle in the centre. But others had three ranges, like our present chandeliers, yet still raised upon a pillar, and still having one receptacle in the centre. Thus, in the chapel at Glastonbury abbey, besides the Easter candle, 120½ lbs. in weight, besides four other sorts of candles, a quarter of a pound, half a pound, a whole pound, and three pounds each; there was a candlestick of three ranges, the lowest holding ten candles, but all holding twenty-five, each half a pound in weight; and on certain festivals 'all the ranges' were lighted, with 'the middle candle at the top of them.' Cathedral Hist. of Cornwall, Vol. I. p. 176—177; and the authorities there quoted.

* Amongst the most splendid Anglo-Norman arches of entrance, must be noticed that at the west front of Rochester cathedral, constructed, as is believed, after the design of Bishop Gundulph. The numerous mouldings of this fine arch are all "decorated with sculptures; the principal of them representing twisted branches, and curled leaves, with a variety of small animals, and human heads, in rich open-work." A more extended description is presented in the *Beauties for Kent*, p. 639—640. The Norman doorways at Glastonbury, Malmsbury, and Castle Acre priory, Norfolk, are also distinguished and curious specimens.

Mr. Millers [in his *Description of the Cathedral Church of Ely*,] states it,

The columns in Anglo-Norman buildings are uniformly so massive as to appear in themselves a load to the foundation, even while they act as the supports of a superstructure. But, although thus invariably of a ponderous character, they are greatly dissimilar in form. Mr. Millers [enlarging, from various sources, on the remarks of Mr. Bentham] describes them as "huge massive piers," consisting, "sometimes, but seldom, of a simple shaft, and that cylindrical, hexagonal, or octagonal; and, in general, spirally fluted, or adorned with lozenges, net-work, &c. in alt, or bass, relief." The same writer adds, "that they are most frequently of a compound form; the body of the pier being sometimes of a rectilinear, sometimes of a curvilinear form, and, on two or more sides of it, various portions of columns, or of flat pillars applied to and worked up with it—sometimes four stout round columns joined together, with or without angular parts appearing between each two—or square, with a small round column at each corner—in short, the variety of form very great, and that in the same range—the capitals frequently plain—the most usual ornament is a sort of volute—in some instances flowers, leaves, shells, human heads, or animals—they can scarcely be said to have a regular base, but stand on a strong plinth, accommodated to the shape of the pier."*

The

as the result of his observations, that the arches of the Normans were of "far greater amplitude than those of the Saxons—with less minute ornament—but frequently bounded by a single moulding—sometimes indeed by more—but often none at all—soffit always plain."

"In the second tier," continues the same writer, while treating of Anglo-Norman buildings, "there are sometimes two smaller equal arches under one larger, with a column of moderate size [or even comparatively slender] between them.

"In the third tier, generally three together, the middle one higher and broader than the others, and opened for a window; all the three occupying a space equal to the span of a lower arch." Description of Ely Cathedral, &c. p. 21.

* Ibid.

The above comprehensive remarks will be found useful in the instance of local investigation; and some observations respecting the workmanship, and the principle on which columns were constructed by Anglo-Norman architects, will be presented in pages shortly ensuing.

Although many Anglo-Norman churches display, in their more conspicuous divisions, a considerable degree of ornament, the art of *sculpture* rendered only rude tributes towards their embellishment. No statues adorn the exterior of buildings erected at this era.* These, with canopied niches, and attendant luxuriancies of decoration, were reserved for a more splendid, if not more august, style of architecture.—Pieces of sculpture in relief, are, however, very frequent; and especially over doorways.—It will be recollected that they consist of various subjects;—a supposed personification of the divinity—a representation of the saviour, the holy virgin, and numerous scriptural figures—allegorical devices, allusive to sacred writ—whole figures of men and animals, masques, chimeræ, and many unintelligible creations of fancy. The whole are badly executed; and, in some instances, the coarseness of the age is exhibited, and perpetuated, by a neglect of decency in the representations. Carved faces occur on arches, or as capitals of pilasters.

Mr. Bentham observes that escutcheons of arms, so common in the ecclesiastical buildings of succeeding ages, “are hardly, if ever, seen in these fabrica.”†

The *roofs* are concisely and well described, as being generally vaulted with stone; the groining strong and plain, without tracery; “but the groins, sometimes, laced on one, or both, sides, with a moulding.”‡

2 B 4

The

* The bodies of two pillars, which assist in supporting the arch over the west entrance at Rochester cathedral, are wrought into whole length statues, supposed to be those of Henry the First and his Queen Matilda. But these curious regal supporters can scarcely be said to act as an exception to the fidelity of the above remark.

Hist. of Ely Cathedral, p. 35

Millers, p. 24.

The *towers* of Anglo-Norman structures are of low, or rather (to use a homely, but expressive, term) of short and thick proportions—square and massive;—and they retain these characteristics even in the noblest instances of cathedral buildings. The introduction of towers among the Anglo-Saxons has been already noticed; and those first erected by the Normans, in England, probably differed in few particulars, except that of augmented magnitude.

Mr. Bentham remarks, that “the towers and turrets of churches built by the Normans, in the first century after their coming, were covered as platforms, with battlements, or plain parapet walls; some of them, indeed, we now see finished with pinnacles or spires; which were additions since the modern style of pointed arches prevailed; for before we meet with none.”*

It has been stated in a previous section that, even in several Anglo-Saxon churches, towers were speedily raised for ornament merely, although, at first, that part of a church was probably intended solely for the reception of bells. A striking increase of ornamental character was imparted, by the Normans, to the towers of many churches. Some information concerning this improvement is satisfactorily conveyed by Mr. Warton:—“The towers in Saxon cathedrals,† were not, always, intended for bells; they were,” often, “calculated to produce the effect of the *louvre*, or open lantern, in the inside; and, on this account, were originally continued open, almost to the covering. It is generally supposed that the tower of Winchester cathedral, which is remarkably thick and short, was left as the foundation for a projected spire; but this idea never entered into the plan of the architect.

* Hist of Ely Cathedral, p. 39—40.—Mr. Bentham adds, that one of the earliest *spires* of which we have any account “is that of old St. Paul’s, finished in the year 1222.” This spire was of timber, covered with lead; “but, not long after, they began to build them of stone, and to finish all their buttresses in the same manner.”

† By this term Mr. Warton evidently means cathedrals erected by the Normans, in what he calls the Saxon style.

architect. Nearly the whole inside of this tower was formerly seen from below; and, for that reason, its side arches, or windows, of the first story at least, are artificially wrought and ornamented. With this sole effect in view, the builder saw no necessity to carry it higher. Many other examples might be pointed out. This gave the idea for the beautiful lanterns at Peterborough and Ely.”*

The following observations of writers whose opinions have obtained considerable attention, demand notice in this place, as they afford some particulars, not devoid of interest, concerning the ornaments and construction of Anglo-Norman edifices.

It has been already stated, in my remarks on the ecclesiastical architecture

* Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, Vol. II. p. 195.—In the Cathedral History of Cornwall, Vol. II. p. 178—9, Mr. Whitaker affords some remarks, in corroboration of the propriety of the above mode of explaining the “source and origin of lanterns in our cathedrals.” The architectural character of that fine ‘open’ and ornamented portion of a church-tower, which has been, for many ages, denominated a *lantern*, is briefly explained in the Beauties for Cambridgeshire, article *Ely Cathedral*. It may not be undesirable to observe, in this page, that lanterns of open stone work, erected on lofty church towers, of a more recent date than the Anglo-Norman era, are supposed by some writers, to have been intended to hold lights, in aid of the traveller. In Mr. Britton’s Architectural Antiquities (Vol. IV. p. 118—119) are the following remarks concerning this part of the steeple of Boston church, Lincolnshire. “The lantern, I have no doubt, was intended to be lighted at night, for a sea mark. The church of All Saints, at York, has a lantern very much resembling this of Boston; ‘and tradition tells us that antiently a large lamp hung in it, which was lighted in the night time, as a mark for travellers to aim at, in their passage, over the immense forest of Galtres, to this city. There is still the hook of the pulley on which the lamp hung in the steeple.’ Drake’s York, p. 292. And Stow tells us, that the steeple of Bow church, in Cheapside, finished about 1516, had five lanterns; ‘to wit, one at each corner, and one on the top, in the middle upon the arches.’ ‘It seemeth that the lanthorns on the top of this steeple were meant to have been glazed, and lights in them to have been placed nightly, in the winter; whereby travellers to the city might have the better sight thereof, and not miss their way.’ Survey, p. 542.

architecture of the Anglo-Saxons,* that, in their arches and piers, the Normans are believed by Mr. Wilkins to have differed from the Romans still more widely than their Saxon precursors. In the extract there presented, this popular writer in the *archæologia* conjectures the height of the Saxon column to be from four to six diameters, while that of the Norman, in the instances which he produces, is only two diameters. It is, however, apprehended that such an estimate respecting the height of the columns, or piers, in Anglo-Norman buildings, will not admit of general application.†

Proceeding in an examination of the architectural characteristics of the Anglo-Normans, Mr. Wilkins observes that "the semicircular and intersected arches, the zig-zag ornament, the billet moulding, hatched-work, and various other species of ornament were still continued; and, though architecture cannot be said to have improved on the Saxon manner, either in lightness or in execution; yet, in magnitude of design, the Normans far exceeded their predecessors. The buttress of this style varies extremely from the Gothic" (or pointed) "which succeeded it; they are broad and flat on the surface, without ornament, unless a *torus* on the angles, which is sometimes to be met with, may be called such. The buttress, even in large buildings, seldom projects more than seventeen or eighteen inches.

"The only mouldings used, both by the Saxon and Norman architects, were the *torus*, the *scotia* or *reversed torus*, the *cavetto* or *hollow moulding*, and a kind of *chamfered fascia*, which latter was generally used for *imposts* or *abacuses* to their capitals. These mouldings were combined, more or less, for the various purposes of forming *arches*, *imposts*, *cornices*, *bases*, &c. The *cima recta*, the *cima reversa*, the *ovolo* or *quarter round*, the *planiere*,

* *Vide Ante*, p. 274.

† See some remarks on this subject, with a notice of a deviation from the scale proposed by Mr. Wilkins, in the description, &c. of Ely Cathedral, by George Millers, M. A. p. 27.

planiere, and other regular Grecian *mouldings*, *cornices*, *friezes*, &c. which compose the *entablature*, are never to be met with in the Saxon or Norman fabrics. Yet their builders were more fond of variety, for it may be frequently observed in a range of columns there are as many different capitals.”*

The few constituent forms of mouldings used by Anglo-Norman architects, are scientifically mentioned in the above extract. The varieties of ornamental combination are, however, very great. Distinctive names are applied to many; but others have not received an appellation, either from architectural or antiquarian writers.

We have seen, in a previous section, that Mr. King ventures to make an extensive enumeration of ornamental mouldings, supposed by himself to be peculiar to such buildings, in the circular, massive, style, as were erected by the Anglo-Saxons.† In such a hardihood of designation the author of *Munimenta Antiqua* stands, I believe, single and unsupported. His precursors and followers in the investigation of our ancient architecture, appear to admit, that most, if not all, the mouldings observable in those rare and curious remains which many would fain believe to be of Saxon construction (and which, perhaps, are so) may be found in structures of an authentic Norman origin.

The reader has already been presented with a statement of the principal decorated mouldings, which, in the opinion of Mr. Bentham, may be found in remains of Anglo-Saxon architecture.

These, it will be recollected, are described under the names of the *chevron-work*, or *zig-zag*; the *embattled frette*; the *triangular frette*; and the *nail head*. The same are well-known to be common in Anglo-Norman buildings; and, in conjunction with those noticed in the following page, comprise the mouldings chiefly prevailing in churches erected under Norman patronage in this country.

* *Archæol.* Vol. XII. p. 160.

† *Vide Ante*, p. 278.

The *Billeted moulding*, which has many varieties. An idea of its ordinary form may be obtained, by supposing that a cylinder "should be cut into small pieces, of equal length, and these stuck on, alternately, round the face of the arches; as in the choir of Peterborough; at St. Cross; and round the windows of the upper tier on the outside of the nave at Ely. This ornament was often used" (as also were others common to the circular style) "for a fascia, band, or fillet, round the outside of buildings." The *Corbel table*, "consisting of a series of small arches, without pillars, but with heads of men and animals, serving instead of corbels, or brackets, to support them; which they placed below the parapet, projecting over the upper, and sometimes the middle, tier of windows." The *Hatched moulding* was used both on the faces of the arches, and for a fascia on the outside. It appears "as if cut with the point of an ax, at regular distances, and so left rough." The *Nebule* may be described as a projection terminating by an undulating line. Examples are frequent; one, sufficiently conspicuous, is named by Mr. Bentham, as occurring "under the upper range of windows at Peterborough."*

Among the ornaments of Anglo-Norman buildings may be noticed "ranges of arches, which occur where there was nothing to support, and were intended to fill up void spaces, interior or exterior, and relieve a uniformity that might prove displeasing."

These are very common on the west front, and on the inside of north and south walls; and they "sometimes intersect each other, and so produce those compartments which are believed by several writers to have given the first hint of the pointed arch." Mr. Millers, (whose descriptive terms I have adopted in this paragraph) observes that the mouldings most frequently used by the Normans were the chevron work, or zig-zag; the embattled frette; the triangular frette; the nail-head; the billet; the

* Hist. of Ely Cathedral, p. 35.

the cable; the hatched; the lozenge; the wavey; the pellet moulding; and the nebule.*

In an ingenious essay on "The Antiquity, and the different modes of, brick and stone buildings in England," by the late Mr. Essex, are presented many remarks on the Anglo-Norman methods of constructing the walls, and other parts of large buildings. An abridged statement of the principal of these observations, can scarcely fail of being acceptable.

In Norman churches, where large pillars are used, "the outer facings are generally composed of squared stones, laid in regular courses, and the middle filled with cement.† Such were the pillars in the old cathedral of St. Paul, in London, and those of Ely, Peterborough, and many others of that age; and the outer walls of these churches are of the same sort of masonry, the middle of them being filled with cement between two faces of squared stones, or, an outside facing of squared stones, and a facing of flat rough stones within. But, where they built with pillars of smaller diameters, they used squared stones, which made a regular bond through every course. This was practised by the Romans, and called by Vitruvius *Insertum*." It was used, also, according to Mr. Essex, by "Saxon builders, in round and octangular pillars in the conventual church at Ely, and in other places; and it is frequently found in buildings erected soon after the Conquest; and when arch buttresses were introduced, they generally constructed them with this sort of masonry, being the strongest and most beautiful."

It is observable that in most of the Norman [and, as Mr. Essex believes, in all Saxon buildings] "the walls, pillars, and arches are composed of such small stones, that the courses seldom exceed

* Observations on English church architecture, in a description of the Cathedral church of Ely, &c. by George Millers, M. A.

† An attempt was made, some years back, to flute several of the pillars in Gloucester cathedral, when it was discovered that they were filled up, on the inside, only with loose irregular stones. Gough's additions to Camden, Vol. I. p. 271.

ceed seven or eight inches, and very often we find them less, notwithstanding they could procure larger stones, though they seldom used them, but for bases or capitals to their pillars, or for some particular parts of their work, where they thought large stones were necessary." The Norman modes of construction are, in almost every variety, referable to a Roman origin; and, in the above instance, their builders evidently followed the standard direction of Vitruvius.

Among those several kinds of masonry "which were introduced by the Romans themselves, or by foreigners who were brought hither to build after the *Roman manner*, is that called *opus reticulatum*, (or network.) The beauty of this work arose from the form of the stones, which were perfectly square; and from the disposition of them, which was diagonal; and the joints appearing like the meshes of a net, it thence acquired its name. But the disposition of the stones, for which it was chiefly admired, being contrary to nature and reason, soon discovered its want of strength. Therefore, the Saxon and Norman masons, knowing its defects, used it only as an ornament in their *frontons*, and filling of arches. Examples of which may be seen at Lincoln, Ely, Peterborough, Rochester, and other Norman buildings; but it was quite laid aside before the time of Henry the Third."

It is remarked by Mr. Essex, that the Normans frequently raised large buildings with pebbles only; and, sometimes, with pebbles intermixed with rag-stones. Of these he has noticed three sorts. "The first is that of pebbles only; the outside of the wall being laid in regular courses, with stones of nearly the same bigness; and the angles of the wall strengthened with squared stones. The next is with pebbles and rags, having the angles fortified with squared stones, about two feet high, and six or seven inches square, which were tied into the wall by flat square stones about six or seven inches thick, laid on the top of them." This appears to have been the prevailing mode of building in Cambridgeshire, in the time of William Rufus; and may be seen in the church of St. Giles, in Cambridge, and in the
tower

tower of St. Benedict's church. The third sort of masonry, composed of pebbles and rag-stones, "has two or three feet of pebbles, or rags, laid regularly; and above them several courses of rag-stones, laid angularly, or in manner of herring-bone work."

A mode of building so rough and coarse, required a coat of plaister to render it pleasing to the eye.

Accordingly, we find "that those small churches, and other buildings, which were constructed in this manner, were always plaistered on the inside, and frequently on the outside, with a composition of lime and sand;" the remains of which may be traced in many Norman churches, together with such as Mr. Essex attributes to the Saxons; and, also, in some that are more modern.—"In churches which were built, in the eleventh century, with wall-tiles, after the Roman manner, the walls, pillars, and arches, were finished, within and without, with the same kind of plaistering, or stucco; as may be seen in the ancient parts of the abbey church of St. Alban's."*

Such leading characteristics of Anglo-Norman architecture, as are essential towards a discrimination between this mode and the fashion by which it was succeeded, are stated, it is hoped with sufficient perspicuity, in the course of the above remarks. It is unquestionable that the massy, cumbrous, and vast style of the Normans, underwent several changes, as to paucity or abundance in ornament—application of mouldings to arches—and various minute circumstances of decoration—before it was supplanted by that light and beautiful mode which met with universal adoption when once a finished example was exhibited, because it allowed unbounded excursions of taste and fancy in ages prolific of architectural genius;—then the great auxiliary of sacerdotal dignity, and even of religion itself.

The

* Remarks on the Antiquity, &c. of brick and stone buildings in England, Archæol. Vol. IV.

The study of architectural antiquities is still in its infancy in this country. Much has been written upon this topic, in a general way; but, in the works of those who first laboriously and heavily pursued antiquarian knowledge, we find a lamentable neglect of such enquiries concerning the peculiarities of buildings, as might assist in displaying the temper, manners, and proficiency in the arts, of determinate remote ages.

Leland, although possessed of a fine taste, was led, by the peculiarity of the times, to bestow his principal attention on the manuscripts contained in religious houses,—treasures of curiosity which he saw falling into destruction, and some knowledge concerning which he endeavoured to preserve, as the best offering that he could present to posterity.

Camden, in his vast undertaking, had at once (as is observed by Bishop Gibson) “to remove the rubbish, lay the foundation, and raise the fabric,” of a chorographical history of Britain. When we consider the comprehensive nature of his design, and the difficulties under which he laboured in forming a solid groundwork of information, we can scarcely be surprised at finding that he entirely declined dissertations on the architecture of those ancient and splendid structures which were spread around him in his travels. But this is a matter worthy of deep regret; as an august host of buildings, now almost deprived of distinguishing features by the dilapidation of “evil days,” were then scarcely worn into the character of ruins.

The bulk of our early county histories are truly described by Mr. Gough, as consisting of “incorrect pedigrees, futile etymologies, verbose disquisitions, crowds of epitaphs, lists of landholders, and such farrago, thrown together without method, unanimated by reflections, and delivered in the most uncouth and horrid style;” their authors having, “trodden only in mazes overgrown with thorns, neglecting the flowery paths with which the wilderness of obscurity is diversified.”*

The pursuits of that learned body to which the country naturally

* British Topography, Preface, p. 21, 22.

rally looks for information on this subject, the society of Antiquaries, have only in years comparatively recent, been seriously addressed to enquiries concerning the history and characteristics of our ancient architecture.

Bentham, Gray, and Warton afforded bright examples, which, perhaps, the free and elegant pen of Horace Walpole (Earl of Orford) greatly assisted in rendering objects of emulation in the esteem of the polite, as well as the erudite.

Aided by such incitements, the investigation of the ancient architecture of this island has been adopted, on the only judicious principle, and one that was too long neglected,—that of local, scientific, enquiry, and an appropriation of styles upon the secure basis of analogy, proceeding from data of unquestionable authority. Much may be expected from the exertion of talent so well directed, if sustained by public encouragement. But this union of energy and judgment is only of late occurrence: and it must be repeated, that a knowledge of the architectural antiquities of this country is still of an infantile and unintelligent growth.

A variety of styles, in regard to the character and disposal of ornaments, if not sufficiently distinguished to admit of a positive classification, is observable in the ecclesiastical buildings of the Anglo-Normans. The appropriation of these to respective ages must depend on such a careful investigation, and comparison of the mouldings of arches, and other particulars of architectural decoration, as is not known to have been yet carried into effect. An attempt of this kind could be executed only in a regular and extensive work of art, and will scarcely be expected in a volume embracing so many topics as the present. While subject to the want of a satisfactory dissertation, the following remarks may act as useful outlines of information.

If we rely on that statement of Dr. Ducarel, which is noticed in previous pages of this section, we shall find cause for believing that the architectural style prevailing in the early part of the conqueror's age, was marked by great plainness; the heavy round

arches, and the narrow windows, of the two buildings of St. Stephen and the Holy Trinity at Caen, having few enriched mouldings; and all other parts of those structures, both within and on the exterior, being destitute of sculptural decorations.

But the inference arising from the above intelligence conveyed by Dr. Ducarel, must by no means be wrought into a rule of severe application, in regard to the first buildings of the Normans in this country. It is, however, to be ascertained that such structures were sometimes of a plainer description than those raised in succeeding years; an instance of which may be remarked in the chapel of St. John, in the Tower of London.*

The observations of two writers, whose opinions upon this subject are rendered of additional value by their professional pursuits, may be adduced, in illustration of the procedure of Anglo-Norman architectural taste in early ages.

"In the eleventh century," writes Mr. Wilkins (unfortunately using terms of too general a character, for the wishes and purpose of the critical enquirer) "some alterations in the Saxon style of architecture took place. They were introduced by the Normans, and were executed in a very rough massive way at first; but, in a short time they became more expert workmen. We find them improving in their workmanship until the middle of

* This curious chapel was erected for King William the First, by Bishop Gundulph. It is distinguished by massive simplicity; the arches, and every part of the building, except the capitals of some of the columns, being entirely destitute of ornament.

The weighty columns are uniformly round and plain; their plinths square and unornamented. The capitals are all square, but are not entirely similar in any other respect. Their studied want of uniformity is, however, less striking than in many other Anglo-Norman structures, and ornament is bestowed on them with a very rigid hand. The cross is the embellishment most frequent; and that holy emblem is displayed on the capitals of many successive columns.

The capitals partaking most freely of decoration are those two which are opposed to each other, at the western termination of the structure. These have the cable moulding; a narrow billet; and a losenge moulding.

of the 12th century, in almost every province in the kingdom, particularly at Rochester under the superintendence of Bishop Gundulph, whose skill and expertness in masonry caused it there to be styled *Gundulph's Architecture*. Ernulph, a native of France, soon after the death of Gundulph, was promoted to the abbacy of Peterborough. He, also, became proficient in this style of building; and various specimens of his taste are still to be seen at Rochester, Canterbury, Peterborough, &c."*

Mr. J. A. Repton, in a contribution towards Mr. Britton's *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral church of Norwich*, remarks that "the style called Norman is well known by the semicircular arches, the square-headed capitals and bases of the columns, and the massive contour of the mouldings. The architecture of the Saxons and the early Normans, (that is, from the time of the Conquest to Henry the First,) is extremely massive; not only in the general design of the building, but also in the detail of mouldings, &c. Soon after the reign of Henry the First, the heavy character of the Norman style began gradually to partake of more elegant forms: the capitals of the columns became lighter, though with bolder projections; the mouldings of the arches and cornices were more delicately finished; the bead mouldings began to change their massive forms, and towards the reigns of Henry the Second, and Richard the First, they were ornamented with fillets and ogees; the hollow mouldings were more open; the square shape of the abacus of the capital of columns was changed, by degrees, into the octangular, or circular, forms, while the contour of the arch-mouldings began to lose their square outline, and to sweep round with the shape of the columns."†

An instance of the early Anglo-Norman mode, together with an exception from the prevalence of a uniform style in the same

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age,

* Essay towards a History of the Venta Icenorum of the Romans, &c. Archæol. Vol. XII.

† Britton's *History and Antiquities of Norwich Cathedral*, p. 28.

age, is afforded in the following continuation of Mr. Repton's observations:—"The earliest part of Norwich Cathedral, begun about the reign of William Rufus, still retains its cumbrous and massive character; and the same style is continued through the nave, although raised in the reign of Henry the First. This seems to have been done to preserve uniformity in the whole building. It should be observed, however, that the plainness or the richness of a building is no proof of its antiquity; because the same Bishop (Herbert, consecrated in 1094,) who founded this cathedral, adopted the plain and massive style, as being applicable to a structure on a great scale; but, on the contrary, in erecting the monks' houses (commonly called the dormitory) a small building of nearly the same date as the cathedral, he displayed a considerable degree of taste in the richness and lightness of design."*

Mr. Burdon, in a letter to the author of the "Architectural Antiquities," supposes that "it is not very difficult to distinguish THREE DIFFERENT KINDS OF THE NORMAN ARCHITECTURE. The *early*, which began before the Conquest, and of which Waltham, Durham, &c. are specimens; the *middle*, which is the style of Peterborough, Malmsbury, &c. and the *latter*, which is that of Lincoln, the choir of Canterbury, &c."†

This scheme appears to be worthy of attention; but the opinions of its author are not sufficiently defined to admit of useful application. It is, however, founded on a principle which all local and historical examination proves to be correct:—that the architecture of the Anglo-Normans progressively increased in ornament and skilfulness of execution: the whole detail of embellishments becoming less weighty and rude in each new age, and gradually ameliorating towards the delicacy of the pointed style, and its attendant crowd of luxuriant beauties.

That

* Britton's History and Antiquities of Norwich cathedral, p. 28, with a reference to Archæologia, Vol. XV.

† Architectural Antiquities, Vol. III. p. 26.*

That the exchange of the heavy circular arch for that of the light, graceful, and pointed form, was not a circumstance of abrupt transition, but proceeded at first with reluctant steps and an intermixture of styles, is sufficiently evident, although several authors have insinuated to the contrary. The following passage in Mr. Bentham's History of the Cathedral church of Ely, is open to such an interpretation :—"It cannot be expected that we should be able to enumerate all the decorations which the Saxons and Normans made use of, for they designed variety in the choice of them ; but a judicious antiquarian, who has made the prevailing modes of architecture in distant times his study, will be able to form very probable conjectures concerning the age of most of these ancient structures ; the alterations that have been made in them, since their first erection, will often discover themselves to his eye. Perhaps the most usual change he will find in them is in the form of the windows ; for, in many of our oldest churches, I mean such as were built within the first age after the Conquest, the windows, which were originally round-headed, have since been altered for others of a more modern date, with pointed arches. Instances of this kind are numerous, and may often be discovered, by examining the courses of the stonework about them : unless the outward face of the building was new cased at the time of their insertion, as it sometimes happened : without attending to this, we shall be at a loss to account for that mixture of round and pointed arches we often meet with in the same building."*

That such alterations were frequent, is undoubted ; and the above extract affords a criterion for distinguishing the result of innovation from the design of the first builder. But the pointed arch appears in the original parts of structures where Anglo-Norman features have determinately the ascendant, long before that mode of architecture of which it forms a characteristic, was

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methodised

* Hist. of Ely Cathedral, p. 35—36,

methodised into a system, and can be denominated a style. And this fact is noticed by Mr. Bentham, in a subsequent page.*

The exact date at which arches of a pointed construction were first used, is a subject unsettled by antiquarian discussion, and is of little importance in the present section of our work. In regard to their character and disposal, where intermingled with the predominating circular style, I profit by the words of Mr. Millers:—Before the end of the period usually ascribed to the Anglo-Norman mode, and even early in it, “some instances are found of pointed arches—they are sparingly introduced—one or more tiers of them appear at the top of a building, all the lower ones being round—sometimes they are alternate—sometimes one is inserted, capriciously as it were, among several round—they are, for the most part, obtusely, but, in some instances, even sharply pointed—but are always wide—standing on heavy columns, or garnished with mouldings, or both.—There was a third sort of arch, sometimes, but very rarely, occurring. It is called the horse-shoe arch, and is an arc of a circle somewhat greater than the semi-circle.”†

To which it may be added, that these pointed arches, originally interspersed in buildings of the circular style, are usually ornamented with the zig-zag, or other mouldings characteristic of the architectural fashion which preceded the English.

Instances of this intermixture of dissimilar arches may be noticed in the under-named buildings, among many others; church of *St. Cross, near Winchester*, erected about 1130; *Temple Church, London*, 1172; *Malmsbury Abbey Church, Wiltshire*; *Llandaf Cathedral*; and *Lanthoni Abbey, Monmouthshire*. It may be observed, that the same mixture of arches occurs

* *Vide*, History of the Cathedral church of Ely, p. 37.

† Description of the Cathedral church of Ely, &c. by George Millers, M. A. p. 22.—The ovate flat arch was sometimes used by the Anglo-Normans, as in the instance of the western entrance to the church of Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex, built by Archbishop Lanfranc.

curs in the church of *Barfreston*, Kent, which Mr. King, and several other writers, have attributed to the Saxon era.

During this struggle between the two forms, it would appear that the architects of buildings then erecting, frequently displayed incongruous arches, for the purpose of exhibiting their comparative merits to public notice. The final issue of the contest will shortly be stated, together with the magnificent effect on ecclesiastical architecture, of the triumph obtained by scientific lightness over rude solidity.

In the absence of any decisive criteria for appropriating variations in Anglo-Norman architecture to determinate ages, the object of the investigator may be, in a great measure, advanced, by an enumeration of some principal structures which exhibit characteristics of this style. To facilitate enquiry, the date of erection will be affixed, where attainable, to each building cited as a conspicuous example.

Such a catalogue of these works (often stupendous, and almost uniformly evincing a grandeur of views) must be properly introduced by an observation respecting the station in life of the architects to whom they are chiefly ascribed. The reader will recollect, to the honour of a race of ecclesiastics, often named with exceptionless, overwhelming, obloquy by the inconsiderate, that the great architects of the Anglo-Norman ages are to be found in the lists of dignified clergy. Several of the most distinguished may be thus noticed, from a statement made by Mr. Dallaway :

“ We have the following enumeration of Norman bishops, who were either architects themselves, or under whose auspices architecture flourished. *Gundulph* of Rochester (1077-1107.) *Mauritius* of London (1086-1108) built old St. Paul's cathedral. *Roger of Salisbury* (1107-1140,) the Cathedral at Old Sarum. *Ernulf* of Rochester (1115-1125) completed bishop Gundulph's work there. They were both monks of Bec, in Normandy. *Alexander* of Lincoln (1123-1147) rebuilt his Cathedral. *Henry of Blois*, bishop of Winchester (1129-1169,) a most celebrated

architect, built the conventual churches of St. Cross and Ramsey, in Hampshire; and, lastly, *Roger, archbishop of York* (1154-1181,) where none of his work remains. By these architects the Norman manner was progressively brought to perfection in England; and it will be easily supposed, that the improvements made by any of them were adopted in succession.”*

To the above list must be added the names of *Lanfranc*, conspicuous for his works at Canterbury; *Thomas*, equally celebrated at York; *Walkelin*, at Winchester; *Remigius*, at Lincoln; *William*, at Durham; *Robert*, at Hereford; *Herbert*, at Norwich; and *St. Anselm*, at Chester.

The Cathedral churches of England, although much altered by the innovations (munificent, and often gratifying) of succeeding ages, still exhibit the most satisfactory specimens of the style at present under consideration. The sublimity of Anglo-Norman architecture was, indeed, displayed in these edifices to its utmost height; and it impresses reverence, even in mutilation, and now that the general effect for which the designer laboured, is no more.

Mr. Bentham observes, that “there is, perhaps, hardly any one of our Cathedral churches, of the early Norman style (marked by round arches and large pillars) remaining entire, though they were all originally so built; but specimens of it may still be seen in most of them. The greatest parts of the cathedrals of Durham; Carlisle; Chester; Peterborough; Norwich; Rochester; Chichester; Oxford; Worcester; Wells; and Hereford; the tower and transept of Winchester; the nave of Gloucester; the nave and transept of Ely; the two towers of Exeter; some remains in the middle of the west front of Lincoln, with the lower parts of the two towers there; in Canterbury, great part of the choir, formerly called Conrade’s choir (more ornamented than usual); the two towers, called St. Gregory’s and St. Anselm’s, and the north-west tower, of the same church.—York and Lichfield

* Dallaway’s English Architecture, p. 28.

field have had all their parts so entirely rebuilt, at separate times, since the disuse of round arches, that little, or nothing, of the old Norman work appears in them at this day. The present Cathedral church of Salisbury is the only one that never had any mixture of this early Norman style in its composition."^{*}

The above extract is presented, as it forms a useful compendium of information concerning the cathedrals in which vestiges of Anglo-Norman architecture are most conspicuous. In the subjoined *Table of Examples*, the Anglo-Norman parts of cathedral buildings are stated somewhat more explicitly than was necessary to the design of Mr. Bentham's work, together with the probable dates of erection, as afforded by the most acceptable authorities.

My enumeration of *Cathedrals* exhibiting specimens of this style, is followed by that of some *Parochial churches* (several of which were formerly conventual,) and of the principal *Ruins of Monastic structures* which have so far survived the ravages of interest and ignorance, as to retain a melancholy memorial of their founders, in traces of the architectural style which prevailed when those generous persons flourished in rude but venerable pomp, and expended what hospitality could spare, in adorning the land with tributes of fanciful piety.

In regard to that part of the annexed list which relates to Parochial churches, it will be obvious that we have, very rarely, an opportunity of ascertaining the precise date of erection, on written testimony. The periods of foundation, repair, and addition, in such buildings as were connected with monastic institutions, were frequently chronicled by inmates of the establishment; but the structure raised by the manorial lord had no devoted pen to record its architectural history. The date of erection is, therefore, usually presumptive; and calculations concerning it proceed from an analogy of style with superior edifices, whose origin is authenticated. A ray of information, however,

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^{*} Hist. of Ely Cathedral, p.3

is sometimes derived from commemorative inscriptions, attached to the buildings. Many of these, recording the foundation and consecration, are collected in Pegge's "Sylloge of Remaining Inscriptions," article "second series, beginning at the Norman Conquest."

The reader will perceive that a few instances only are adduced. It will not be supposed that this Table of Enumeration is intended to present a view of the whole Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical antiquities remaining in England.—A selection has been made of such specimens as are most amply noticed in the "Beauties." Frequently, *parts* only of the buildings cited, contain Anglo-Norman vestiges; but those instances in which circular doorways alone remain, are not mentioned. These are numerous in every district; and some remarks have already been submitted, concerning the probable cause of their preservation.* The examples of Parochial churches are arranged in counties, enumerated alphabetically, in attention to the mode observed in describing the "Beauties of England and Wales."

Several Norman churches may, unquestionably, be found amongst those attributed by some writers to the Anglo-Saxons, and which are mentioned as buildings thus conjecturally ascribed, in a previous section. Where there appear strong reasons for appropriating such structures to the era under notice, these churches are again cited. This, however, has been done only upon grounds which appeared to be secure. Thus, the church of Iffley, in Oxfordshire, is said by Mr. Warton† to have been built by a bishop of Lincoln, in the 12th century; but, as his authority for such an assertion cannot be discovered, I have not adduced that building as a positive example of Anglo-Norman architecture.—St. Peter's in the East, one of the most curious ancient ornaments of Oxford (a city so rich in subjects of antiquarian investigation,) is supposed, by a recent writer in a work of

* *Vide Ante*, p. 269—270, note.

† History of Kiddington, p. 4.

of high respectability, to be probably referable "to the Norman æra." But, in my brief index to such buildings in the circular style as are mentioned in the "Beauties," I deem it desirable to state this church of St. Peter, as a building quite open to the enquiries of the ingenious.

CATHEDRAL CHURCHES, EXHIBITING REMAINS OF ANGLO-NORMAN ARCHITECTURE.

BRISTOL.—The Chapter-house, and Elder Lady Chapel (a structure on the north side of the Cathedral) present vestiges of the original edifice, begun about the year 1160. *Beauties for Somersetshire*, p. 664—669, with an engraved view.*

CANTERBURY.—The tower on the north-west appears to have been built by Archbishop Lanfranc, between the years 1070 and 1089; but has experienced some alteration. A rich display of Norman architecture, ascribed to the same period, commences in the vicinity of St. Michael's chapel, which adjoins the south transept. The "side walls of the aisles of the choir, as well as parts of the east transept, are of Norman architecture, and unquestionably formed part of Lanfranc's Cathedral, though they are somewhat obscured by alterations in the pointed style." The groining of the roof, in the north aisle, is of the time of Henry the Second, and is ornamented with zig-zag mouldings. Other parts of this magnificent building, still retaining traces of Anglo-Norman architecture, are noticed in the description presented in the *Beauties for Kent*, p. 830—875.

CARLISLE.—The nave and transept exhibit some massive remains,

* Such pages of the *Beauties of England* as are referred to, in regard to each Cathedral mentioned in this list, contain a description of that building. Some additional particulars, concerning the dates of erection, &c. are, in several instances, collected from other sources. It is possible that deficiencies and errors may be discovered; but, where they do not proceed from a want of research or care, the indulgence of the reader is confidently expected.

mains, supposed to be of the latter part of the 11th century. *Beauties for Cumberland*, p. 85—89, with an engraved view.

CHICHESTER.—Although this structure suffered by fire, about the year 1187, it affords an interesting example of the architecture of an earlier period. The more ancient parts are of a plain and weighty character, and are believed to have been built after 1114, and before 1123. *Beauties for Sussex*, p. 37—48.

DURHAM.—This fine and impressive fabric presents, throughout the whole of its most important parts, instructive remains of Norman architecture. It was founded in 1093, and the walls were completed, nearly to the roof, before the year 1133. *Beauties for Durham*, p. 38—44.

ELY.—The great western tower, up to the first battlements, was built by Bishop Ridel, who died in 1189. The transepts are of the reign of Henry the First. The nave and its aisles, “except the windows of the second tier, and those of the lower, all but three on the south side, are in the Anglo-Norman style, and were” chiefly finished, as is believed, in the year 1174.* *Beauties for Cambridgeshire*, p. 161—164, with an engraved view.

EXETER.—The towers† were erected by Bishop Warlewast, between the years 1100 and 1128. Some alterations, however, have been effected in the north tower. Architectural remains, probably of the same age, may be seen in the transepts; but the later pointed mode is greatly preponderant in this structure. *Beauties for Devonshire*, p. 54—72.

GLOUCESTER.—The lower part of the nave, the aisles round the choir, and the crypt, are believed to have been erected between

* Description of Ely Cathedral, &c. by G. Millers, M. A. In the same work are noticed several less important parts of Ely Cathedral, which are also in the Anglo-Norman style.

† Two views of the towers of Exeter cathedral are given in the *Beauties for Devonshire*.

tween the years 1058 and 1104. *Beauties for Gloucestershire*, p. 539—550, with an engraving.

HEREFORD.—This cathedral, although much altered in the modes of various eras, presents considerable specimens of the latter part of the eleventh, and the early years of the twelfth centuries. The Anglo-Norman divisions of this structure were commenced shortly after the year 1079, and were nearly completed before 1116. *Beauties for Herefordshire*, p. 458—476, with an engraved view.

LINCOLN.—Owing to accident from fire, and other more ordinary causes, producing a great commixture of styles, there is much difficulty in appropriating the ancient portions of this building to distinct ages; but, amidst the splendour of renovation and improvement, are still to be seen many parts, probably erected between the years 1086 and 1147. The foundations were laid in the former year, but the structure was greatly injured by fire, about 1127. The lower division of the centre of the grand western front, affords an example of highly-ornamented Anglo-Norman architecture.* *Beauties for Lincolnshire*, p. 627—641.

NORWICH.—The east end; the choir and its aisles; the chapels of Jesus and St. Luke; and the transepts; are ascribed to the date of 1096. The nave and its aisles, to that of 1122. *Beauties for Norfolk*, p. 147—158.

OXFORD.—The Anglo-Norman parts of this edifice were probably erected between the years 1111 and 1190, or in years nearly circumscribed by those dates. *Beauties for Oxfordshire*, p. 138—142, with a print.

PETERBOROUGH.—The choir, with its aisles, from the circular extremity at the east, to the commencement of the transept on the west, was begun in 1118, and completed in 1143. The transept was erected between the years 1155, and 1177. The
nave,

* An engraved view of the western front of this cathedral is given in the *Beauties for Lincolnshire*.

nave and its aisles, to the termination of the pillars which divide the nave and side aisles on the west, are believed to have been built between the years 1177 and 1193. *Beauties for Northamptonshire*, p. 234—236, with a print.

ROCHESTER.—Great parts of the nave, and the west front, together with the tower between the transepts on the north side, were built by Bishop Gundulph, who died in the year 1108. The west front is a splendid instance of Anglo-Norman architecture. The ruins of the chapter-house exhibit a style rather later. This building was erected by Bishop Ernulph, who died in 1124. *Beauties for Kent*, p. 639—653, with views of the west door, and of the interior.

WELLS.—Parts of the nave and choir. *Beauties for Somersetshire*, p. 484—487, with a view of the interior.

WINCHESTER.—The tower and transepts are Anglo-Norman works, and were completed in 1093. Many windows of the transepts, however, have been altered in various fashions. The tower is a fine and interesting specimen. *Beauties for Hampshire*, p. 49—81, with a print.

WORCESTER.—The choir, and several other parts which exhibit traces of the circular style, are believed to have been erected between 1084 and 1089. *Beauties for Worcestershire*, p. 61—83.

PAROCHIAL CHURCHES, EXHIBITING REMAINS OF ANGLO-NORMAN ARCHITECTURE.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

	<i>Time of Erection.</i>	<i>Noticed in the Beauties.</i>
Priory church, Dunstable.....	..... 1131—5	{ P. 19—23, with a print.
Elstow church, part of the original church of the monastery.....		
	Founded in the reign of William I.	{ P. 15.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

	Time of Erection.	Noticed in the Beauties.
St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge, [circular part]*	Probably the reign of Henry I.....	} P. 102—104.
The church of <i>Stuntney</i> , and the chapel of <i>Sterebridge</i> , in this county, are good specimens of the Anglo-Norman style; but are not noticed in the Beauties for Cambridgeshire, on account of the narrow limits to which that division of the work is confined.		

CHESHIRE.

* While noticing this building, it appears desirable to offer a few remarks on the subject of *Round Churches*, of which we have, in England, four examples remaining almost perfect:—*St. Sepulchre's church, Cambridge*; *St. Sepulchre's church, Northampton*; the *Temple church, London*; and the church of *Little Mapledred, Essex*.

A vulgar opinion long prevailed, that these curious structures were the works of the Jews! Enquirers into the history of our ancient architecture were disabused of such a notion by the late Mr. Essex, who published an essay on the subject of round churches, in the sixth volume of the *Archæologia*. A more comprehensive dissertation has since been produced by Mr. Britton, in the first volume of his *Architectural Antiquities*, together with additional remarks by an ingenious correspondent of that gentleman, Charles Clarke, Esq. F.S.A.

In regard to the mistake of attributing these buildings to the Jews, Mr. Essex observes, that "their temple at Jerusalem was not of the circular form, neither was the tabernacle of Moses; nor do we find the modern Jews affect that figure in building their synagogues. It has, however, been generally supposed, that the round church at Cambridge, that at Northampton, and some others, were built for synagogues by the Jews, while they were permitted to dwell in those places; but, as no probable reason can be assigned for this supposition, and I think it is very certain that the Jews, who were settled in Cambridge, had their synagogue, and probably dwelled together, in a part of the town now called the Jewry, so we may reasonably conclude, the round churches we find in other parts of this kingdom were not built by the

CHESHIRE.

Time of Erection. *Noticed in the Beauties.*

St. John's Chester.....P. 220—221, with a print.

CORNWALL.

Church of St. German's, }
formerly the cathedral } { P. 374 — 379, with a
of Cornwall..... } print.

DORSETSHIRE.

Wimborne minster..... } { P. 418 — 424, with a
Sherborne church..... } print.
P. 503—506.

DURHAM.

the Jews for synagogues, whatever the places may be called in which they stand."

It is uniformly admitted by the above, and other intelligent writers, that the church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem, was the archetype of these circular churches in England. Some edifices of this description [as, particularly, the Temple church, at London] were undoubtedly erected by the Knights Templars, "who were originally instituted, and stationed, at the church of the Holy Sepulchre," being charged with the protection of Christian pilgrims against the Saracens. Mr. Clarke, however, thinks it possible to shew that two, at least, and those the most early of the examples noticed above, "were not erected by the Templars, or at all connected with that order of knighthood."

The buildings to which he refers, are the churches of St. Sepulchre, at Northampton and at Cambridge. These we find to be parochial, and vicarages, and to be entered as such in Ecton's Thesaurus. "It would be difficult," says Mr. Clarke, "to account for the round churches above noticed, if ever they belonged to houses of Knights-Templars, becoming parochial and appropriated before the dissolution of that order, considering how seldom any of the monasteries have been reserved for that purpose; or, if possessed of the right of patronage, that a vicarage should be ordained in favour of another house."

This writer, therefore, supposes that the churches in question were built by affluent crusaders, in imitation of that of the Holy Sepulchre, or Resurrection ;

DURHAM.

	<i>Time of Erection.</i>	<i>Noticed in the Beauties.</i>
Bishop Wearmouth church.....	{ P. 135.

ESSEX.

Waltham abbey church }	{ P. 437 — 442, with a print.
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GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Abbey church of Tewkesbury. This interesting structure is ascribed, by Bishop Littleton, to	The reign of Henry I.....	{ P. 694 — 701, with a print.
Elkstone church		P. 671—672.
Bishop's Cleve church.....		P. 681—682.

rection ; and he presents the following historical notices, in defence of such an opinion.—“ Simon St. Liz is said to have re-edified the town of Northampton, which was burnt by the Danes, and lay in ruins for some time after the Conquest. About the year 1084, he repaired the priory of St. Andrew, near his castle in that town, of which he was the Earl, and endowed, and replenished it with Cluniac monks. To this priory we find the church of St. Sepulchre presented by Simon St. Liz, or Seinliz, second Earl of Northampton, upon his return from the crusade. He died in 1141. The right of patronage, thus granted to the monks, could only have been possessed by this Simon, in consequence of himself, or one of his ancestors, having been the founder of the church, as within a demesne of his own. This is evident from the customs of those times, when it was also common to present such right to the religious houses, for the sake of its being better exercised. And, from what we have seen of the ardour of the first crusaders, it is highly probable that he was himself the builder of this edifice, in imitation of the church of the Resurrection — A like train of circumstances attends the round church at Cambridge, a more ancient structure than that at Northampton.” See many further remarks on the character and history of round churches, in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. I. A view of the interior of the Temple church, London, is presented in the “ *Beauties*” for London and Middlesex.

HAMPSHIRE.

	<i>Time of Erection.</i>	<i>Noticed in the Beauties.</i>
Priory church at Christchurch.....	Reign of William Rufus.....	P. 211—217.
Abbey church at Romsey. Mr. Warton mentions this building, as "one of the most complete monuments he can recollect," of the Norman style. It was built by Henry de Blois.....	In the early part of the twelfth century.....	
		P. 223—226, with a print.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

Leominster church, [such parts as escaped conflagration in 1700]	P. 560—571.
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HERTFORDSHIRE.

Conventual church of St. Alban's [many parts]	P. 67—90, with a print.
Church of Hemel-Hemsted.....	.....	P. 131—132.
—— of Kensworth.....	.....	P. 140.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

Hertford church.....	.....	P. 475—476.
Church of Hemmingford Grey.....	.....	P. 478—479.
—— of Warboys.....	.....	P. 502—503.
—— of Offord d'Arcy.....	.....	P. 572.

KENT.

Church of Frindsbury [chancel]	Probably between the years 1125, and 1137.....	P. 596.
—— of Gillingham.....	.....	P. 681—682.

Church

	<i>Time of Erection.</i>	<i>Noticed in the Beauties.</i>
Church of Borden.....	P. 692—693.	
— of Davington	P. 743—744.	
— of Badlesmere	P. 750—751.	
Chapel of Harbledown.....	P. 752.	
Church of St. Nicholas.....	P. 952—953.	
— of Margate.....	P. 961—963.	
— of St. Peter's.....	P. 967—968.	
— of St. Lawrence.....	P. 984.	
— of Minster [ap- pertaining to an An- glo-Saxon founda- tion, contains some curious remains of the circular style]....	}	} P. 989—990.
— of St. Marga- ret's, or St. Marga- ret at Cliffe.....		
— of St. Mary's, } Dover.....	}	} P. 1029.
— of Barfreton *		
— of Patricks- bourne [resembling that of Barfreton, in several architectural features].....	}	} P. 1060—1061.
— of Hythe.....		
Limne church.....	P. 1082—1083.	
Eynesford church.....	P. 1097—1099.	
	P. 1117—1119.	
	P. 1137.	
	P. 1343.	

LINCOLNSHIRE.†

Stow church	Latter part of 11th century...P. 666—669.
Clee church.....	P. 691—692.

2 D 2

LEICESTER-

* This church is included in my previous enumeration of ecclesiastical buildings attributed by some writers to the Anglo-Saxons; but, in the Beauties for Kent, it is judiciously observed, that, "from the exuberance of its ornaments, and the peculiarities attending them, together with the form of some of its arches, it may, with greater probability of truth, be classed among those of our Norman edifices which were built in the times immediately preceding the general adoption of the pointed style." Some very ingenious remarks on the architectural character of this celebrated church, are presented in the fourth volume of Britton's Architectural Antiquities.

† Many churches in this county, besides those noticed in the present page as curious examples, afford instances of the *circular style of architecture*.

The

LEICESTERSHIRE.

	<i>Time of Erection.</i>	<i>Noticed in the Beauties.</i>
Church of St. Nicholas, Leicester.....	{ P. 348.
— of St. Mary, in the same town	{ P. 349, with a print.

MIDDLESEX.

Temple church, London [circular part]...	...1172 to 1185....	{ Beauties for London, Part IV. p. 691—2, with a print.
Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, in West Smithfield.....	Reign of Henry I.	{ Ibid. Part. III. p. 431, 439, 443, with a print.

NORFOLK.*

Binham priory church..	Founded in the reign of Henry I.	{ P. 315.
Church at Castle Rising.....	.....	{ P. 303.
Attleburgh church .....	.....	{ P. 252—253, with a print.
Church of Gillingham St. Mary's, near Beccles.....	.....	{ P. 50, and 202, with a print.
Wymondham church.....	.....	{ P. 258.
Church of St. Margaret's, at Lynn, formerly appertaining to a priory.....	Founded in the reign of William Rufus.....	{ P. 293, with a print.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.†

St. Peter's, Northampton	Reign of William the Conqueror..	{ P. 126—128.
St. Sepulchre's church, Northampton.....	....1110 to 1180....	{ P. 128—129.

NORTH.

The following are described in the Beauties for Lincolnshire, and are referred to under the article, "Churches," in the index:—*Long Sutton*; *Crowle*; *Washingborough*; *Fiskerton*; and *St. Peter, at Gout*.

* Examples of ecclesiastical buildings in the circular style, are very numerous in this county. "Of thirty-five churches [four of them in ruins] in the rural deanery of Fincham alone, fifteen contain indisputable remains of Saxon, or Norman architecture." The above list comprises such only as are described in the Beauties for Norfolk.

† This county produces many specimens of the circular style in parochial churches.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

	<i>Time of Erection.</i>	<i>Noticed in the Beauties.</i>
St. Andrew's church, Newcastle ...	.....	{ P. 57—58.
Church of Hexham....	{ Reigns of Henry I. and Henry II....	{ P. 161—164, with a print.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Southwell Minster.....	P. 257—262.
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RUTLAND.

Church of Empingham	P. 95, with a print.
— of Tickescote, (parts of chancel)....	{ P. 97—98.
— of Little Caster-ton, (north aisle).....	{ Probably the reign of Henry II. { P. 111.

SHROPSHIRE.

Remains of the Abbey church of Shrewsbury	{ P. 90—92, with a print.
Church of St. Mary, Shrewsbury.....	{ P. 100—105, with a print.
Parish church of Wenlock	{ P. 302.
Church of Shiffnal.....	P. 304.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Church of Stokecourcy.....	P. 585—586.
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STAFFORDSHIRE.

Church of Church-Eaton	{ P. 874.
— of Tamworth.....	P. 824—825.

2 D 3

SUFFOLK.

churches, besides those noticed as conspicuous instances. Among such must be mentioned the churches of *Castor*; *Barnack*; *Earle-Barton*; *Barnwell*; *Twywell*, and *Sprinton*.

SUFFOLK.*

	<i>Time of Erection.</i>	<i>Noticed in the Beauties.</i>
Church of All Saints, Dunwich. This curious specimen of the circular style is termed Saxon by Mr. Wilkins, Archæol. Vol. XII. Its present ruinous state is noticed in the Beauties.....	{ P. 338—339, with a print.

SUSSEX.

Steyning church†.....	P. 101.
New Shoreham church. }	{ P. 99 — 100, with a print.

WARWICKSHIRE.

Church of Beaudesert.....	P. 273.
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WILTSHIRE.

* This county affords several specimens of Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical architecture. The following churches are noticed by Mr. Wilkins, in the twelfth volume of *Archæologia: Westall; Cookley; Walpole; Mettingham; Herringfleet; and Gisleham*. In the same volume are engraved detailed specimens of various parts of those structures; geometrical plans, and sectional forms of the mouldings, &c.

† Mr. Warton (*Hist. of Kiddington*, edit. 2nd p. 4. and note) presents some observations respecting this church which it may be desirable to transcribe;—"The old Norman built parochial churches seldom consisted of more than one aisle, or pace. The most curious one with aisles that I recollect, I mean as complete in its first plan, although small, is the church of *Steyning, Sussex*. The middle aisle has on each side four Norman round arches, zig-sagged, surmounted with as many round-headed small windows. The two side aisles are much, and disproportionately, lower, as was the custom. The roof is of rafter." In the *Beauties for Sussex*, the church of *Steyning* is said to be in the *Saxon* style. This is one of the numerous misrepresentations arising from the want of a clear and established Nomenclature of our ancient architecture.

WILTSHIRE.

	<i>Time of Erection.</i>	<i>Noticed in the Beauties.</i>
St. John's church, Devizes, (chancel, tower, and transept)	Probably in the reign of Henry I.	P. 425 — 428, with a print.
St. Mary's church, Devizes, (chancel).....		
Church of Kington—St. Michael	Probably soon after the Conquest.	P. 428—429.
Malsbury Abbey church, (already noticed as an instance of the declining Norman, in which the circular and pointed modes are blended).	12th century	P. 576—577.
Church of Little Bedwin		
Avebury church.....		P. 608—615.
Calne church		P. 693.
		P. 714—715.
		P. 537—538.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

Church of Eastham.....	P. 283.
— of Stockton.....	P. 285.
Remains of Anglo-Norman architecture are evident in several parochial churches in the city of Worcester	P. 107—109.
Church of Holt.....	
— of Malvern.....	P. 196.
	P. 304 — 309, with a print.

YORKSHIRE.*

Parts of Ripon Minster.....	P. 685—689.
— of Halifax (some parts).	Probably in the reign of Henry I. { P. 749—750.

2 D 4

Trinity

* This large and fine county contains numerous specimens of Anglo-Norman architecture; but the difficulty of compressing various particulars of information into the comparatively small compass necessarily prescribed by the design of the "Beauties of England," has prevented the author from entering into minute architectural disquisitions.

	<i>Time of Erection.</i>	<i>Noticed in the Beauties.</i>
Trinity church, Sheffield.....	Reign of Henry I.	P. 817—818.
Church of St. George, Doncaster (east end).	Supposed of the age of William I.	P. 849—850, with a print.

MONASTIC RUINS EXHIBITING TRACES OF ANGLO-NORMAN ARCHITECTURE.

Llanercost Priory, CUMBERLAND.....	.....	P. 124—126, with a print.
St. Botolph's Priory, Colchester, Essex...	1103—1116.	P. 315—317, with a print.
St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, KENT..	.....	P. 882—889, with a print.
Horton Priory, Kent.....	.....	P. 1131.
Croyland Abbey, LINCOLNSHIRE, (part of).	Probably 1113—1150.	P. 745—749.
Priory of St. Leonard's, near Stamford, Lincolnshire.....	.....	P. 797.
Llanthony Abbey, MONMOUTHSHIRE..	12th century	P. 80—85, with two engravings.
Castle Acre Priory, NORFOLK.....	Part 1085 — 1148.	P. 300—301, with a print.
Walsingham Priory, Norfolk (part).....	1061	P. 312—314, with a print.
Binham Priory, Norfolk.....	Probably in the reign of Henry I.	P. 315, with a print.
Lindisfarne monastery, NORTHUMBERLAND.	.....	P. 228—230.
Brinkburn Priory, Northumberland.....	.....	P. 190.
Priory of Tynemouth, Northumberland.....	Greater part in the 12th century.	P. 80—87, with a print.
Chapter house of Wenlock Priory, SHROPSHIRE.....	1080.	P. 200.
Buildwas Abbey, Shropshire.....	1135 probably to 1160.	P. 193—195, with a print.
Haughmond Abbey, Shropshire.....	.....	P. 179—182, with a print.

MONASTIC

* According to a correction appended to the fourth volume of Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, Lindisfarne should be described as situated in the county of Durham.

MONASTIC RUINS, EXHIBITING TRACES OF ANGLO-NORMAN ARCHITECTURE.

	<i>Time of Erection.</i>	<i>Noticed in the Beauties.</i>
Glastonbury Abbey, } SOMERSETSHIRE (St. } Joseph's chapel)..... }	Probably about } 1180. }	P. 502, with a print.
Kirkstall Abbey, } YORKSHIRE..... }	1153, probably to } 1190 }	P. 798 — 801, with a print.

The ecclesiastical architecture of WALES so closely assimilates, in progressive character and improvement, with that of England, that it scarcely requires separate notice in an endeavour to investigate the rise and history of the different styles of building observable in this island. On the subject of such an approximation, Sir Richard C. Hoare (our most judicious writer on the antiquities of this truly interesting principality) affords the subjoined comprehensive remarks:—"From the affinity of England to Wales, architecture seems to have been nearly upon a level in each kingdom; for as a particular species of this art rose up with us in England, imitations were very soon introduced into the neighbouring principality. This circumstance need not create much surprise, when we consider the near connexion that took place between the two countries, when our ancestors sojourned with the Welsh, we will not say, as absolute conquerors, but as authoritative visitors. Hence it becomes evident, how so great a similarity in architecture should prevail in both regions, though ever divided in private sentiments, if not in public professions; for in Cambria we find the same mode of design, the same degrees of fine workmanship, the same decorative display, and the same good taste. Indeed, did we not know how the hearts of each peopled land were estranged by an original and deep-rooted hatred, we might, in considering the near-joined principle of art in each country, conclude, that in the pursuit of documents to illustrate this our architectural system, we traversed one and the same land."*

Although

† Hoare's *Giraldus*, Vol. II. p. 411.

Although the above observations embrace the whole procedure of sacred architecture in ages subsequent to the Norman Conquest, and are chiefly directed to the buildings of South Wales, they may be applied particularly to the style denominated Anglo-Norman, and are equally correct in regard to both divisions of the principality.

To the reasons assigned by Sir R. Hoare for that accordance of architectural features, which is to be observed between the ecclesiastical structures of England and Wales, it may be added, that such buildings in both countries were probably erected by the same workmen. When we consider the state of society, and of the arts, in the ages under examination, we are warranted in presuming that fraternities of masons (or of architects, as the associated builders of a period not very distant are termed by Sir Christopher Wren*) travelled for employment through contiguous countries; and either executed the designs of ingenious clergymen and monks, or presented patterns of previous works for their selection and adoption. The universal deference to the pontiff of Rome, led to a unity of interests and fashions between many nations, which were unhappily at variance in political feelings.

Remains of that style of architecture which was practised by the Anglo-Normans are to be seen in three of the *Cathedral churches* of Wales:—*Bangor*, *St. David's*, and *Landaff*. In all these instances they are intermixed with the architecture of various succeeding dates: and the ancient parts of the two latter cathedrals are in a lamentable state of decay, or dilapidation.

Few *parochial churches* in the principality exhibit traces of the circular style. Those of *Ewenny*,† and *Margan*,‡ are, however,

* Parentalia, p. 306. The remarks of Sir Christopher Wren, on this topic, are noticed more largely in that part of the present work which treats on the pointed, or English, style of architecture.

† Beauties for South Wales, p. 684—5.

‡ Ibid, p. 704—5.

however, very conspicuous and interesting examples of this mode.

The *monastic architecture* of each division of the principality, is now chiefly reduced to lingering masses of ruin, too far defaced to allow of any minute discrimination respecting former architectural character. The round arch prevails among the few ruinous fragments of the once-splendid abbey of Strata Florida, and is, perhaps, more conspicuous in these decaying relics, than in the remains of any other monastic edifice throughout the whole of Wales.*

ON THE PROCEDURE OF THE ARTS MOST CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH TOPOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION, FROM THE PERIOD OF ANGLO-NORMAN ARCHITECTURE TO THE REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST.

In the preceding sections I have submitted some materials, and opinions, towards information concerning those great eras in the history of Britain, which are of peculiar importance with the Topographer, as they involve political divisions of the country, and produce separate classes of very interesting antiquities. The changes in the aspect of our island, and the revolutions in art, science, and manners, effected by the successive invasions of the Romans, Saxons, and Normans, were indeed striking and memorable.

How abrupt the transition from the Briton's cheerless hut, illuminated by no ray of refinement, to the villa of the polished, luxurious, Roman, decorated with sculpture, and provided with porticos and baths! How great the change in the military character

* The abbey of Strata Florida (*Ystrad Fflur*) is noticed in the *Beauties for South Wales*, p. 472—477. A beautiful arched gateway, still remaining among these ruins, forms the vignette to that volume of the *Beauties*.

racter of the country, when we compare the Briton's rude encampment with the scientific, well-arranged, camp of his conquerors!

But nearly every work of art fell beneath the rapacious encroachments of the Saxons. The temples of Britain, and her novel pride of domestic architecture, were alike swept away by barbarians intent only on aggrandizement for the gratification of a sordid sensuality.

Recovering, by slow degrees, from the coarse, ruinous, complexion inflicted by the Pagan-Saxons, we find the island regaining a comparative resemblance of wealth and architectural adornment, under their Christian descendants. Her fields are tilled by settled husbandmen; cities arise, organised with political wisdom, and governed by salutary laws; castles of stone, although few in number, crown some hills, or protect interspersed regions of cultivated low-land; churches, at once durable and ornamental, proclaim, in every principal town, the advancement of religious feeling, with contented social order for its attendant; and decorate even the intervals of far-spread woodland with their massive but humble walls.

The efforts of population were still weak, and the spots enriched by art were few, and dispersed over a wide and chill expanse of forest and morass; like casual rays of sunshine in a vast profound of gloomy sky.

The scene was greatly enlivened, if not much ameliorated, by the enterprising spirit of the Normans. Many deep, thick, woods (the dank harbours of beasts of prey) fell beneath those habits of industry which they stimulated equally by precept and example. Under the Norman sway, baronial castles, with all the pompous glitter of chivalric parade, gave animation to recesses buried, until that time, in profound quiet,—sublime in the wildness of nature rather than attractive in her simplicity. Churches, the fair works of piety, raised their stately fronts in districts then first deemed worthy of architectural ornament; and
monastic

monastic piles spread the influence of splendid superstition, over vales the most rural and sequestered.

In descending from this date, we happily quit the last era in which a great and marked alteration has been effected in the aspect of the island, as relates to the fashion of architecture, in consequence of the introduction of a foreign dynasty. The revolutions in art to be noticed in our future pages, are produced by the inhabitants of Britain, coalesced as one great nation from the various stocks of invading powers, amalgamated with parts of the original population, and now first taking pride in the name of **ENGLISHMEN**, and becoming famous as such in the annals of war and science.

It would be gratifying to enter into an examination of various effects, produced through the whole range of the useful and ornamental arts, by this union of population, in the course of the centuries now to be noticed. But the scheme of the present work, and its limits, equally confine the writer to such circumstances as are of most obvious importance in Topographical Researches. Architecture,—Castellated, Domestic, and Ecclesiastical—is, therefore, constituted our leading article in the section which is to ensue; and an investigation of the procedure of this one noble art, will implicate remarks on several other topics, connected with an historical review of the national taste and manners in those successive ages.

ON THE SUBJECT OF CASTELLATED STRUCTURES, FROM THE CLOSE OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN ERA OF ARCHITECTURE, TO THE TIME AT WHICH FORTIFIED BUILDINGS CEASED TO BE CONSTRUCTED AS DWELLINGS, IN ENGLAND AND WALES; INCLUDING SOME REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER OF SUCCEEDING MANSIONS, TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST.

It is much to be regretted that the subject of castellated architecture,

chitecture, assuredly one of the most curious topics of antiquarian enquiry, since it is so intimately blended with a history of the customs and manners of many ages which are left in great obscurity by the scanty and ill-directed labours of contemporary historical writers, should have met with serious attention at a period too late for investigations completely satisfactory. The propriety of this remark will be admitted, when it is observed that there is great difficulty in finding a decisive specimen of the castellated style which prevailed between the reign of Stephen and that of Edward the First.

If we adopt the conclusions of Mr. King,* we may, however, consider the keep of *Knaresborough Castle* to present an example of the mode which obtained in the time of Henry the Third. The castle of Knaresborough is described in the "*Beauties*" for Yorkshire,† where we are told that its site comprised "near two acres and a half within the walls, and that the walls were flanked with eleven towers; which, with several other buildings in the different wards, afforded convenience and accommodation for a numerous garrison."

The respectable author of that portion of the *Beauties of England*, cites, as an authority, a modern historian of Knaresborough, according to whom, "a part of the principal tower still remaining, appears to have been built about the time of Edward the Third;" but I confess that I deem the opinion of Mr. King to be the more acceptable, and would rather, with that writer, suppose the keep to have been erected about the time of the third Henry. I shall speedily shew that the style which prevailed in the reign of Edward the Third, according to all known examples, was of a character far more capacious and magnificent; while it is equally unlikely, from many architectural particulars,‡ that the tower was of a date earlier than the reign of Henry the Third, as is
stated

* Archæol. Vol. VI.

† *Beauties for Yorkshire*, p. 636, et seq.

‡ See Archæol. Vol. VI. p. 322.

stated by Camden, who ascribes it, "on report," to the time of William the Conqueror.

Knaresborough castle was placed on a natural elevation, precipitous in one part, and affording great facilities of security in others. The shape of the keep was an oblong square, having, at one angle, a tower, which exhibits outwardly a circular form; and, at another, a tower, of flat and square proportions. The wall, even in the weakest part, is about ten feet thick; and the angular towers are evidently intended for *deceptions*, and are entirely solid. On one front is a lofty pointed aperture, which was much enriched, and is, by some examiners, supposed to have been a window, but which Mr. King believes to have formed the grand way of entrance.* In the disposal of the principal rooms of the keep there are not any peculiarities, except such as arise from local circumstances. But it may be observed that they were of limited proportions,† and few in number, although there is reason to believe that they were richly ornamented, from "the remains of an exceeding fine arched roof of stone-work."

Beeston Castle, noticed in the *Beauties for Cheshire*,‡ is supposed to present a further example of castellated buildings constructed in the reign of Henry the Third; but is now in a ruinous condition. This was a massy and extensive pile, erected, as is believed, about the year 1220, by Randle Blundeville, Earl of Chester. The fortress was placed on the crest of a lofty insulated rock, and the mural lines enclosed an outer and an inner area, to the extent of "four or five acres." The outer wall was fortified by many round towers; and the entrance was guarded, on each side, by a tower, also of a circular form. Strong and judicious precautions of defence are evident in every division of the

* Archæol. Vol. VI. p. 323, et seq.

† "The second story was entirely taken up by the ante-chamber and state-room, commonly called the king's chamber; each room appearing to have been about sixteen feet square." *Beauties for Yorkshire*, p. 639.

‡ *Beauties for Cheshire*, p. 243.

the ponderous ruins; for the efforts of the architect appear to have been chiefly directed to military arrangement.

King Edward the First, undoubtedly one of the greatest monarchs that have filled the English throne, introduced to this country a new mode of castellated architecture, splendid and vast as his own comprehensive mind, and suited to that amelioration of manners which he appears to have cultivated with memorable success and lasting influence. This grand style of military architecture involves, in the original design of the fortification, those numerous apartments which in earlier periods were independent of the embattled works, and were raised, like tents or huts within lines of Roman castrametation,—not defensible in themselves, and probably intended to be demolished by the garrison, on the occurrence of a close siege.

Instances of this more refined and superior mode of building, in which the fortress and the palace are united in one systematic and extensive erection, are conspicuous in the castles of *Caernarvon* and *Conway*,—these formidable, yet splendid, structures, which were once the terror of the Welsh, and now afford them cause of admiration. Once the badges of subjugation, they now stand the venerable monuments of a union of interests, conducive to the happiness of both countries. The general character of these august fabrics is too well known to render a description of their outlines, or their peculiarities of internal disposition, necessary in the present place.* It is more desirable to trace the effect of such royal examples on the taste of the nation at large, as evinced in the construction of private baronial dwellings.

Edward the First granted to many of his subjects a licence to embattle their seats of residence; and the increasing security, sociability, and polish of the times, caused his mode of architecture

* A description of Conway castle is presented in Vol. XVII. of the *Beauties of England and Wales*, p. 466; and of Caernarvon castle, Vol. XVII. p. 353.

ture to be nationally adopted. After the date of this reign we do not find the Norman methods of castellation in use, or even that mixed and irregular style which succeeded to the manner introduced in the ages of William the First, and his regal successor. A gloomy and massive keep, whether insulated near the centre of multiplied mural lines, or placed boldly in the range of the works which protected the base-court, no longer constitutes the principal feature of a castle. In imitation of the great Welsh castles of Edward the First, the English baron now endeavoured to unite comparative grandeur and convenience of domestic arrangement, with fortified security. His efforts were at first rude; but they slowly moved forwards in improvement through the two next reigns; in the latter of which this combination of martial outline and interior splendour was carried to a magnificent height, and to the utmost point of perfection which it ever attained in this country.

It has been already sufficiently shewn, that, in the present dilapidated state of castellated buildings, it is very difficult to select a satisfactory example of the style of any determinate era. When such structures were forsaken as habitations, all records concerning their original were usually disregarded by their respective proprietors; and, where the history of a building has been partially preserved, we often find such massy piles, when not raised for the purpose of immediate defence, to have been the work of different generations, and to display in their several parts a consequent mixture of fashions. But the castle of *Harewood*, in *Yorkshire*, will probably be received as a fair specimen of the general character of English castles erected in the time of Edward the First.

On the site of the present ruined structure there stood, unquestionably, a castle in more ancient times; and some part of the walls of such a former building may be still remaining; but we have good reasons for believing that, with such exceptions, the whole of the edifice, in its present form, was built about the

time of Edward the First, although not internally completed till the reign of Edward the Third.*

The ruins of Harewood castle are situated on a lofty natural hill; and it does not appear that there were any lines of fortification beyond the buildings intended for residence. This structure was quite irregular in shape, and occupied a large plot of ground. The grand entrance was through two portals, sufficiently lofty to admit a man on horseback, and guarded by vast portcullises. There was not any area, or court, within the structure, the whole of the ground-plan being occupied by apartments, the principal of which were of spacious proportions. At two of the angles were oblong towers, each having four apartments, one above another, provided with a fire-place and a window. Within the substance of one part of the castle-walls are seen galleries, like those of Bishop Gundulph's towers; and in another part occur wells or cavities, supposed to have been designed for the conveyance of military engines and stores to the upper division of the works. But, whilst noticing these latter particulars, it must not be forgotten that some parts of the walls were probably constructed at a period much earlier than the reign of Edward the First, although it is believed that a new form, and that which is still denoted by ruinous outlines, was then bestowed on the building.†

This mode of castellation, which emanated from the ruling genius on the throne, was happily suited to the wishes of ages immediately succeeding. The progress of refinement in domestic manners, so often impeded in the earlier stages of history by a want of security against foreign assault, and by the constitutional weakness of the governing power, was henceforwards slow but certain; and met with no interruption, except such as was produced by civil contests, which were, in the greater part, not agitated

* See Archæol. Vol. VI. p. 329.—The castle of Harewood is briefly noticed in the Beauties for Yorkshire, p. 718—720.

† A second specimen of the style introduced by Edward the First, is mentioned in the Beauties for Lincolnshire, p. 754.

agitated on a public principle, but were rather struggles arising from private interests and prejudices.

Numerous buildings were *altered* during the reigns of Edward the First, and his successor, in attention to the noble fashion introduced by the former king. Many such instances may occur to the examiner; and the confusion of modes, arising from the existence, in the same structure, of the Norman keep, and those convenient towers and inner halls, which were first blended with a fortification in the time of this great sovereign, will cause some perplexity, unless it be remembered that such alterations are known to have been frequent, and probably were much more usual than has been authenticated.

In the reign of Edward the Third, the castellated edifices of this country made a still nearer approach to the character of the modern palace and mansion. The chivalric exercises of the lists were now followed by the courtly dance and domestic pageant. The buildings intended for the residence of the king and his nobles, were, accordingly, rendered suitable to such habits. The apartments used for stately retirement and pompous recreation were increased and enlarged, while the fortified parts would sometimes appear to be designed for defence against a sudden assault, rather than a regular siege.*

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Windsor

* The improvements which gradually took place in the interior of castles, are briefly noticed by several modern writers, drawing their intelligence from ancient authorities. Mr. Dallaway (*Observations on English Architecture*, p. 100—101.) observes that "during the middle centuries after the Conquest, when the plans of mere defence were rendered subservient to those of comfortable habitation within the walls of a castle, a certain degree of splendour in the internal decoration and furniture soon followed.

"The walls of the state chambers were covered with wainscot, painted in fresco upon the pannels, or hung with arras or tapestry. In the numerous castellated palaces of our early sovereigns, were apartments so ornamented, as is clearly shown in ancient evidences. At Warwick was a memorable suit
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Windsor Castle, erected by Edward the Third, as his favourite place of residence, is an obvious instance of the grand ideas formed by himself and his architect, respecting the appropriate dwelling of a king of England in the 14th century. This building is now so entirely altered, by the additions made in various ages (frequently incongruous, though magnificent) that it is almost impracticable to form a correct idea of its aspect, when inhabited by the warlike and chivalrous refounder of the structure.

It must be well known to the reader of the *Beauties of England*, that Windsor castle was rebuilt on the site of a fortress raised by William the Conqueror. In examining such parts of the edifice as are of the date of King Edward the Third, it is necessary to hold this circumstance in remembrance; for we here find

of arras, upon which were represented the achievements of the valorous Earl of Warwick, Sir Guy, whose legend was familiar to our old poets. Nor did the halls remain without their share of ornament. Armorial bearings in stained glass were not unfrequent, at least in the great bay-window; and, at the solemn feasts, moveable tapestry was placed behind the high table

"Sculpture, however rude, was admitted at an earlier period, either over the machicolation of the gates, in the grotesque figures used as water-spouts, in escudocheons, or effigies of some heroic individual. Over the grand entrance into Caernarvon castle, is the statue of Edward the First, standing in the act of drawing his sword, and an attitude of defiance. Carvings, introduced as architectural embellishments, were, in many instances, finished with no less perfection than in church buildings."

Much information concerning the *paintings* which enriched the walls of royal and noble castellated structures, in the Middle ages, is contained in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, and in Warton's *History of Poetry*, Vol. II. —From the "Dream" of Chaucer it would appear that such circumstances of embellishment were not confined to the castles of the sovereign and nobility, but were adopted, also, in the chambers of dwellings belonging to private gentlemen. The poet, when roused from his dream, found all the gay imagery of fancy vanished, and saw nothing,

"Save on the wals old portraiture
Of horsemen, hawkis, and houndis,
And hurt dere all full of woundis."

find a round tower, or keep, which, unquestionably, was not a form of building in much use at that time. This circular tower (formerly termed the *round table*, as we are informed by Stow) appears to have been rebuilt in the original Norman form by king Edward, before he obtained the professional interference of the ingenious Wykeham; and was, perhaps, re-erected in that discarded shape, through a veneration for the ancient castle in which the king was born.

Although the general disposition of the works is rendered obscure by numerous alterations, there are sufficient traces of the outline remaining, to convince the examiner that, in this regal edifice, were combined the apartments and offices of an extensive palace, with the harsh exterior of a strong embattled fortress.

The number of castles built in periods subsequent to the commencement of the 14th century were few, compared with those erected in earlier ages, when the feudal lords possessed greater strength, from the relative weakness of the crown. The instances of castellated architecture, illustrative of the mode prevailing in this century, are, therefore, chiefly to be derived from alterations effected in more ancient structures; and, in such improvements, the magnificence of the third Edward's era is, indeed, reflected in linaments more durable and emphatic than "records on brass," since they form some of the most impressive ancient ornaments of this country, so fertile in subjects gratifying to those who have a taste for enquiring into the manners of ages long since past, and best recollected through the medium of such tangible and unequivocal monuments.

The finest instance of a structure altered according to the manner thus greatly improved in the reign of Edward the Third, is to be found in ALNWICK CASTLE, the splendid and principal seat of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland; which, with the exception of the regal castellated palace of Windsor, is, assuredly, the most magnificent castle in Great Britain that is inhabited at the present day.

This august pile is believed to comprise some parts of a for-

tress erected in an Anglo-Saxon age, but was chiefly rebuilt in the 14th century. The barony of Alnwick was purchased by Henry, Lord Percy, in the year 1309; and by that nobleman, and his immediate successors, a structure was progressively raised, which was suited to the fashion of the times, and to the splendour in which they lived.

Alnwick castle is seated on a fine elevation, which rises gradually from the south side of the river Alne. The keep, or citadel, is of vast magnitude, and attains much of the picturesque of architecture from "fair semi-circular towers," which protect and adorn it on every side.

The castle-area is divided into three courts, entered through gateways formed in lofty towers, embattled, and defended with portcullises. Attached to the portal that constitutes the entrance of the inner ward, and appears to be of Anglo-Saxon architecture, are two octangular towers, charged with a series of escutcheons, which supplies the place of an inscription, and proves that these additional buildings were erected about the year 1350.

The interior, even as it stood before recent splendid alterations, was evidently adapted to the exercise of a princely hospitality; and evinced, in its arrangement, a slow but determinate increase in polish of manners and social confidence.*

Commanding

* Many particulars relating to the state of this noble castle in the 16th century, are published in "A description of Alnwick Castle, taken from an antient survey of divers of the possessions of the Right Honourable the Earl of Northumberland, made about the year 1567, by George Clarkeson, surveyor of all his lordship's lands, and other the said earl's officers." This curious document (which is preserved amongst the evidences of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland) is printed, by permission, in Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, Vol. III. and in Hutchinson's *View of Northumberland*, &c. Vol. II. The whole is highly worthy of perusal, by those who are desirous of acquiring an intimate knowledge of the architectural arrangements of the 14th century.

Commanding precautions of outward defence were, however deemed necessary to the grandeur, as well as to the security, of the edifice. The whole of the castle-area is encompassed by walls, which are flanked with sixteen lofty towers and turrets. But ornament is interspersed, even amongst features of military harshness. Distributed along the battlements, are seen numerous sculptured figures, which are chiefly those of warriors in attitudes of defence.

Although Alnwick castle was re-edified by the first Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, and is now arranged in a style of internal magnificence, suited to the dignified uses of the illustrious family in modern times, the whole pile, in its general exterior character and disposal, presents a fine memorial of the mode of castellated architecture prevailing during the ages in which a great extent of buildings, and numerous apartments designed for stately pleasure, were blended with strong outlines of martial defence. The hand of restoration was here guided by an admirable correctness of taste, and veneration of antiquity.

Amongst other castles, altered in attention to the improved ideas of domestic accommodation and internal splendour, which prevailed in the time of the Edwards, may be noticed those of *Warwick*,* *Berkeley*,† and *Kenilworth*.‡ It will, however, be observed that many additions, of a still later date, have been made to each of those structures. The latter is now in a state of forsaken ruin, but still presents many strongly-marked indications of the style of the 14th century, which will be found at once useful and gratifying to the architectural antiquary.

Some buildings, of less magnitude than those noticed above, may be desirably adduced as examples of the style prevailing at the same era; since they are free from the intermixture of pre-

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* Beauties for Warwickshire, p. 210.

† ——— Gloucestershire, p. 723.

‡ ——— Warwickshire, p. 34—43.

vious modes, and exhibit more closely the character of baronial dwellings of a customary size.*

Spofford Castle, in *Yorkshire*, a mansion deserted many ages back, and now in ruins, is confidently believed to have been erected about the reign of Edward the Third.†

This structure is of an oblong form, having at one angle a small tower of the same shape, beneath which was a cell, or dungeon, probably designed for the reception of prisoners. The principal entrance was near this angular tower, and was narrow and small, but placed on the level of the ground. The lower rooms were lighted only by loop-holes, with the exception of one large window, which, however, was a sufficient point of weakness to render nugatory all attempts at permanent defence.

In the present dilapidated state of this abandoned structure, it is difficult to ascertain the order of the different apartments.

But

* The following remarks, on the subject of baronial castles of the Middle ages, are presented by Mr. Dallaway in his *Observations on English Architecture*.—"In the reign of Edward the Third, some attempts were made to render castles habitable, and even magnificent. Many of his barons, who had acquired wealth by the ransom of prisoners taken in the fields of Poitiers and Cressy, were proud to apply it to the decoration and enlargement of their castles; and the splendid example the king had shown at Windsor, excited in them a rivalry of imitation.

"The æra of this improvement extended itself from this reign to the close of the contention between the houses of York and Lancaster. Within this period we may date the erection, or renovation, of the grandest castellated structures of which this kingdom could once boast; and whose venerable ruins are the most characteristic features of the English landscape. About this time, turrets, and hanging galleries, over the salient angles and the gateways, very various in their design, were added to the ruder architecture of impregnable strength, and (particularly in the Welsh counties) conical buttresses were applied to round towers, reaching to more than half their height, and spreading at the base like a modern bastion. By these additions the ruins are rendered extremely picturesque." *Dallaway's Observations on English Architecture*, p. 93—96.

† *Archæol.* Vol. VI. p. 337.—This castle is noticed in the *Beauties for Yorkshire*, p. 633.

But they appear to have been few in number, whilst those of leading consequence were of spacious dimensions. The great hall, situated directly above the principal divisions of the ground-floor, was not less than 75 feet in length, and 36 feet in breadth. This noble room, the seat of unlimited hospitality, is lighted by lofty, pointed windows, and is entered by two spacious doors, also of a pointed form.—So constructed, it is evident that it could not be intended for serious and lasting defence. The whole building, indeed, displays the characteristics of a grand, but rude, mansion, indeterminate in feature, and hesitating between hospitable confidence and armed precaution.

Neworth Castle, in *Cumberland*, which appears to have been built in the reign of Edward the Third, by Ransalphus Dacre, “chiefly consists of two large square towers, united by other buildings, and enclosing a quadrangular court.”* This structure, as is observed by Mr. King,† “has still more of the awkward attempt of introducing convenience and magnificence, and still less of the cautious provisions for munition and defence,” than other buildings ascribed to the same reign. The interior contains a vast number of apartments; some few of which are spacious, but all gloomy and ill-contrived. Although it is probable that alterations have been effected in the disposal of many of these rooms, the general character of the building is an interesting specimen of the architectural mode of the age in which it is believed to have been erected. Situated on the borders, and consequently much exposed to danger, this edifice must be amongst the last in which precautions of sullen security were sacrificed to fashion and a growing amenity of manners; yet, even here, we find the dismal and isolated keep abandoned, and ranges of apartments occupying the place of former embattled mural lines.‡

Hever

* *Beauties for Cumberland*, p. 120.

† *Archæol.* Vol. VI.

‡ The interior of this very curious building exhibits numerous contrivances
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Hever Castle, in Kent, presents another instance of castellated buildings erected in the reign of Edward the Third; and displays, in its general character, a similar improvement in social arrangement, blended with decided efforts at exterior defence. This structure is surrounded by a moat, crossed by a drawbridge; and the "entrance gateway, which consists of a centre, flanked by round towers, is embattled and strongly machicolated, and is also defended by a portcullis."* The inner buildings, however, unlike those of early Anglo-Norman castles, or of the mixed style immediately succeeding, "form a quadrangle, enclosing a court."

Not any architectural deviations of importance can be ascertained in castles erected, or altered, in the succeeding reign (that of Richard the Second;) which period presents the latest examples of buildings strictly entitled to such a denomination. A very few instances will, therefore, be sufficient for the satisfaction of the enquirer.

Bolton Castle, in Yorkshire, is said, by Leland, to have been built by Richard, Lord Scrope, in the time of King Richard the Second. This was a stately pile, seated on an eminence. The whole building surrounded an open court, "and was disposed in the form of a parallelogram, with square towers at each extreme angle. A small tower rose near the centres of the north and south sides."† There were three ways of entrance; and the whole

of defence and retreat from the incursions of "moss-troopers," or other marauding foes. The whole internal arrangement, indeed, seems "chiefly calculated to keep an enemy out, or elude his vigilance should he happen to get in. Its hiding-holes are numerous; but it seems probable that many of its close recesses are even now unknown." The staircases are winding, dark, and narrow; and long successions of doors, opening to the more retired apartments, are strongly plated with iron.

* *Beauties for Kent*, p. 1315.

† *Arch. Antiq.* Vol. IV. p. 155.—According to Leland, this castle was "a makynge XVIII yeres; and the chargys of the buyldinge cam, by yere, to 1000 marks."

whole building appears to have been destitute of those defensive precautions adopted in earlier specimens of castellation, and sometimes evident in parts of other castellated edifices erected, or altered, in this reign.

The castle of *Lumley*, in the county of *Durham** was originally constructed in the reign of Edward the First; but was altered, under a licence of fortification granted by Richard the Second, and Bishop Skirlaw, in the year 1389.† It is difficult to distinguish, in this instance, between the works of different ages; but strong preparations for defence are apparent in many parts, intermingled with extensive and sumptuous ranges of domestic apartments. The buildings are situated on an elevated spot, and form a quadrangle, enclosing an area, and protected, at each angle, by octagonal machicolated turrets. The projecting gateway is, likewise, commanded by turrets and a machicolated gallery; and it is ascertained, by armorial sculpture, that this gateway underwent alteration by Sir Ralph Lumley, in the reign of Richard the Second. Three stories of apartments, in the east front, being that on which is placed the above gateway, have mullioned windows, guarded with iron.

A second instance of a baronial castle, altered according to the style of this reign, occurs in the castle of *Raby*, likewise in the county of *Durham*.‡ But, in this noble pile, the marks of alteration in the time of King Richard are still more obscurely intermixed with buildings of much greater antiquity, and with subsequent improvements. In many parts, however, it still displays the modes prevailing about the year 1379, when John de Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland, obtained a licence "to make a castle of his manor of Raby, and to embattle and crenellate its towers." The strong, embattled, towers, either renovated, or entirely constructed, by that earl, are numerous. But the decisive traces of the

* *Beauties for Durham*, p. 189; with an engraving.

† Printed, by mistake, in the *Beauties for Durham*, 1399.

‡ *Beauties for Durham*, p. 237.

the era in which he flourished, are most conspicuous in rude, but grand, efforts towards an increase of internal convenience and splendour. The ground-plan of the outworks is, probably, of a much more ancient date.

Thus reluctantly did the custom of living in massy fastnesses, which defied party-competition, and rendered an individual almost superior to the reigning law of the land, pass away from nobles long accustomed to feudal manners, and intent on exacting, with arbitrary interest, from the middle classes and the commonsalty, those dues of homage, and more solid advantages, which themselves rendered to the crown.

It is believed that we have not any remaining specimen of a building, really entitled to the name of castle, and intended for a noble dwelling, that was erected at a date subsequent to the reign of Richard the Second. Various circumstances accelerated the disuse of such structures, as places of residence for the noble and wealthy.—The increase of urbanity and refinement, attendant on the progressive substitution of commerce for chivalry, as the great dependance of the nation, must have created a disposition towards the relinquishment of such dreary and isolated recesses of stone. The same bias of national temper, necessarily produced, although by slow degrees, a more settled state of public affairs, favourable to the indulgence of the growing taste and enlarged liberality of sentiment.

But one obvious circumstance is, in itself, of sufficient weight to account for the abandonment of fortification, according to the ancient methods, without a reference to causes more conjectural and obscure.—The whole mode of warfare experienced so entire a change by the introduction of gunpowder and artillery, that the duplicated ramparts, with their crenelles and turrets, and even the massy walls of the keep, although proof to the catbus or the battering ram, were no longer secure guards against the assault of a determined foe.*

To

* A different opinion prevailed for a short time during the reign of Henry the

To this inducement may, perhaps, be added (as an offspring of the substitution of commerce for chivalry) the increase of our naval strength, and consequent accession of security from foreign invasion.

From such causes conjoined, no baronial seats, regularly fortified, were erected in ages succeeding the time of Richard the Second; and those already existing were gradually abandoned, except in casual times of public trouble.

In the sanguinary struggles between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, the more ancient and massy of these strong holds were often subjects of contention and enterprise. They afterwards returned to a happy state of neglect as fortifications; from which they were disastrously called in the 17th century.—It appears, that, in the year 1636, a commission was issued, appointing Lieutenant-Colonel Coningsby “commissary-general of, and for, all the castles and fortifications in England and Wales.” The express object of this measure has not, however, been ascertained. During the calamitous civil war (painful in every point of view!) which brought the generous, but misguided, career of Charles to a fatal conclusion, many ancient castles were garrisoned, and defended, by the respective contending parties.

When the king's cause was lost, several of these structures (equally venerable and curious!) were dismantled, or utterly destroyed, by order of Parliament. Since that date, the inroads of dilapidation have been much more than commensurate with the progress of time. A busy and increasing commercial population has demolished, without scruple, many fragments of such castellated

the Eighth. By that monarch were erected in haste, and, as it would almost appear, in trepidation, several fortresses for the defence of the coast against invasion. An instance of these *block-houses* is noticed in the *Beauties for Sussex*, p. 199. The building there described (*Winchelsea*, or *Camber Castle*) is a satisfactory example of the whole of the fortresses constructed by Henry the Eighth, with a view of protecting the coast. They usually consist of a large circular tower, with outworks, sometimes comprising smaller towers of the same form.

tellated structures as were supposed to interfere with its speculations in local improvement. In more secluded situations, the havoc has sometimes been equally complete. The agriculturalist, and the repairer of the highways, have, in too many instances, profited by such remains of these angust fabrics as were remote from busy haunts; and thus has proceeded a gradual work of destruction, in which time and weather [the agents most readily named, and to which the devastation is usually attributed] have, in reality, had little share. But the hand of antiquarian taste has interposed in late years, and has preserved from entire demolition numerous relics, threatened by ignorance and avarice. Such vestiges are likely to remain for many centuries, if they meet with a similar protection. It is, however, chiefly as *ruins* that we view these monuments of ancient baronial grandeur. Few castles, that were the heads of baronies in years shortly following the Norman Conquest, are now in a habitable state; although, perhaps, often renovated in different descending ages.

To the indeterminate style last noticed, in which irregular precautions of defence were blended with efforts towards internal amplitude and convenience, succeeded a mode of architecture purely domestic as to its uses, although exhibiting partially the aspect of castellation.—Long accustomed to associate an idea of suited grandeur of residence with that of a threatening military outline, our ancestors, when they relinquished the fortress as a baronial seat, erected in its place an ostentatious kind of fabric, which must be described as a *castellated house*.*

From their want of massive solidity, few of these buildings remain at the present day, even in ruins; and most have been entirely rased to the ground, and supplanted by mansions, which, in their turn, have also yielded to time and fashion, and are now
either

* One of the strongest buildings of this description, if, indeed, it properly fall under such a class, was *Raglan castle, Monmouthshire*; memorable for the gallant defence made by the Marquis of Worcester against the Parliamentarians. Vide *Beauties for Monmouthshire*, p. 150, et seq.

either destroyed, or defaced by spruce modern *fittings-up*. The ancient *castellated house* affords a subject of antiquarian enquiry, very curious in regard to the manners of several obscure ages; and we are fortunate in having a specimen, free from important innovation, although much neglected, in *Haddon-Hall, Derbyshire*.

The venerable mansion thus denominated,* is seated on the brow of a steep hill; and its lofty turrets and embattlements, when viewed from a distance, give it the appearance of a regular and strong fortress. But, on a closer inspection, these indications of defensible arrangement are found to be fallacious, and intended merely for ornament. The whole of the structure is open to approach, and designed, through all its interior, for the purposes of family accommodation, and rude, but generous, hospitality.

The buildings surround two paved quadrangular courts; and the various apartments into which they are divided are extremely numerous, but are devoid of elegance, and even of convenience. The *great hall*, situated in the principal, or outward, court, was, evidently, the public dining room of the mansion; and has a raised floor at the upper end, for the baronial family and their most distinguished guests. Over one side, and, likewise, over a skreen at the lower end, is a gallery, supported on pillars.

The rooms appropriated to the domestic retirement of the heads of the family, were few, and of a dreary character. Independent of a vast assemblage of offices, and chambers, for that numerous throng of retainers supposed necessary to the dignity of the establishment, the chief apartment, after a notice of the hall, is a *gallery*, 110 feet in length, and 17 feet in width, occupying one entire side of the second court.

All the principal rooms, with an exception of the gallery, were
hung

* For a more extended account of Haddon hall, or house, see *Beauties for Derbyshire*, p. 494; and *Archæologia*, Vol. VI. in which latter work is a ground-plan of the building.

hung with loose arras; and the doors were uniformly concealed behind the hangings. This practice, however, must not be entirely attributed to fashion, or a love of ornament. Such a thick and warm skreen was necessary to protect the inmates of those apartments from the chill streams of air, which otherwise penetrated the most close recesses of such vast and ill-contrived buildings.*

This spacious mansion comprised within its courts a chapel,† having two side aisles, in one of which were placed long oaken benches for the domestics. Two "large high pews, on each side the body of the structure, and reaching from the middle nearly as far as the altar," were appropriated to the use of the family.

Most buildings so extensive are the works of several ages. The oldest part of Haddon Hall [a tower over the gateway, on the east side of the upper quadrangle] is believed to have been erected about the reign of Edward the Third; and the chapel is of the time of Henry the Sixth. But not any part of the building is of a later date than the 17th century; and the whole may certainly be received, in outline, as an example of the castellated domestic style which succeeded to the declined mode of actual castellation, finally abandoned soon after the reign of Richard the Second.

Amongst those few remaining buildings which partake of the above character, may be noticed the mansion termed *Hampton court*,
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* An idea of the rude character of carpenter's, or joiner's work, even in the most splendid mansions of the 16th century, may be formed from a passage in Laneham's account of Queen Elizabeth's memorable visit to Kenilworth castle. This writer, who was a servant in waiting, observes "that if the councill sit, and I take a lystenar, or a pryer-in, at the chinks, or at the Lok-hole, I am by-and-by in the bones of him."

† In this chapel is an old stone font; a circumstance worthy of notice, as fonts for the administration of the baptismal sacrament rarely occur in private chapels. The ancient chapel of *Westenhanger, Kent*, was likewise provided with a font. See *Beauties for Kent*, p. 1135.

in the county of *Hereford*.* This structure was erected in the reign of Henry the Fourth, and surrounds a quadrangular court, having a grand tower of entrance in the centre of the principal front, and a smaller tower at each extremity. It is observable that, in this instance, the gateway is machicolated, and "deeply embattled," although, in general character, the other parts of the building were not calculated for a lasting defence. The interior contains many spacious apartments.

Oxburgh Hall, in the county of *Norfolk*,† also presents curious lineaments of the style imitative of castellation, mingled with the open arrangements of confidential intercourse. This building, which surrounded a square court, was encompassed by a moat, and was entered by an embattled tower gateway, that still remains, nearly in its original state, and exhibits a conspicuous instance of the parade of fortification, without the real means of permanent resistance.‡

Traces of the same style of architecture may, likewise, be observed in the ruins of *Nether Hall, Essex*;§ a brick mansion, which originally surrounded a quadrangular court.

In the instance of these curious piles we may satisfactorily notice the rise of a fashion in domestic architecture; but the progress of such a mode towards the next determinate stage of architectural fashion, is nearly lost in the ruin to which defenceless noble dwellings were subject, from causes already stated; to which may be added the ravages effected in the calamitous war between the rival roses.

It is, however, to be ascertained that such arts of building as were conducive to interior convenience and comfort, moved onwards with creditable success; and that a great improvement

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* *Beauties for Herefordshire*, p. 376, et seq. with an engraved view.

† *Beauties for Norfolk*, p. 276, et seq.

‡ An engraved view of the "Tower gateway" of *Oxburgh Hall* is inserted in *Britton's Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. II.

§ The ruinous remains of *Nether Hall* are described in the *Beauties for Essex*, p. 428—9.

took place in the arrangement and embellishments of the state apartments of a mansion, before the expiration of the 15th century.

Many parts of the capacious seat termed *Knole*, or *Knowle*, near Seven-Oaks, in *Kent*,* were built by Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the time of Edward the Fourth; and the buildings attributed to that prelate display ostentations and futile marks of imitative castellation, while a still greater attention is paid to the refinements of secure social intercourse than is to be observed at Haddon.

The remaining great hall of the house constructed by a citizen of London, Sir John Crosby, who built for his residence *Crosby Place*, in the latter part of the 15th century, is an interesting specimen of the costly ornaments bestowed on the interior of state rooms, in mansions of that date.

To such irregular, but vast, piles as those of Haddon-house and Knowle, succeeded the capacious quadrangular mansions of the time of Henry the Eighth. An excellent example of this style of building was lately to be seen in *Cowdray-house*, *Sussex*;† and although that building is now in a state of ruin, through the devastation of an accidental fire, its original character may still be traced in the extensive remains.

The ruins of *Thornbury Castle*, in *Gloucestershire*,‡ present a fine memorial of the ornamented style introduced at this era. The castle of Thornbury was begun by Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; but was left unfinished, in consequence of the fall and decapitation of that nobleman, in the year 1522.

A splendid specimen of the same style of architecture is, likewise, remaining, in the instance of *Hengrave Hall*, *Suffolk*.§

The contemporary palaces of Richmond and Nonsuch exist only in description and graphic delineation; but, in the ancient parts

* *Beauties for Kent*, p. 1386.

† ——— *Sussex*, p. 59.

‡ ——— *Gloucestershire*, p. 725.

§ ——— *Suffolk*, p. 124—5. Two fine engravings of this building are given in *Britton's Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. II.

parts of *Hampton-court*, Middlesex,* we have a memorable and striking specimen of the character of building, which the magnificent Wolsey esteemed desirable for a palatial residence. We here see several courts, uniformly of a quadrangular shape, rising progressively, from subordinate chambers with a plain exterior, to spacious suites, highly embellished on the front towards the courts. The most sumptuous parts of Wolsey's structure are no more; but it appears that the gloomy character of the ancient castellated house was studiously avoided in their arrangement; and that the halls and galleries, designed for state and festivity, were calculated to display with advantage that splendour of domestic decoration in which he took an ostentatious delight.

The reign of Elizabeth presents the next great era in the progress of domestic architecture.† Very numerous mansions were then constructed; and the slightest topographical researches will be sufficient to convince us that many of these still remain, as magnificent and grateful monuments of the affluence and security of that renowned period in our national annals. In the mansions of Queen Elizabeth's days, and those of James the First, a great amplitude of dimensions would appear to be the first object in request; and, secondary only to a pride in extensive site, is conspicuous a fondness for multiplied ornaments on the exterior. The most stately of these palaces are marked by numerous turrets, carved parapets, decorated portals, and enriched corridors. In the disposal of these embellishments, little correctness of taste is displayed; and a poverty of invention is often united with a mixture of styles, peculiarly disgraceful to the character of an age in which the chief efforts of architectural talent were directed towards domestic edifices.

An imported Italian fashion had been for some time gaining on

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public

* *Beauties for the county of Middlesex*, p. 446—482.

† Although so many splendid structures were erected in this reign, it is remarkable that but little is known concerning the architects respectively employed. The same observation also applies to the reign of Henry the Eighth.

public notice. This consisted of defective imitations of Grecian and Roman architecture, which were intermixed with various non-descript novelties of style, in a manner truly puerile and offensive. The protector Somerset had adopted this strange union of dissimilar modes, in his London palace, lately taken down to give way to the public building erected by Sir W. Chambers; and it progressively grew into a national fashion, of which many instances remain, discredibly produced by the best architects in the times of Elizabeth and James the First.*

The interior of these noble, but ill-designed dwellings, presents numerous stately rooms, large in proportions and very lofty. On their capacious dimensions, indeed, they chiefly depend for admiration. Destitute of the fine carved ceilings, rich in tracery and pendants, which adorn some domestic buildings erected in the previous century, and in the time of Henry the Eighth, these rooms are usually finished with little labour and less elegance. But, in the arrangement of the apartments, there is evident a preparation for extensive social intercourse, more refined than that of ages in which greater cost was bestowed on the few principal rooms; although a want of comfort will be discovered by the
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* Mr. Warton, in his observations on Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, takes occasion to say that, "although the Roman or Grecian architecture did not begin to prevail in England till the time of Inigo Jones, yet our communication with the Italians, and our imitation of their manners, produced some specimens of that style much earlier." After noticing Somerset House, in the Strand, Mr. Warton observes that the monument of Bishop Gardiner, in Winchester cathedral, made in the reign of Mary, about 1555, is decorated with Ionic pillars. "However, most of the great buildings of Queen Elizabeth's reign have a style peculiar to themselves, both in form and finishing; where, though much of the old Gothic is retained, and great part of the new taste is adopted, yet neither predominates; while both, thus distinctly blended, compose a fantastic species hardly reducible to any class or name. One of its characteristics is the affectation of large and lofty windows; where says Bacon, you shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun."

the examiner who is accustomed to the delicate accommodations of a modern mansion.

The following remarks concerning several characteristics of noble domestic structures, commencing with the reign of Henry the Eighth, and ending with that of James the First, are worthy of attention, as they proceed from a writer who was an architect by profession, and who had taken advantage of every professional opportunity to investigate the architectural antiquities of his country.

"The brick buildings of the age of Henry the Eighth, may be distinguished, by being chequered with glazed bricks, of a darker colour than the rest of the fronts, which were generally built with bricks of a deep red, very hard and well burnt. The window-frames were sometimes of stone; but very often of bricks, moulded on purpose, and covered with strong plaister of stucco imitating stone. During the reigns of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, the ornaments of Grecian architecture, which were introduced in the time of Henry the Seventh, were frequently imitated in burnt clay; and with them they laced the fronts of their houses, and covered the shafts of their chimnies, in the same manner as those which were executed in stone on Somerset-house in the Strand. For this purpose a variety of fantastical figures were invented, in which the Grecian and Gothic ornaments were often absurdly mixed together; and in this manner they were used till the time of James the First, when they began to make plainer shafts to their chimnies, and those moulded bricks were laid aside: but in this and the preceding reign the buildings in general were badly executed, many of the walls being little better than rubbish between two thin shells of brick; and some of them were filled with small rough stones, mixed with clay instead of mortar, and others with turves or peat, such as common people use for fuel in those places where wood and coals are scarce."*

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Amongst

* Remarks on the Antiquity of brick and stone buildings in England, by Mr. Essex. Archæol. Vol. IV. p. 107.

Amongst the most splendid mansions erected in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James the First, may be noticed *Burleigh*, in Northamptonshire;* *Hardwick Hall*, in Derbyshire;† *Audley House*, Essex;‡ *Longleat*, in Wiltshire;§ and *Holland House*, Middlesex.¶

The above, however, are merely adduced as satisfactory examples of the prevailing modes. Instances of sumptuous domestic buildings, constructed in these reigns, occur much too frequently in the different volumes of the "Beauties," to allow of an attempt towards a collective enumeration.

The castellated structures of WALES, and its domestic buildings, of the more important and ornamental classes, are so nearly similar to those of England, as far as regards remaining examples, that they scarcely demand distinct notice, in this place. In the progress of the present enquiry, several buildings, situated in Wales, have been cited, as satisfactory instances in an attempt towards the elucidation of marked peculiarities of style, prevailing in determinate stages of the history of military architecture. A few general remarks may be added.¶

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* Beauties for Northamptonshire, p. 237.

† ————— Derbyshire, p. 542.

‡ ————— Essex, p. 390.

§ ————— Wiltshire, p. 293.

¶ ————— the county of Middlesex, p. 136.

¶ Some valuable observations, respecting the Military Architecture of Wales, are afforded by Sir Richard C. Hoare. The following excerpt cannot fail of being acceptable to the reader.—"Welsh castles may be divided into three classes; the original British, situated on high and almost inaccessible mountains, such as *Carn Madryn* near *Nesyn*, and *Corndochon* near *Bala*, in North Wales; and *Crug Howell* above the village of *Crickhowel* in South Wales, with numerous others dispersed about the hills in each principality, bearing the same characteristic features of rude and remote antiquity. The vulgar name of *Cottiau Gwyddelod*, or huts of the wild men, attributed to them by the natives, arose probably from their mode of construction; being

It has been said, by a late writer on the castellated antiquities of Wales, [the Hon. Daines Barrington, in the first volume of *Archæologia*] that all the principal castles of that country were
 rebuilt

being excavations made in the ground and rock, and surrounded by an enclosure of loose stones.

“ Under the next head I shall place those that were constructed with stone, and spanned with mortar, and placed on less eminent situations. These are very similar in their plans, having generally an outwork, and an artificial mound of earth as a citadel; instances of these are seen at Pencadair and Lanpeder in South Wales. These appear to me to be the castles recorded in the Welsh Chronicle, as having been so frequently destroyed, and so frequently rebuilt; and I am inclined to think that they were chiefly constructed with wood, otherwise they never could have been fastened and reinforced in the very short time specified in the Welsh annals.

“ After the subjugation of Glamorganshire by the Normans, and the settlement of the Flemings in the Principality; a new and far more sumptuous mode of building was introduced; of which we see many fine examples in the castles of Cardiff, Kidwelly, Pembroke, Cilgerran, &c. &c. The contrast between the second and third classes may be seen at Hay, where the tumulus and site of the Welsh castle, and the ruins of the subsequent Norman fortress, are still visible.

“ A great improvement was afterwards made in military architecture by King Edward the First, who at the same time that he shewed his good policy in erecting the stately castles of Conway, Caernarvon, and Harlech, as bulwarks against the Welsh, displayed his good taste and knowledge in military architecture. The picturesque superiority of these buildings is owing to the introduction of small turrets arising from the larger, by which the heavy castellated mass of masonry receives great additional lightness and elegance.”

These passages are extracted from Sir Richard C. Hoare's edition of the *Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin*, &c. Vol. II. p. 401—3. It is probable that the learned and elegant editor may be correct in supposing that Welsh castles, like those of Pencadair and Lanpeder, were chiefly constructed of wood; but the reader will recollect that, in page 249, of this “Introduction,” some reasons are adduced for believing that early chroniclers were often guilty of misrepresentation, in stating castles to be utterly destroyed, when, in fact, only the fortifications were dismantled, and the interior rendered for some time uninhabitable.

rebuilt by King Edward the First, or about his time; and that the Welsh, while under their own princes, wanted money, skill, and even a sufficiency of workmen, for the erection of extensive and substantial edifices. Assertions of so sweeping and exceptless a description, are generally proved erroneous by subsequent, careful investigation. That the most splendid and powerful castles in Wales were erected by that king, or in imitation of his style, will scarcely be denied; but the remains of many fortified buildings, of great strength and magnitude, are found in almost every division of the principality, which, on data arising from historical testimony, and from evidence of architectural character, must be assigned to periods long antecedent to the reign of Edward.

Amongst the numerous ruins that add picturesque beauty to the heights and passes of this fine country, occur the remains of fortresses, which, from the absence of all record, are possibly of a British origin;* while there are reasons for supposing that parts of structures equally remote in date, were often worked into the stronger castles erected by arbitrary Norman lords.

The castles, either wholly constructed, or re-edified, in Wales, by the Anglo-Normans, previous to the reign of Edward the First, were, unquestionably, possessed of formidable strength, and, in many instances, were of magnificent dimensions. Those of *Cardiff*,† *Pembroke*,‡ and *Kidwelly*,§ may be adduced as proofs of the justice of these assertions.

But it is sufficiently obvious that, during the numerous wars
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* • Mr. King's conjectures respecting the imitations of various early styles observable in some remaining Welsh buildings, are slightly noticed in my remarks on the military architecture of the Anglo Saxons. The opinions of a writer so fond of hypothesis as Mr. King, must, however, be received with much caution. A rich field of antiquarian enquiry is still open, in regard to the ruins of ancient castles in Wales.

† *Beauties for South Wales*, p. 614.

‡ ——— *South Wales*, p. 298.

§ ——— *South Wales*, p. 371.

in which the principality was engaged, its fortresses were exposed to frequent partial demolition; and, consequently, we often see a restitution of parts, sometimes with additional fortifications, in the modes of various subsequent ages. Many of these renovations and improvements, undoubtedly took place in the reign of Edward the First; and to the military architecture of his era must be frequently attributed a portion of the splendid outworks, which now, amalgamated in one mass of ruin, are blended, by the cursory observer, with the original keep, of a date far more distant.

It appears that, in particular instances, these additions of fortification were continued even down to the reign of Henry the Seventh. And, when the necessity for defence happily ceased to exist, the style of *castellated domestic architecture* was adopted in this country, as well as in England.

In the *Beauties for Wales* are, also, described several examples of that noble character of mansion which succeeded to the ostentation of an embattled aspect, without interior means of defence; and which, under Elizabeth and James the First, formed the secure and capacious residence of the courteous baron, and hospitable country gentleman of the first order.

ON THE POINTED, OR ENGLISH, STYLE OF ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

The pointed style of architecture is a grateful subject of investigation with those who employ a tasteful leisure from more serious studies, in enquiries concerning the antiquities of England and Wales. Its importance with the architect by profession is so truly great, and so very obvious, that it would scarcely be necessary to advert to this circumstance, if we did not perceive the neglect with which it is treated, or the mistaken view in which it is contemplated, through the medium of those incongruous fabrics—heterogeneous and deformed, whether massy or flimsy—
which

which are too often raised in modern days, and are nominally attributed by their builders to this style.

Notwithstanding the virulence and declamation of those who were engaged in reviving Grecian architecture, the pointed mode of building remains the great boast of English art. It cannot be traced to any servility of imitation. Its origin may be disputed; the powerful rivalry of a neighbouring country may not be denied; but no evils of fastidious writers have succeeded in shewing the prototype of our great national instances of excellence in this style. Wherever the first suggestion might arise, some of the fairest and most stupendous examples are to be found in the countries, to a consideration of whose antiquities these pages are intended to act as an introduction. This mode of architecture was, undoubtedly, the pride of our ancestry—the favourite child of art on which they lavished indulgence.—And the structures erected in this style are equally the pride of the existing period; since, in the assemblage of their several perfections, they present the single surprising instance in which the middle ages were enabled to produce an excellence in the ornamental arts, independent of all imitation of the sublime simplicity of Greece and Rome.

It would be superfluous to dwell long on the fascinating influence of this style of architecture, which may appear, at the first view, to be wild and devious, but which was, in fact, artificially progressive, and moved onwards in degrees of embellishment, as regularly as the classical orders.

Its scientific claims to admiration will meet with some remark in a future page; and its interest with the topographer needs scarcely to be insisted upon in this, or any other place.—The examiner of any cathedral instance of English architecture; of our principal parochial churches; our highly-wrought chapels; or those few great collegiate churches which escaped the injurious hand of persons intrusted with the task of reformation; will necessarily imbibe an ardent desire of becoming acquainted with the rise of a style in architecture, so impressive, and well-suited to the inspiration of solemn religious feeling.

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The chief information required by such an examiner appears to be implicated in remarks on the following heads:—the origin of this architectural mode; the principles of art which are employed in producing so grand an effect, and such an involuntary awe in the spectator; the progressive advancement of the architect, in a practice of his novel study, from simplicity to fulness, from abundance to fantastical superfluity of decoration; and the architectonic marks by which the date of a structure may usually be recognised.

The principal divisions into which this section is arranged, will, consequently, be adapted to these presumed wishes for information in the reader. But it is to be regretted that in such an essay, by whatever pen it might be performed, much must be left subject to incertitude. It will speedily be shewn that the origin of this style—the architectural prodigy of Europe!—is quite open to conjecture; and that the principles of art by which its practitioners assuredly were regulated, are so little known, that many persons have not scrupled to doubt whether they really worked on any elementary and ruling system.

The opinions of the most acceptable writers shall be stated, in regard to each head of discussion; and some examples be given of the style prevailing in the several reigns between those of Henry the Second, and Henry the Eighth; together with a reference to those parts of the Beauties of England and Wales in which such examples are noticed, and a brief outline of intelligence, concerning the general characteristics of style which distinguish the respective chronological classes.

This pleasing task must necessarily commence with some remarks on the VARIETY OF APPELLATIONS bestowed, by different writers, on this architectural mode.

In preceding sections, appropriated to discussions respecting different styles of our ancient architecture, I have found occasion to regret the want of such a rational Nomenclature as might simplify the study of architectural antiquities. The investigation of these is, indeed, involved, at present, in a painful labyrinth, repulsive

repulsive to the polite or desultory student, from such a want of specific terms, or landmarks of intelligence.

The inconvenience experienced by the enquirer, from the application of the term *Saxon* to all buildings in the circular style, has been already noticed. But the indiscriminate use of the appellation of *Gothic*, is productive of a more serious impediment to the acquisition of correct knowledge. So various is the application of this term, that it is attended with no distinct idea; and I feel assured that the reader of the present page, will find difficulty in anticipating the point of bearing in which its use shall be censured by the writer.

The term of Gothic was first bestowed on some species of ecclesiastical architecture, as an epithet of obloquy; and was intended to signify its supposed *barbarous* deviation from the Grecian or Roman modes, not to imply its procedure from the Goths, who, in fact, possessed no national mode of architecture, and, when in Italy, profited by Italian artists.

Once admitted as a term, its vituperative intention would be forgotten, if its designation were unequivocal. But, not being derived from any characteristic attributes of style, it has been applied, with a laxity amounting to very blamable carelessness, to all modes of architecture not Grecian or Roman, either collectively or particularly, as favoured the indolence of respective writers. Such a want of attention to the first principle which should be used in efforts to convey intelligence,—that of employing no word which does not communicate a clear and positive idea—has led to a confusion in the essays of many writers upon this subject, which renders their works nearly useless. It would be easy to name these instances; and, unfortunately, such an enumeration would implicate works recently published.*

Although

* For the justice of these assertions I refer the reader to the great majority of publications on the ancient architecture of England. After labouring in the perplexed pages of such works, we must be greatly surprised to find the following remarks proceed from the pen of Mr. Kerrich.—“In later times it has

Although it is very difficult to comprehend what many writers understand by the word Gothic, I believe that, most usually, the pointed style is intended by that term. This, however, is by no means uniformly the case. Several early authors comprise, under the class of *Gothic* buildings, those erected by the Saxons and Normans in this country;—and, perhaps, the writers of a modern date may mean the same, so obscure, and even contradictory, are their intimations.

Indifferent as to a phrase, so that it convey a distinct meaning, it becomes a duty on succeeding writers to adopt some Nomenclature that may have fair sense for its basis, and may afford luminous and decisive ideas.

In support of the term which I have used in describing that light and graceful mode of architecture, which intervened between the heavy circular style, and the partial revival of the Grecian in the 16th century, I present an opinion published in a work sanctioned by the Society of Antiquaries;—an account of Durham cathedral, with plans, elevations, &c. of that structure.

“ It is much to be wished that the word Gothic should not be used in speaking of the architecture of England, from the thirteenth

has been the custom to restrain the term Gothic to this light style only.” (the pointed) “and it has long been so called. That name was received all over Europe, and was so well established, and every body understood, and knew so exactly what it meant, that it really does appear to be a great pity people would not rest contented with it. It answered completely all the purposes of language; and much confusion has been caused of late, by the introduction, and unsteady use, of new and dubious names; and a vast deal has been written, which might have well been spared.”

It is curious that Mr. Kerrich affords a confutation of his own position, in the course of the notes and illustrations attached to the same essay. In one of his illustrative plates, we find a range of examples, in the circular (Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo Norman) style of architecture, which he denominates *the Old Gothic of the Middle Ages*. Parallel with it, is a class of pointed architecture, which he terms simply, *Gothic*.—See *Observations on Gothic Architecture*, &c. by T. Kerrich, M. A. *Archæologia*, Vol. XVI.

teenth to the sixteenth century. The term tends to give false ideas on the subject, and originates with the Italian writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; who applied the expression of '*La Maniera Gotica*,' in contempt, to all the works of art of the middle ages.

" From these writers it was borrowed by Sir Christopher Wren, the first English writer who has applied it to English architecture. There is very little doubt that the light and elegant style of building, whose principal and characteristic feature is the high-pointed arch struck from two centres, was invented in this country: it is certain that it was here brought to its highest state of perfection; and the testimonies of other countries, whose national traditions ascribe their most beautiful churches to English artists, add great weight to this assertion, and peculiar propriety to the term English, now proposed to be substituted to the word Gothic.

" The architecture used by the Saxons is very properly called Saxon. The improvements introduced after the Norman Conquest, justify the application of Norman to the edifices of that period. The nation assumed a new character about the time of Henry the Second. The language, properly called English, was then formed; and an architecture, founded on the Norman and Saxon, but extremely different from both, was invented by English artists: it is, surely, equally just and proper to distinguish this style by the honourable appellation of English."

It would appear that the Society of Antiquaries, on mature reflection, are not disposed to warrant the promulgation of the above, as their decided opinion, in its complete tenour; but, as far as an application of terms is implicated, there can scarcely be cause for disavowal.—It is clear that the architects who designed these structures in the pointed style, which so greatly assist in adorning our island with monuments of art, did not themselves bestow any distinctive name on their novel mode. Its term of designation with posterity must, therefore, proceed from certain marked architectural characteristics, or from the national appellation.

lation of the people under whose patronage it was commenced and carried to its utmost height of perfection in this country.—The peculiarity most obvious to notice, in this light, delicate, style, is the general tendency of its component parts to the POINTED, or pycamidal, form; while the term ENGLISH may be applied, with as strict propriety, to the architecture practised by the *English*, as the appellations of Saxon and Norman have been already to the structures erected by the Saxons and Normans of Britain. It will be evident that the use of such a term is, in each instance, really far from implying that the mode was invented by the people whose name it bears; but is merely intended to discriminate the historical era at which it was practised—the dynasty by which it was adopted.

THE ORIGIN, and EARLY HISTORY, of the Pointed, or English, style, are involved in a mysterious cloud, which no attempts have hitherto succeeded in removing, and under whose gloomy influence they will probably for ever remain. The strange oblivion attending the introduction and cultivation of so fine and unique a mode of architecture, is, in some measure, explained by a consideration of the character and circumstances of the persons engaged in erecting buildings during the centuries in which it flourished.

It would appear that associations of architects and workmen had been long in the habit of traversing various countries, for the purpose of undertaking the construction of ecclesiastical edifices, according to the most approved methods of each prevalent style, or fashion. These associated parties of masons met with peculiar favour from the Pope, towards the close of the 12th century. Bands of "architects and artists," of various national extraction, were then incorporated by the holy father, and were endowed with many great and exclusive privileges. Among the advantages obtained by them at that time, was an authoritative grant of permission to fix their own prices of labour, subject, perhaps, to some regulations enacted in papal chapter. This arbitrary privilege, which exempted such artists from the operation of the
statutes

statutes of labourers prevailing in England, remained in force until the reign of Henry the Sixth;* but it will appear that they assumed little on so comprehensive an indulgence, and were as moderate in demands of remuneration as they were transcendent in professional skill. The persons thus incorporated, and stimulated to exertion by such valuable endowments, were termed, in England, Free and Accepted Masons.

Many particulars concerning this fraternity, of some importance to the present enquiry, are transmitted by Sir Christopher Wren, who was, for many years, the grand master and ruling-genius of that wreck, or mimicry, of the institution, which existed in his time; and was a man likely, from professional curiosity, to examine all its remaining records.

Sir Christopher Wren, after noticing the indulgences granted to these builders by the Pope, observes that they " styled themselves Free Masons, and ranged from one nation to another, as they found churches to build (for very many in those ages were every where in building, through piety or emulation.) Their government was regular; and where they fixed near the building in hand, they made a camp of huts. A surveyor governed in chief; every tenth man was called a warden, and overlooked each nine; the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, either out of charity, or commutation of penance, gave the materials and carriages. Those who have seen the exact accounts in records, of the charge of the fabrics of some of our cathedrals, near four hundred years old, cannot but have a great esteem for their œconomy, and admire how soon they erected such lofty structures.

" Indeed, great height they thought the greatest magnificence; few stones were used but what a man might carry up a ladder, on his back, from scaffold to scaffold, though they had pulleys and spoked wheels upon occasion; but, having rejected cornices, they had no need of great engines; stone upon stone was easily piled up

* Essay by Governor Pownall, Archæol. Vol. IX.

up to great heights; therefore, the pride of their works was in pinnacles and steeples.

"In this they essentially differed from the Roman way, who laid all their mouldings horizontally, which made the best perspective: the Gothic way, on the contrary, carried all their mouldings perpendicular; so that the ground-work being settled, they had nothing else to do but to spire all up as they could. Thus, they made their pillars of a bundle of little torus's, which divided into more when they came to the roof; and then these torus's split into many small ones; and, traversing one another, gave occasion to the tracery work (as they call it) *of which this society were the inventors*. They used the sharp-pointed arch, which would rise with little centering, required lighter key-stones, and less buttment, and yet would bear another row of double arches, rising from the key-stone; by diversifying of which, they erected eminent structures, such as the steeples of Vienna, Strasbourg, and many others."

In different pages of the "Parentalia," from which work the above extract is made, Sir Christopher Wren indicates that the practice of the pointed style of architecture, exclusively appertained to the fraternity of Free-Masons. And the inference thus arising, is the chief article of information which he conveys. His distaste towards the attractive style used by this skilful association, is sufficiently known. It would appear that he could not fathom the rules of art by which their works were governed, and politically affected to despise that which he wanted invention to imitate.

To a contemptuous neglect of enquiry, or to an affectation still more reprehensible, must be attributed the excursive spirit which led him to Vienna and Strasbourg, when he might have found finer examples on English ground, executed from the designs of English artists.

While we recollect that the cultivation of the pointed style appears to have been exclusively confined to the fraternity of Free-Masons, we shall be less surprised at the mystery in which

the early history of this beautiful order of architecture is involved. The associated architects and artificers so denominated naturally made a secret of those rules of art which produced a lucrative monopoly. And such an intention was carried into effect with comparative ease, in unlettered ages, when war was the great employment of the chieftain, and of his adherents throughout nearly all classes of the laity. The same spirit has been evinced in more recent ages, in regard to the cultivation of other arts; and has been rendered futile, only by the enterprising and commercial temper of an advanced state of society.

The mysterious and secret practices of the free and accepted masons have descended, by tradition, to their united representatives of the present day, and are wrought into a proverb by the vulgar. That they possessed written documents, illustrative of those surprising principles of art by which they produced architectural effects so consistent and impressive, will scarcely be denied. Intent on a love of privacy, and indignant at the neglect into which their science was fallen, it is probable that many of these documents were destroyed by the masons, on the revival of Grecian architecture. We are distinctly told by Preston, that "many of the fraternity's records, of the time of Charles the Second, and preceding reigns, were lost at the revolution; and that not a few were too hastily burnt, at a later date, by some scrupulous brothers, from a fear of making discoveries prejudicial to masonry." The import of these writings is involved, perhaps for ever, in that profound obscurity so much cherished by the association. It is probable, however, that they contained little or no intelligence respecting those valuable *secrets* of art which were once so profitable to the brethren, and concerning which we now enquire with such earnest and rational solicitude. That no illustrative papers remained in the time of Sir Christopher Wren is evident, from his silence; and is still more apparent, from the absurdities into which he fell when he endeavoured to imitate the works of his "accepted" predecessors.

To the above cause may be attributed a portion of the deep obscurity,

scarcity in which are buried all circumstances relating to the early history of the English style of architecture. But it is scarcely sufficient to account, on satisfactory grounds, for the whole of this mysterious gloom. The share which English ecclesiastics possessed, in the design and execution of many noble and existing buildings, cannot be forgotten. It is probable that writings, truly useful to the subject in question, were destroyed at the reformation of religion in this country. But it is surprising that similar papers, implicated in that history of the process of respective monastical buildings, which was preserved in almost every religious house, have not been brought forward in countries where no such indiscriminate havoc was performed, either from the abused spirit of religious reform, or by the destructive operation of civil contest, through the long procedure of many inquisitive ages.

Various other suggestions might be added, calculated to increase the surprise of the enquirer, when he finds that so little is known concerning the history of an architectural style, which obtained encouragement and admiration, for several active centuries, throughout the most distinguished districts of Europe. But, as no facts are to be afforded, I proceed to a statement, and brief examination, of the opinions of those who have formed ingenious theories upon a subject left in so much obscurity, by ages which *worked* for posterity, rather than *wrote* for its gratification.

In stating the various systems of such writers as are eminently entitled to consideration, it is desirable to divide them, as nearly as may be practicable, into three classes:—those which derive the pointed style from an immediate observance, and imitation, of natural combinations; others, which take a narrower range, and seek no farther than to ascribe the English adoption of this mode to a copy of foreign architecture; and, finally, such as attribute it to native English growth, arising from accidental circumstances.

Dr. Warbarton, at a period when little enquiry had taken place concerning the origin and characteristics of pointed architecture, published an opinion, which he would now probably have suppressed, but which requires attention, as it seduced into error several very respectable writers nearly contemporary with its author. This opinion he expresses in the following terms :

" When the Goths had conquered Spain, and the genial warmth of the climate, and the religion of the old inhabitants, had ripened their wits and inflamed their mistaken piety, (both kept in exercise by the neighbourhood of the Saracens, through emulation of their service, and aversion to their superstition) they struck out a new species of architecture, unknown to Greece and Rome. For this northern people, having been accustomed, during the gloom of paganism, to worship the Deity in groves, (a practice common to all nations) when their new religion required covered edifices, they ingeniously projected to make them resemble groves, as nearly as the distance of architecture would permit; at once indulging their old prejudices, and providing for their present conveniences, by a cool receptacle in a sultry climate; and with what skill and success they executed their project, by the assistance of Saracen architects, whose exotic style of building very luckily suited their purpose, appears from hence, that no attentive observer ever viewed a regular avenue of well grown trees, intermixing their branches overhead, but is presently put in mind of the long vista through a Gothic cathedral."*

In regard to the historical part of this statement, it has been observed that the Goths and Vandals, who entered Spain in the year 409, did not acquire "a new religion from the old inhabitants," as they had previously adopted Christianity, though under an Arian form. The Moorish Saracens did not enter Spain till the year 712; and they preserved a regular state of hostility against the Christian Spaniards, whom they restrained

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* Note, by Warbarton, on the fourth Moral Essay of Pope.

to the mountains of Aetna. His dates also are too early for the origin of this style in Europe, as it is sufficiently evident that a different mode was practised in all Christian countries for several centuries afterwards.

If considered without relation to any particular people, the effect produced by an avenue of tall luxuriant trees, intermingling in the upper branches, may still, with some persons, be supposed likely to have afforded an useful suggestion to the projectors of this style, who certainly had sufficient boldness of genius to resort to nature for a prototype. But the utmost extent of this system is far from affording even a conjectural origin to any other departments of the pointed style than the arch, and, perhaps, the groined roof. "After all" (observes Dr. Milner) "the intersection of tracery work is nearly the only circumstance in which the pointed style resembles the intermingling boughs of trees growing together. The ribs of a groin do not grow smaller, as they extend themselves, like vegetable shoots; nor do the latter, when they cross each other, form large knobs, like the bosses of architecture. Again, the trunk which supports the boughs is generally a simple upright, not a cluster of supporters: nor has it any thing resembling either capitals or bases."^{*}

The investigators of our ancient architecture and its history, have been presented with a curious and highly-wrought theory, from the pen of *Sir James Hall, Bart.* This ingenious antiquary, referring to those principles whence all the works of true genius take their date, observes that "the combination of art with nature, of which we see the most perfect example in the Corinthian capital, produces what are called Architectonic forms, in which the variety of nature being subjected to the regularity of art, the work acquires that peculiar character, which, in a natural object, or in its entire representation, we consider as

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offensive,

* Ecclesiastical architecture of the Middle ages, p. 67—68. See also some extensive and judicious remarks on the deficiencies of Dr. Warburton's theory, in *Sir James Hall's Essay on the origin of Gothic Architecture*, &c. p. 89—90.

offensive, under the name of formality; but which, in architecture, we admire as a beauty, under the name of symmetry."

Occupied with this view of the probable origin of the pointed style, in whatever district of the globe the invention might have occurred, he was accidentally induced to attribute it to an imitation of small simple buildings, composed of willow rods. He worked experimentally on his new idea, and found, that, from an artificial combination of such rods, united with the effects produced on them "by time and the course of nature," even the most intricate forms of this elaborate style might be reduced, in the view of a theorist, to the simplicity of their original state.

A casual thought, incidentally conceived, and expressed without a view to its consequences, but which tends towards the same speculation, occurs in the following words of Grose; "a number of boughs, stuck into the ground opposite to each other, and tied together at top, in order to form a bower, exactly describe the pointed arch."*

Searching in history for supports of his theory, Sir James Hall notices several early religious buildings, which are expressly said to have been made of rods. Such were the first little church of Durham, and the celebrated old church of Glastonbury.

Thus is it ascertained that two of the most ancient churches in this country were composed of wicker-work; and it is equally certain that the buildings in question were regarded with very peculiar reverence, in ages far descending from the high date of their foundation. Sir James Hall has sufficiently profited by this historical aid, in stating it as being likely that a pious posterity would endeavour to preserve the peculiar forms of such churches, by representing them in stone; "and this attempt, when carried into execution, being found to produce a beautiful effect, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the idea should become a favourite one, and, being followed out by successive refinements, might give birth to a new style of architecture."

There

* Antiq. of England and Wales, p. 75.

There is a very obvious objection, on historical calculations, to the probable truth of this theory. Between the foundation of the above two wicker-churches, and the appearance of the pointed style, there intervened the circular, or Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman modes of architecture. The author presents some ingenious thoughts for the removal of this argumentative obstruction, and such as may be worthy of much attention, when advanced in support of a theory. But it is not necessary to state them in the present page, as they are quite unconnected with historical deduction.

In his elaborate, yet amusing, work, Sir James Hall has satisfactorily proved that it is possible to imitate from the sinuous willow, with the aid of the axe, or knife, and the operations of nature, the most simple and the most complex constituent parts of pointed architecture. Those divisions of his work which are not more immediately devoted to the advancement of a favourite system, contain great information on the subject of the ancient architecture of England.

At the head of those who attribute the pointed style to a foreign derivation, must be noticed *Sir Christopher Wren*; and, as his thoughts upon this subject have had great influence with many succeeding writers, it is evidently desirable to present them, in the present place, without any material abridgment.

“ He was of opinion that what we now vulgarly call Gothic, ought properly and truly to be named Saracenic architecture, refined by the Christians; which, first of all, began in the east, after the fall of the Greek empire, by the prodigious success of those people that adhered to Mahomet’s doctrine, who, out of zeal to their religion, built mosques, caravanseras, and sepulchres, wherever they came.

“ These they contrived of a round form, because they would not imitate the Christian figure of a cross, nor the old Greek manner, which they thought to be idolatrous; and, for that reason, all sculpture became offensive to them.

" They then fell on a new mode, of their own invention, though it might have been expected with better sense, considering the Arabians wanted not geometrics in that age, nor the Moors, who translated all the most useful old Greek books. As, they propagated their religion with great diligence, so they built mosques in all their conquered cities in haste. The quarries of great marble, by which the vanquished nations of Syria, Egypt, and all the east, had been supplied with columns, architraves, and great stones, were now deserted. The Saracens were, therefore, necessitated to accommodate their architecture to such materials, whether marble or free stone, as every country readily afforded. They thought columns and heavy cornices, impertinent, and might be omitted: and, affecting the round form for mosques, they elevated cupolas, in some instances with grace enough.

" The holy wars gave the Christians who had been there, an idea of the Saracen works, which were afterwards, by them, imitated in the west; and they refined upon it every day as they proceeded in building churches. The Italians (among whom were yet some Greek refugees,) and with them, French, Germans, and Flemings, joined into a fraternity of architects, procuring papal bulls for their encouragement, and particular privileges."^a

It is not made evident that Sir Christopher Wren had any foundation for the above opinion respecting the Saracenic origin of this style, except ingenious theoretical surmises. The architects who practised this fine order, were far from applying to it any appellation which betrayed a tradition of their having derived their prototype from the east. The pointed manner of building was by them termed simply the *new work*, or *style*.† If the testimony of some painted windows, represented by Montfaucon,

^a Wren's Parentalia.—Some further remarks afforded by Sir Christopher Wren, but not immediately connected with a system respecting the origin of the pointed, or English, style, have been presented in those previous pages which treat on the fraternity of Free Masons.

† Essay by Governor Pownall, Archæol. Vol. IX.

faucou, and noticed by Dr. Milner, he authenticated, it affords a considerable argument in favour of the idea that no such tradition existed amongst the early practitioners in this style.— These painted windows occur in the church of St. Denis, near Paris; and are said, by Montfaucon, to have been executed under the direction of Abbot Suger, in 1140. “ We have here,” observes Dr. Milner, “ a continued series of the first crusade, in which a great number of arches are seen, but in none of them is there the least appearance of the point.”*

The theory of Sir Christopher Wren (for such it must, at present, be entitled) has met with much forcible opposition from several learned quarters. Numerous writers, commencing with Mr. Bentham,† deny, on the authority of travellers who have visited the east, that there are traces of this style to be perceived in the Holy Land, except in one church at *Akre*, which is thought to have been built by an European Christian; and in some casual pointed arches.

But the opinions respecting the existence of buildings in the pointed style, in other parts of the east, are more contrary; and the arguments of those on the stronger side are less decisive.

The noble editor of the posthumous work of the Rev. G. B. Whittington, asserts,‡ that, “ if a line be drawn from the north of the *Euxine*, through Constantinople to *Ægypt*, we shall discover, in every country to the eastward of this boundary, frequent examples of the pointed arch, accompanied with the slender proportions of Gothic architecture. In Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, Persia; from the neighbourhood of the Caspian, through the wilds of Tartary; in the various kingdoms, and throughout the whole extent of, India; and even to the furthest limits of China.”

* Ecclesiastical architecture of the Middle ages, p. 87.

† Hist. of Ely Cathedral, p. 38.

‡ Remarks by Lord Aberdeen, in the Preface to Whittington's *Historical Survey*, &c.

China." His lordship adds, that "it is true we are unable, for the most part, to ascertain the precise dates of these buildings;" but he considers this to be, in reality, "not very important, it being sufficient to state the fact of their comparative antiquity."

The same noble writer, however, admits that it is not easy to direct the enquirer to such buildings, constructed in the style under consideration, as are indubitably of a date anterior to the appearance of the pointed mode in the west.

This impediment to the reception of an opinion favouring the eastern extraction of the pointed order, his lordship accounts for by a summary of observations, condensed under three heads.

He first mentions "the scantiness of authentic record of particulars relating to these subjects amongst oriental nations, and the difficulty of attaining to a knowledge of such as may exist, by most of those who engage in this enquiry."

This remark is followed by a notice of the frequent destructive wars, and revolutions, of the east, which have frequently entailed the same fate on works of art, and utility, that attended the princes and chiefs of the states subverted. This cause "must of necessity, have greatly diminished the number of architectural specimens, especially those of early date."

In the third division of his summary, Lord Aberdeen remarks "that the people of the east, with whom we are best acquainted, sacrificed, in a considerable degree, their peculiar and less durable mode of building to that which they found adopted and established by the Greeks. Thus, after the conquest of Constantinople, every mosque was constructed in imitation of the church of Santa Sophia; and the massive pile of Justinian, with the addition of their own lofty and slender minarets, has served as a model in the exercise of the piety and magnificence of each succeeding sultan. Before the conquest of the metropolis, the same practice seems to have been prevalent; and, in their previous acquisition of many cities of the empire, the Christian edifices were converted to the purpose of Mahomedan worship."

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the operation of these, and other causes, he believes "that there still exist facts to render the notion for which he contends, highly probable in the eyes of those who are content to view it without the medium of prejudice, or established system."

In appreciating the tendency of the above positions, it will be first observed by the reader, that, according to the information conveyed by Pocock, Norden, Shaw, Le Bruyn, and other travellers, there are not, at present, to be discovered any positive traces of the pointed *order* of architecture (except the church of Acre, already cited,) in the Holy Land, or other countries frequented by the crusaders. If those writers may be depended on, the disappearance of all such buildings, if they really once existed, with the exception of the church at Acre, is scarcely accounted for, in a satisfactory way, by any arguments presented in the work so ably transmitted to the public by Lord Aberdeen:

It is the professed intention of the present undertaking, to compare the opinions of different writers, and thus to present the reader of the Beauties of England, with the result of the investigations, and speculative enquiries, of the most useful and approved antiquaries;—on each chosen subject of discussion. In opposition to the remarks of Mr Whittington and his noble editor, I, therefore, place those of Dr. Milner, who observes that these ingenious writers have surveyed the architecture of the east by means of *prints* only; and he adds, that they inspected such illustrative documents "with different eyes from those of all former writers and travellers."

In pursuit of arguments to support this assertion, the following observations occur in different pages of his treatise on the architecture of the Middle ages.—It is difficult to conceive upon what grounds a writer asserts that frequent buildings, to the east of a line drawn from the north of the Euxine through Constantinople to Egypt, display the pointed style, "except on account of the misshapen minarets, and obelisks, which the Mahometans
add

add to their mosques, for the convenience of calling upon the people, from them, to come to prayers, as they reject the use of bells." The dates of these erections are not known; nor is it of consequence to this enquiry that they should be ascertained. "Thus much, however, we know, that the edifice of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, erected in the seventh century (acknowledged to have been the model of the Mahometans since they became masters of it, in the 15th century, in building their mosques) has neither a pointed arch nor a pinnacle, in the whole of its original work."

In Persia "we find, indeed, the pointed arch, in a few bridges, and other public buildings; but we have no records to attest the date of any of these; and we have, otherwise, sufficient reason to believe them to be posterior, not only to Gengis Khan, in the 13th century, but, also, to Tamerlane, in the 16th; both of whom swept off from that country all its monuments."

In India, observes Dr. Milner, "there are several *manamp-louns*, and other buildings, with the cinquefoil arch, and other decorations, which might seem to belong to the latest order of the pointed style. But these are, confessedly, of a very recent date.* There is no account at all of the building of the temple of Madras, which, also, has some resemblance with our pointed architecture.† It appears, however, not to be very ancient. The original style of India, as it appears in their stupendous excavations, and other ancient works, is much the same, with the primitive style of Egypt."

Notwithstanding the decisive strain of the above observations, I am induced to believe, from the intelligence of those who have visited different eastern countries, that a curious field of enquiry is still open, in regard to the ancient architecture of many of these districts. It will be evident that our present deductions are chiefly made from the accounts presented by travellers who had a multiplicity of objects in view, many of which were of greater importance

* See Daniel's Indian views.

† Ibid.

importance than a disquisition, merely curious, in regard to a mysterious passage in the history of a single art, however noble. Clearer ideas upon this subject may be attained, if the day should ever arrive in which an antiquary, who had one object alone in consideration, returns from the east, with accurate drawings, and written descriptions, of the buildings which are there largely distributed, certainly without known record, but sometimes convincing, in many architectural particulars, very great and interesting antiquity.

The subject of the architecture of the east, as supposed to be connected with the adaptation of the pointed style to English buildings, will be slightly resumed in a future page; but I cannot avoid noticing, in the present place, a remark of Dr. Milner, which, although of a subordinate import, still appears to be too ingenious for neglect.

This learned writer draws an inference from history, as to the improbability of the pointed style proceeding from information conveyed through the crusaders, by comparing the date of the first crusade with the appearance of this mode, and by a notice of persons who had previously visited the Holy Land.

The first crusade commenced in 1096, and terminated, by the conquest of Jerusalem, in 1099. Assuredly, the pointed order of architecture was not known in England for many years after the latter date; yet numerous splendid buildings were erected, at almost unlimited expense, between that time and the presumed period of its adoption, or invention.—Gundulph, the memorable ecclesiastical architect of Rochester cathedral, of the chapel in the Tower of London, and several other structures, "had made a journey of devotion to the Holy Land" (in company with William, who afterwards became Archbishop of Rouen, and was, himself, one of the architects of its cathedral) a little before the first crusade; and, of course, surveyed the buildings of that country at his leisure. Yet, in vain do we examine his
subsisting

* Monach. Roffen. Vit. Gund. Ang. Sac. p. 274.

subsisting works at Rochester and in London, for an arch, a pillar, or a moulding, in the style under consideration."*

On the other hand, the opinions of Sir Christopher Wren have lately been vindicated by *Mr. Haggitt*, in the second of "Two Letters," both of which display much industry of remark and great erudition. This writer, among other instances favouring the possibility of the pointed style being derived from the east, states the occurrence of *pointed arches*, accompanied with inscriptions in the Cuphic character, which is supposed to have fallen into disuse since the tenth century. The importance of this information is obvious, as it would appear to supply the place of circumstantial record, and to prove, according to the extent of *Mr. Haggitt's* observations, that the characteristical arch of this order existed in the east, previous to the date of the Crusades.

The next theory to be noticed, is marked by considerable ingenuity, but has still less foundation in distinguishable probability of fact, than that of Sir Christopher Wren. *Mr. Murphy*, in the Introduction to his history, plans, and elevations of the church of Batalha, supposes that the whole system of Pointed, or English, architecture is founded on attention to a pyramidal form of structure; and thus ascribes its origin to Egypt.

The characteristical arch of this style he considers as not governing the composition, but as following in the general order of things; not as a cause, but as a concomitant part.—"If we take," observes *Mr. Murphy*, "a comprehensive view of any of these structures externally, we shall perceive that not only the arch, but every vertical part of the whole superstructure, terminates in a point;" and he adds that the general form, if viewed from any of the principal entrances, "will be found to have a pyramidal tendency."

These positions are illustrated by a notice of the component parts of such edifices. "Each of the buttresses and turrets are crowned

* Ecclesiastical architecture of the Middle ages, p. 56.

crowned with a small pyramid. If niches are introduced, they are crowned with a pyramidal canopy. The arches of the doors and windows terminate in a point; and every little necessary ornament, which encircles the whole, has a pointed or angular tendency. Spires, pinnacles, and pointed arches are always found to accompany each other; and clearly imply a system founded on the principles of the pyramid."

According to this theory, the arch in such buildings, as is intimated above, "was made pointed, because no other form could have been introduced, with equal propriety, in a pyramidal figure, to answer the different purposes of uniformity, fitness, and strength; and its origin must, consequently, be attributed not to accident but to ordination."

The cause to which Mr. Murphy assigns this alleged imitation of the pyramid in Christian structures, is curious, and is captivating from its novelty and boldness. He observes that spires were introduced in the 12th century, about the time that the practice of burying in churches became general over Europe; and he supposes that the pyramidal form of the spire, was used as the denotation of a church comprising a cemetery. This representation he imagines to have been borrowed "from the ancient Egyptians, who placed the pyramid over their cemeteries, as denoting the soul under the emblem of a flame of fire, (whence it is supposed to derive its origin) thus to testify their belief of its immortality."

If we separate the architectural part of this system from the ingenuity of its allusion to the customs of the Egyptians and other ancient nations, we shall find that it is scarcely sufficient to account for many leading peculiarities of the pointed style, independent of a general tendency to the pyramidal figure. In such a point of view, (as has been remarked by a recent critical writer) pediments and gable-ends, which must have been coeval with building itself, in every age and country, "may be called the parents of pointed architecture, with more apparent reason than the pyramids." However alluring may prove the notions of Mr. Murphy,

respecting

respecting the origin of the spire, (that germ, according to his system, of all the splendid and intricate varieties of this style) it may appear probable to many persons, that such an elevated feature of our ancient churches was merely designed, in the simplicity of its first intention, to act as a guide to the place of worship, when rural roads, throughout the whole country, were devious, and rendered more obscure by thick masses of forest and woodland.

Governor Pownall, in an essay inserted in the ninth volume of *Archæologia*, appears to believe that the principle of the pointed style was derived from vaulted ceilings of stone, executed in imitation of timber-work; and from other erections, composed of timber, which he attributes to the north, and terms *Teutonic*.

*Mr. Knight** asserts "that the style of architecture which we call cathedral or monastic Gothic, is manifestly a corruption of the sacred architecture of the Greeks or Romans, by a mixture of the Moorish or Saracenesque, which is formed out of a combination of Egyptian, Persian, and Hindoo."

Mr. Hawkins† believes that "the Gothic style was not wholly an original invention, or discovery of forms before unknown." On the contrary, he thinks that it was "rather a combination of a variety of peculiarities, which had, at different periods, been separately introduced into the then existing style of architecture, and a judicious adaptation of each to the others."—This truly surprising and felicitous combination, he supposes to have first appeared in France, and to have been thence "transplanted to" Italy, England, and other countries.

The claim of Italy to structures in the pointed style, of a very early date, was brought forwards, with much confidence of accuracy, some few years back, by *Mr. Smirke*; but a judicious antiquary, Sir Henry Englefield, detected the error into which this gentleman

* Enquiry into the principles of Taste.

† History of the Origin of Gothic architecture.

gentleman had fallen, and proved that he had mistaken subsequent alterations for parts of the original buildings.*

The writers who contend for the English origin of pointed architecture, and ascribe its invention to incidental causes, springing from the natural procedure of the arts, are equally numerous and respectable with those who are described above as maintaining a contrary opinion.

Mr. Bentham, intent only on the acquisition of truth, and pursuing his object with correspondent simplicity and plain sense, admits "that he has not met with any satisfactory account of the origin of pointed arches; when invented or where first taken notice of;" but adds, that "some have imagined they might possibly have taken their rise from those arcades we see in the early Norman, or Saxon buildings, on walls, where the wide semi-circular arches cross and intersect each other, and form, thereby, at their intersection, exactly a narrow and sharp-pointed arch."†

This opinion has been adopted by *Dr. Milner*, who has greatly enlarged upon the hint thus afforded, and has worked it into a regular theory, which is deserving of careful attention, equally from the public notice which it has obtained, and from its intrinsic merits.

The system of *Dr. Milner* has appeared in various forms of publication, but is most copiously presented in the second volume of the *History of Winchester*, and in the work intitled *A Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England during the Middle ages*.

The positions maintained by this author are as follow:

First, that the whole style of Pointed architecture, with all
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* *Archæol.* Vol. XV.

† *History of Ely Cathedral*.—It is observable that *Sir James Hall* (*Essay on Gothic architecture*, p. 91,) mentions *Mr. Bentham* as having informed him (*Sir James*) that he received this suggestion concerning the origin of pointed arches, from "*Mr. Gray*, the poet."

its members and embellishments, grew, by degrees, out of the simple pointed arch, between the latter end of the 12th and the early part of the 14th centuries.

Secondly, that the pointed arch, itself, was discovered by observing the happy effect of those intersecting semi-circular arches with which the architects of the latter end of the 11th, and the beginning of the 12th centuries, were accustomed to ornament all their principal ecclesiastical edifices.

Thirdly, that we are indebted, both for the rise and the progress of pointed architecture, to our own ancestors.

Such is, in abridged terms, Dr. Milner's own analysis of his system; but an examination of it will, perhaps, most desirably commence with a notice of his second position. He observes that one of the architectural ornaments most commonly used by the Anglo-Normans, was the arcade, or series of arches, with which some of their buildings were plentifully enriched. These arcades were diversified many ways; and one of the varieties consisted in making the semi-circular arches intersect each other in the middle. "The part thus intersected, formed a new kind of arch, of more graceful appearance, and far better calculated to give an idea of height than the semi-circular arch: for every one must be convinced that a pyramid, or obelisk, from its aspiring form, appears to be taller than the diameter of a semicircle, when both are of the same measure.

"The pointed arch, thus formed, appeared, at first, a mere ornament in basso relievo, but was soon to be seen in alto relievo over niches and recesses, in the inside of churches; as in the remains of the cathedral of Canterbury, and in the abbey-churches of Glastonbury and Romsey." It is probable, as this writer believes, that the first open pointed arches, in Europe, "were the twenty windows constructed by that great patron of architecture, Henry de Blois, in the choir of the church of St. Cross, near Winchester; which structure he certainly raised between the years 1132 and 1136." These consist of openings, made in the intersected parts of semi-circular arches which cross each other.

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The ocular evidence of this, "taken along with the ascertained date of the work," is (in the opinion of Dr. Milner) "a sufficient proof that to the accidental Norman ornament of intersecting arcades, we are indebted for the invention of pointed arches and pointed architecture.—As the above mentioned prelate proceeded in his building from the east, or choir, end (*which, on all such occasions, was first erected, and rendered fit for divine service*) to the transept, the tower, and the nave of the church, he made many other pointed arches, some of them obtusely, others acutely pointed."

In the above extract is seen the opinion of Dr. Milner, as to the period at which the pointed arch was introduced to the architecture of this country. The claim which he has preferred in regard to Henry de Blois, has been disputed by several writers; but this is a subject of minor interest, and only in a slight degree implicated in that system respecting the rise of the pointed order, which is involved in a notice of his first position.

After several perusals of Dr. Milner's writings on this subject, it appears that the following condensed passages present a summary of what he advances, in support of an opinion that the whole style of pointed architecture grew by degrees out of its characteristic arch.

"It is matter of evidence that the pointed arch was used in England, a considerable time before any other member which is now considered as belonging to the pointed style."

When the Normans first used intersecting arcades, they were, probably, not aware of the happy effect produced by such an intersection, in forming the pointed arch, until De Blois, having resolved to ornament the whole sanctuary of his church with these intersecting semicircles, after richly embellishing them with mouldings and pellet ornaments, conceived the idea of opening them, by way of windows; which at once produced a series of highly-pointed arches. "Pleased with the effect of this first essay at the east end, we may suppose that he tried the effect of that form in various other windows and arches, which we find,

amongst many of a similar date that are circular, in various parts of the same church and tower. However that may be, and wherever the pointed arch was first produced, its gradual ascent naturally led to a long and narrow form of window and arch, instead of the broad circular ones which had hitherto obtained; and these required that the pillars on which they rested, or which were placed at their sides, by way of ornament, should be proportionably tall and slender."

The arches and windows being in general very narrow, at this early period of using the pointed arch, "as we see in the ruins of Hyde Abbey, built within thirty years after St. Cross; in the refectory of Beaulieu, raised by King John; and in the inside of the tower of St. Cross; it became necessary, sometimes, to place two of these windows close to each other, which, not unfrequently, stood under one common arch, as may be discovered in different parts of De Lucy's work in Winchester cathedral, executed in the reign of King John, and in the lower tier of the windows in the church of Netley Abbey.—This disposition of two lights, occasioning a dead space between their heads, a trefoil, or quatrefoil, one of the simplest and most ancient kind of ornaments, was introduced between them. The happy effect of this simple ornament caused the upper part of it to be introduced into the heads of the arches themselves; so that there is hardly a small arch, or the resemblance of an arch of any kind, from the days of Edward the Second, down to those of Henry the Eighth, which is not ornamented in this manner.

"The trefoil, by an easy addition, became a cinquefoil; and being made use of in circles and squares, produced fans and Catherine's wheels. In like manner, large east and west windows beginning to obtain about the reign of Edward the First, required that they should have numerous divisions or mullions, which, as well as the ribs and transoms of the vaulting, began to ramify into a great variety of tracery, according to the architect's taste; being all of them uniformly ornamented with the trefoil, or cinquefoil, head."

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From the same presumed compulsory propriety of adoption, in consequence of the use of the pointed arch, Dr. Milner accounts for the canopies which surmount exterior arches; for pinnacles; and for spires, the growth of those ornamental finishings of buttresses.*

The opinion noticed by Bentham, and thus enlarged by Dr. Milner, is supported by Mr. Carter, as far as regards the derivation of the pointed mode from intersecting arches, and its English origin and growth.†

Sir Richard Hoare, also, contends for the probable truth of the same theory. In his *Essay on the Progress of Architecture*, appended to the second volume of his edition of Giraldus, this writer presents engravings of subjects, calculated, as he thinks, "to confirm and elucidate the system, which, indeed, now gains ground in general belief, that the *pointed arch* mode of architecture most assuredly had its first formation in our island, and from so fortunate a circumstance as the intersection of two semi-circular arches." The subjects which Sir Richard Hoare has inserted in his work, are selected from St. David's cathedral.—In a succeeding page he more explicitly unfolds his opinions, by laying it down as a position, "that the *pointed order* had no other source than that of a *regular* and *progressive* course from one mode of design to that of another."

Amongst those who advocate the European origin of this style may be noticed Mr. Saunders,‡ who derives the pointed mode of building from the prior practice of vaulting; which, as he believes, in its gradual progress towards strength and beauty, implicated the formation of pointed arches on the sides of the groined vaulting, and thereby established the principles of pointed architecture.

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* The above is a brief compendium of the system formed by Dr. Milner; and, although it faithfully conveys his meaning, is, from its compressed form, injurious to his elegance of diction. For intelligence more completely satisfactory, the reader is referred to the works noticed in the text.

† *Ancient Architecture of England*, Part I. ‡ *Archæol.* Vol. XVII.

This opinion agrees with that of the late ingenious *Mr. Essex*, as noticed by *Mr. Kerrich*, in an essay published in the sixteenth volume of *Archæologia*. He believed, says the latter gentleman, "that the Gothic architects were induced, or rather driven to, the use of the pointed arch, by their practice of vaulting upon bows, and sometimes covering, with such vaults, spaces which were irregular; that is, not square, but longer in one dimension than the other."

Mr. Kerrich, who presents the above opinion of a writer well known and equally respected by most antiquarian readers, himself considers all investigation concerning the period at which this style was invented, as a hopeless, if not nugatory, enquiry. His conjectures are, accordingly, elicited incidentally, and not given in a systematic form. Thus casually introduced, they require only brief notice, and they chiefly refer to the origin of the characteristic arch of this order.

He appears inclined to attribute the invention of pointed architecture to the English; but, contrary to the opinions of most other writers, who look for the rise of this style in a refinement of art, he, in one place, supposes that even the ignorance and want of skill in the artificers of the Middle ages, may have contributed to the formation of this novel mode. Thus, he surmises that rude workmen may, through accident, have "stumbled on" the pointed arch, among others deviating from the semi-circle, and their vanity have induced them to set it forth, merely as something new.

In another page he affords more gratification, and suggests it as being possible that this form might be taken from a figure produced by two equal circles cutting each other in their centres; which was frequently used to circumscribe the representation of our Saviour, over the doors of "Saxon and Norman churches;" and also in episcopal and conventual seals.

Mr. Wilkins, in a communication inserted in the fourteenth volume of *Archæologia*, presents some remarks, which favour the opinions of those who deem it likely that the transition of styles,
from

from the massy and circular to the slender and pointed, arose simply from a progressive movement of the art of architecture towards refinement and beauty. The principal observations which he submits on this subject, are comprised in the following passages.

If we examine many of the deviations of this (the English) style "from the Norman, we shall find that they are not so considerable as are apt to be imagined; for instance, the division of the windows of Gothic structures by mullions, is not peculiar to that style. We find, in some Norman buildings, the windows separated into two lights by a column as a mullion. In the cloister at Norwich, which is early Gothic, columns alone are used for the same purpose, and the heads of these lights are circular, but have the addition of the *cuspfoliation*; in many other instances the column is still used, jointly with some other mouldings.

"The clustered columns, so conspicuous in this species of architecture, do not vary, very considerably, from the *Saxon* and *Norman*, in which it was not unusual to place smaller columns round the principal pier: that part of the pier which appeared between the columns is now formed into mouldings, and the number of these smaller columns increased. Perhaps, the result of a more particular enquiry into the differences subsisting between the Norman and Gothic styles, might satisfy us that we need not go to Palestine or Germany for authority to account for the origin of the latter."

Lord Orford (Walpoliana, volume second) maintains that this style of architecture appears to bespeak an amplification of the minute, not a diminution of the great; and conjectures that shrines for reliques were the prototypes of churches. But this conjecture is scarcely deserving of notice, in the present section of our enquiries, as it merely removes the point of investigation, and leaves us to seek for the origin of the invention among the designers of shrines. In his *Anecdotes of Painting*, the same writer is inclined to consider the pointed style, merely in the

light of an improvement upon previous degradations of Roman architecture.

Such are the most important opinions presented by various authors, on a subject that needs no mystery to add to its interest with the enquirer into the architectural antiquities of this country, or those of several other parts of Europe. It is unpleasantly obvious that each writer presents a theory alone, and none afford a clue to legitimate historical information, or gratify us with actual discovery. While temperately contented with the reputation of forming a system, all are entitled to consideration; but where individual opinion is the sole basis of literary production, we expect liberality of sentiment to solace the want of determinate intelligence.

The best duty of the present writer has been performed, in presenting these various opinions in a compressed form; since no attainable path of research holds forth the promise of unexplored fact, to supply the place of ingenious conjecture. A very few remarks, of a general tendency, may be subjoined.

The form of the pointed arch, to which feature of the English style the chief attention of many writers has been directed, was, unquestionably, known long before its adaptation to a peculiar and consistent order of architecture. It has been observed that the embryo of this arch is to be seen in the inclined stones over the entrance into the great pyramid at Ghize, in Egypt, and in buildings of the Chinese.*

Mr. Hawkins† justly remarks that “the mode of striking the curves for the pointed arch as a geometrical form, is clearly pointed out in the first proposition or problem of Euclid, in which

* In Stevenson's supplement to Bentham's history of Ely cathedral, *notes*, p. 27, it is observed that “forms very similar to a pointed arch will be found in plate 31, of Stewart's Ruins of Balbec. Plate 20, of Denon's Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt. Over the entry of the galleries of the pyramids of Cheops. In Chinese buildings; and in Revelry's Justinian's Aqueduct.

† History of the origin of Gothic architecture, p. 92.

which he 'gives the mode of describing an equilateral triangle upon a given finite straight line.' Whoever had demonstrated this problem, must, therefore, have drawn the arch in question. It will be recollected that Euclid lived rather more than three centuries before the Christian era.

Although we thus clearly ascertain a period at which the principles of the pointed arch might be known equally to the scholar and the architect, there is great difficulty in discovering the first ages in which such an acquisition of knowledge was practically applied by the latter.

In Horsley's *Britannia Romana* are representations of several Roman sepulchral stones, displaying arches of this form; and the authority of these has been insisted on, with great earnestness, by Mr. Whitaker, in his *Cathedral History of Cornwall*;^{*} but it is proved that the draughtsman who assisted Mr. Horsley was inaccurate in one instance, and the evidence of others is therefore suspicious. The mistake to which I allude, occurs in *Britannia Romana*, Middlesex, p. 192. The stone there engraved is preserved in the Arundelian collection, at Oxford; and Sir Richard Hoare shews that the arch is round, not pointed. He states that it was "carefully examined and drawn by Mr. Carter;" and an engraving from the drawing made by that antiquary, is inserted amongst the inscriptions in Sir Richard Hoare's *Introduction to the Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin*.

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^{*} The reader may find a long train of learned, but unsatisfactory, speculations concerning the early use of the pointed arch by Roman builders, in the second section of the second chapter of this romantic piece of antiquarian writing. Mr. Whitaker there brings forward the church of St. Martin's, at Canterbury, as an undoubted specimen of Roman architecture in Britain; but the fallacy of this opinion is explained in the *Beauties of Kent*, p. 908—909; where is presented a description of that building.—After expatiating on the gateway at Antinopolis, and the entrance to the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, he, with great confidence, describes "the peaked arch as being diffused by the Romans along Roman Judæa, Roman Egypt, Roman Spain, and Roman Britain."

It would be difficult to name, with certainty, the existence of a pointed arch, in European buildings, of an earlier date than those indications of such arches exhibited by the semi-circular, intersecting, arcades already noticed. We are not entirely destitute of authority for believing that arcades of this description were used, as ornaments, by the Romans in Britain;* and it is uniformly admitted, by the most judicious writers, that they present the first resemblance of the pointed arch in the European architecture of the Middle ages, however different may be the opinions of such authors, concerning the derivation of the pointed style, as a methodised order.

The great error of several writers who have formed theories on the subject of this style, appears to consist in the direction of their notice to parts, without viewing the whole as a surprising adaptation of architectural rules to the production of a new general effect. Thus, one seeks to ascribe the origin of the pointed arch to a foreign soil, and rests contented if he think that he has established his position; while another (and a writer of great taste and ingenuity) has satisfied himself with bringing the slender pillars, and spiral ornaments, from the east, and suggests that the pointed arch was exported from Europe, in return.

It would certainly appear to be doubtful, from the evidence at present adduced, whether the first hints of this novel mode of architecture were not brought from the east, by the crusaders. But, if thence derived, the idea must have been crude, and of so little avail, as scarcely to authorize us in believing that this style, as practised in Europe, was, in its grand principles of ordination, adopted from that country. The classes of pointed architecture in England are well known to be various, and appear to
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* In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1801, p. 1161, is a description by R. Uvedale, accompanied by an engraving, of a Roman tessellated pavement, which was discovered at Louth, in Lincolnshire. "It is composed of circular compartments, one of which is ornamented with a series of columns and intersecting arches." See, also, Britton's Architectural Antiquities, Vol. I. article St. Botolph's priory church.

grow out of each other, in a kind of natural succession. We here see the arcade of intersecting semi-circles, followed by an intermixture of the pointed with the semi-circular arch. The point then prevails, and becomes the characteristic of the whole structure. In this first determinate stage of our style, simplicity, almost amounting to a studied rejection of ornament, is conspicuous throughout the principal features. Progressive decorations take place in succeeding ages, until fancy, indulged in its excursions, ranges with meretricious freedom. It is difficult to imagine which parts of a style so various, were produced by a literal imitation of a manner prevailing in the east.—In whatever part of Europe might originate this invention, or improvement on an adopted idea, it must, assuredly, be deemed probable that a gradation in art, nearly partaking of the stages conjectured by Dr. Milner, marked its procedure. It can hardly be assumed that this style of architecture, wherever it arose, was not matured into those existing forms of beauty which adorn the west, by European fancy and judgment.

But even the admission of this merit in the artists of Christendom, implicates a consideration of the question in another form.—Not only is it placed in doubt, by different writers, whether this style originated in Europe, from a simple architectural combination, but the particular European country in which it was first encouraged, and in which it attained a priority of excellence, is, likewise, made a subject of discussion.

It was long allowed that England was entitled to claim this distinguished honour; but Mr. Whittington and Mr. Hawkins dispute the justice of such a claim, and bring forward an extensive catalogue of dates to prove anterior efforts on the part of FRANCE; and of rich specimens, to shew her superiority in excellence. It may be argued that the first are probably liable to many of those errors into which topographers have frequently fallen, when endeavouring to appropriate portions of ancient buildings in England to respective architects and eras. The alleged transcendancy in beauty of the French structures, is, evidently,

evidently, a matter of opinion; but the instances cited are quite sufficient to prove a diversity of national taste in ornamental particulars, while they exhibit the same geometrical ordination of method, in the buildings of both countries.

Indeed it may appear probable, on one view of the subject, that there is less cause of rivalry between the two nations, than is suggested by the above writers. If we may rely on the accuracy of my previous statement (founded, chiefly, on the authority of Sir Christopher Wren) respecting the general agency throughout Europe of the Society of Free Masons, England and France could scarcely have cause for any national contest, as to precedence in art, so far as regarded the leading features of contemporary ecclesiastical structures. According to the information there conveyed, bands of masons (designers, or architects, as well as workmen) incorporated and encouraged by the Pope, visited every Christian country in which affluence allowed great churches to be erected. By them the new works were executed; and the same general principles were, therefore, in practice, at the same time, throughout the most prosperous districts of Europe.

The great distinguishing CHARACTERISTICS of the Pointed, or English, style of architecture, may be stated as consisting in clustered pillars, of slender but variable proportions; pointed arches, formed by the segments of two intersecting circles; and very prominent buttresses, usually terminating in turrets, or spires. But numerous minor characteristic features are involved in an account of the various fashions to which this style was subject, in its progress from chaste simplicity to a gorgeous redundancy of embellishment, calculated to surprise rather than to gratify. And these less important distinguishing marks will meet with as much notice as my limits will allow, in future pages, appropriated to a consideration of those progressive varieties of style.

The advocates of Grecian architecture have, in some instances,
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taken illiberal pains in endeavours to degrade the English style by opprobrious epithets, rather than by arguments directed to the judgment and taste. Thus, Vasari, in the Introduction to his *Lives of the Painters*, describes "such cursed fabrics as infesting the face of the earth;" and Mr. Evelyn mentions them as "congestions of heavy, dark, melancholy and monkish piles, without any just proportion, use, or beauty."

It appears that the former writer was not enabled by travel to form his opinion of this style from any other buildings, in the pointed manner, than those of Italy; which, according to Sir James Hall, are very inferior to those of the rest of Europe. But Mr. Evelyn, who is followed in the same tone by Sir Christopher Wren, made his rash and indiscriminate assertion in the face of structures so august yet simple, and displaying such a consummate skill in execution, that the epithets in which he indulges revert to his own obloquy, and will brand him for centuries as a writer deficient in good taste, or warped by prejudice.

The opinions of numerous architectural and scientific writers might be opposed to the above petulant declamation. The remarks of one such author may be sufficient, and these are selected because they are evidently the result of cool reflection; whilst the praise bestowed is rendered more valuable by an admission of partial defects.

"When we consider," says Mr. Murphy, "the difficulty that the architects of these edifices had to contend with, from the ignorance of the times, and the debased state of every art and science, we must confess they had more merit than is generally allowed them;* for, notwithstanding these powerful barriers, their works discover signs of mathematical knowledge, of philosophical

* Sir William Chambers observes "that to those usually called Gothic architects, we are indebted for the first considerable improvements in construction; there is a lightness in their works, an art and boldness of execution, to which the ancients never arrived, and which the moderns comprehend and imitate with difficulty." Sir W. Chambers on Civil Architecture, edit. 3d. p. 24.

sophical penetration, and of religious sentiments, which future generations may, perhaps, seek for in vain, in the productions of the architects of this enlightened age.

“ The earliest specimens of this manner of building in England were, I believe, finished about the beginning of the 13th century; and though, perhaps, not constructed in imitation of any ancient models, were carried to a greater pitch of excellence in less time than history records of any other species of architecture; and may be mentioned as remarkable instances of the vigorous exertions of the human mind, in the early stages of an art. It must, however, be expected that some defects are to be found in these edifices, as perfection, in any art, is a plant of slow growth. But if this mode of building had still continued to be cultivated, with that ardour which marked its progress in this country, a little before the period of its final dissolution; improved by the assemblage of various scattered perfections, and graced by emanations from the kindred arts, what excellence might we not reasonably expect to have seen it brought to, when the excrescences, and inelegancies, of ruder times, would have been lopped off by the hand of taste.”*

But we do not require the opinions of the scientific and professional, to convince us of the real beauty of these structures, or the appropriate religious influence of this style on the mind of the spectator. Insensible must be that man who bows not before the sacred spirit of the place, and refrains from a thrill of grateful awe, when standing amidst the long indeterminate aisles of a cathedral of this order, and contemplating the mysterious sublimity of its features, displayed in finely intermingled light and shade, or indistinct in solemn gloom. When thus situated, we own that the building is calculated to concentrate the thoughts, engross the feelings, and inspire ideas of sublime expansion and majestic power.—To enforce such impressions

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* Murphy's Elevations, &c. of the church at Batalha. Introductory Discourse, p. 2.

was the great object of the architect's study; and his best meed is our admission of being susceptible to them.

This influence over the imagination is the peculiar attribute of the style in question, and must have proved an agent of inconceivable strength in the hands of the ecclesiastics of unlettered ages. The mind can scarcely picture a more august spectacle than an edifice of this class, when the interior (on which the great efforts of the architect and sculptor were bestowed) was arranged in its full splendour by superstitious wealth:—its statues erect in canopied niches; its altars perfect; its sumptuous shrines preserved as objects of reverence and pilgrimage.

But that bright revolution in the human mind, which has wrested from these vast and intricate piles the adventitious influence which they gained through the reveries of superstition, has left them in possession of a power over the fancy, only less arbitrary than that attained by such a pernicious medium. They are, indeed, calculated for religion, under all forms; and difference of opinion becomes trivial, for a time, amidst the sublimity of temples so well suited to the adoration of Omnipotence.

It is otherwise with Grecian architecture. While we admire its application to civil purposes, the heart gainsays all classical prepossession, and owns that it wants power to fix the mind in hushed solemnity, and raise the imagination for devotional purposes. Lord Orford appears to have been merely intent on producing an elegant sentence, and neglected the religious intention of such structures, when he said that "A Gothic cathedral strikes one like the enthusiasm of poetry; St. Paul's like the good sense of prose."^{*}—Exaltation of fancy is ennobled by the sanction of correct judgment, when we yield ourselves to the dominion of the place, and forget the world in the pleasing awe inspired by the former sacred pile. For the superior effect of English architecture on the imagination, and its consequent tendency to produce elevated religious sentiments, a safe appeal may

* Works of the Earl of Orford, Vol. IV. Article, Detached Thoughts.

may be made to the great and definitive criteria of merit in such works of art:—the feelings of those who enter as casual spectators only, and depend for a frame of mind on the character of the scene which they contemplate.

Some ingenious theoretical calculations have been made, to explain the principles on which the above effects are produced, to so eminent a degree, in churches of this description. The most interesting remarks are presented by Dr. Milner.* This author reminds his reader, on the authority of Mr. Burke, that *height* and *length* are amongst the primary sources of the sublime; and it is well known that these are the proportions chiefly affected by the architects of ancient English structures appropriated to a religious purpose. An artificial height and length are, also, produced by the peculiarities of this style; “for the aspiring form of the pointed arches, the lofty pediments, and the tapering pinnacles with which our cathedrals are adorned, contribute, perhaps, still more to give an idea of height than their real elevation. In like manner, the perspective of uniform columns, ribs, and arches, repeated at equal distances, as they are seen in the aisles of those fabrics, produces an *artificial infinite* in the mind of the spectator.” On the same principle, Dr. Milner believes the effect of cathedral buildings in this style to be greatly augmented by the variety of their constituent parts, and the progressive manner in which these are revealed to the spectator; while all subordinate divisions converge to the choir and sanctuary, as to their centre.†

In

* Letter from the Rev. John Milner, M. A. F. S. A. to Mr. Taylor, prefixed to *Essays on Gothic Architecture*, published by the latter gentleman.

† The following observations of Sir James Hall, concerning the different degrees of distance at which structures in the Grecian and English styles may be viewed to the greatest advantage, are worthy of the reader's attention:—“In order to do justice to a building of the Grecian style, it is necessary to look at it from a moderate distance; so far off, that the whole may be taken in at one view, and so near, as to allow all the parts to be distinctly seen.

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In some hasty, but valuable, hints towards the plan of a regular history of this architectural style, contained in a letter of Lord Orford, and printed in Mr. Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*,* it is said that in such a work there should be "Observations on the art, proportion, and method of building, and the reasons observed by the Gothic architects for what they did."

This is a literary desideratum, which, as I have already suggested, no industry has hitherto been enabled satisfactorily to supply. It will be recollected that the disappearance of writings on the principles and rules of this order, is chiefly ascribed to two causes. The probable destruction of such papers by the Free-Masons, which is the first of the reasons alleged, has been noticed in a previous page; and the suppression of monasteries is likely to have been equally fatal to many similar manuscripts in this country. The contents of conventual libraries were then consigned to the flames, or to sordid uses, with indiscriminate severity.

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rity.

Such a view is the most trying for the Gothic, as in that manner the buttresses, which the Gothic architects have in vain endeavoured altogether to disguise, appear heavy and awkward. The fault too with which Sir C. Wren reproaches the Free Masons, of overloading their abutments, in this view occasions a detriment to the general effect of the edifice; for the side aisles being made large, and their windows approaching to an equality with those of the nave, the height of the building is to the view divided into two, and its unity of plan destroyed.

"The beauty and variety of the Grecian style, which reside in the details of execution, are lost in the distant view; and the edifice then exhibits the dull and abrupt appearance of its timber original, in its rude and unornamented state.

"A distant view is most favourable to the Gothic style; for its form being boldly varied and strongly characterized in the general plan, produces its full effect, as far as the eye can reach. The fault above mentioned is not observable at a distance, the whole being united in one grand effect; and the spire, a very principal ornament of the style, thus presents its best appearance, as it rises from every village, and diversifies the uniformity of a fertile plain." *Essay on Gothic architecture by Sir James Hall, Bart. p. 146*
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* *Literary Anecdotes, &c. Vol. IV. p. 707.*

city. Among the manuscripts which perished on this barbarous consummation of a rational triumph, we cannot doubt but that many were on the subject of architecture, when we remember the zeal with which the art was cultivated by numerous erudite ecclesiastics. These causes, perhaps, sufficiently account for the loss of such documents in England. But the conventual libraries of France experienced no destructive visitation, for several ages after the history of pointed architecture attracted some curiosity. Respecting these we are told, that "in France there were accurate details of ecclesiastical architecture, in MSS. collected from conventual archives, which have been either printed by their antiquaries, or were carefully preserved before the revolution."^{*} No important information, however, concerning the principles of pointed architecture, is obtained from such writings as have been published by the antiquaries of that country.

Mystery, like the Gordian knot, may be severed by a bold hand when it cannot be disentangled. Unable to discover any written principles, Mr. Knight,[†] therefore, suggests that the architects who used the pointed style, were, in fact, not governed by any rules, or principles of ordination, but attended "to effect only." The improbability of this conjecture, if extended to its utmost import, must be denied by all who reflect on the constituent uniformity preserved in this style, although it passed, to use the words of Sir James Hall, "through a multitude of hands, eager to outdo their predecessors and their rivals, by the novelty, as well as by the elegance, of their compositions."[‡]

Even architects, while, doubtless, perplexed to meet with unfathomable obscurity, have not attempted to deny the existence of a ruling system, because it eluded their detection.—"From the observations which I have made, at various times, on these churches,"

^{*} Dallaway's *Observations on English Architecture*, p. 44.

⁺ *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*.

[‡] Sir James Hall on *Gothic Architecture*, p. 107.

churches," writes Mr. Murphy, "I am led to suppose that the general configuration, internally, was usually designed agreeable to some definite rules, or proportions, notwithstanding the component quantities were not invariably distributed, in every edifice, in the same comparative degree of relation, but were modified according to local circumstances, or the architect's conception of optical effects."*

The above remarks of Mr. Murphy may be thought to convey a fair notion of the degree of scientific restraint to which ancient architects were subject, in the use of this order. It is possible that some elucidative manuscript may yet be discovered in a foreign library; and it is imperative on the architects of the present day, since imitations of the pointed style are now so greatly encouraged, to apply themselves to an investigation of the purest models, with a view of retrieving the rules on which such buildings were constructed, and by an attention to which, alone, they can become respectable, except as mere copyists.

Some curious observations on this subject have lately been communicated to the public by Mr. Hawkins, in his "History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture." This writer brings forward certain particulars of information conveyed by an architect named Cæsar Cæsarianus, in notes appended to a translation of Vitruvius, printed in the year 1521. The annotator, in an endeavour to explain more fully some passages of Vitruvius, says, "that when a building is to be erected, a design or drawing of the intended edifice is to be made by measure, which is called a sketch; and that afterwards a model should be constructed, by which the principal parts of the edifice are to be regulated." After mentioning other circumstances connected with the process, he adds "that the German† architects pursued this method in the church of Milan, the symmetry of which is regulated by the length."

* Plans, elevations, &c. of the church of Batalha, p. 17.

† Pointed architecture was frequently termed *German* in the 16th century

The church of Milan appears to have been built in 1387; and Cæsar Cæsarianus gives a plan of the structure,* together with a wood cut of its orthography (or elevation) and another cut, of the same description, containing the scenographic† representation of that edifice. These cuts exhibit the geometrical principles on which respective parts of the building are said to have been designed.

For particulars concerning the rules promulgated by the above writer, the reader is necessarily referred to the publication of Mr. Hawkins. The future enquirer into the principles of this style will, assuredly, find them worthy of careful consideration, however insufficient to explain the whole of the system which forms the object of his research.

Mr. Hawkins has collected, and stated in his work, many of those varieties of proportion which are observable in the arches and columns of buildings erected in this mode: but he observes "that the proportions of Gothic architecture, as it is termed, may, still, perhaps, in some instances be found to approach nearer to those of Grecian than persons little acquainted with the subject would be inclined to suppose, or the advocates for this last-mentioned style be disposed to admit." In a subsequent page he contends "that in every Gothic cathedral as yet known, the extent from north to south of the two transepts, including the width of the choir, if divided into ten, as Vitruvius directs, would exactly give the distribution of the whole. Three arches form the north, and three the south transept; the other four give the breadth from one transept to the other. One division of the four being taken for each of the side-aisles of the nave, and

* The explanatory title which C. Cæsarianus affixes to his plan is thus translated by Mr. Hawkins: "The plan of the foundation of a sacred building, with columns at a distance asunder, constructed after the German manner, by means of a triangle and square, like that which is now to be seen at Milan."

† By the term Scenography is generally understood a perspective view of the front and side of an edifice.

and two left for its centre walk, the complete distribution of the nave is also given."

Whilst noticing the relative proportions of buildings in this style of architecture, it may be desirable to cite the following remarks of Browne Willis, although unconnected with any presumed similitude of arrangement between the works of Grecian and ancient English architects:

"In most of the stately abbies, the height was equal to the breadth of the body and side-aisles;

"The steeple and towers were frequently built equal in height to the length of the whole fabric, or rather the cross-aisle from north to south, as is the case in Bristol, Chester, and St. David's;

"The cross-aisles often extended half the length of the whole fabric, as did the nave or western part, viz, from the great door at the west-end to the lower great pillars that supported the steeple;

"And the side-aisles were just half the breadth and height of the nave, insomuch that both added together exactly answered it."*

Several modern writers have attempted to simplify the study of Pointed, or English, architecture, by dividing its specimens into DISTINCT CLASSES. But it is to be regretted that the terms respectively adopted by these authors, partake of that want of uniformity which is so perplexing to the enquirer, in regard to the great distinguishing appellation of this style.

Among the earliest attempts to divide the pointed style into determinate classes, must be mentioned that of *Mr. Warton*, in his well-known *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*. This writer describes those first rude attempts in pointed archi-

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itecture,

* B. Willis's *History of Mitred Abbies, &c.* Vol. II. Pref. p. 8.—I am not aware that the merit of the remarks thus extracted, has been ascertained by actual re-measurement.

ecture, which immediately succeeded to the Anglo-Norman mode, as a "sort of *Gothic-Saxon*." The character of buildings to which he alludes will be noticed in a subsequent page; but he certainly errs (as has been remarked by several commentators) in placing the cathedral of Salisbury in such a class.

The pointed style, when formed by successive efforts into an acceptable order, he divides into three classes, which he thus denominates:

The *ABSOLUTE Gothic*; "which began with ramified windows of an enlarged dimension, divided into several lights, and branched out at the top into a multiplicity of whimsical shapes and compartments, after the year 1300." Of this fashion he considers the body of Winchester cathedral to afford a just idea.

The *ORNAMENTAL Gothic*; of which he names, for examples, the choir of St. Mary's church at Warwick; the roof of the divinity school at Oxford; and the chapel of King's College, Cambridge.

The *FLORID Gothic*; of which the chapel of St. George at Windsor, and the chapel of Henry the Seventh at Westminster, are conspicuous specimens.

Mr. Britton, in the judicious "Sketch of a Nomenclature of Ancient Architecture," contained in the first volume of his *Architectural Antiquities*, proposes to divide the pointed style into three classes, which he thus designates, and appropriates to respective dates and reigns:

English, from 1189 to 1272, embracing the reigns of Richard the First, John, and Henry the Third.

Decorated English, from 1272 to 1461, including the reigns of Edward the First, Second, and Third; Richard the Second; and Henry the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth.

Highly decorated, or Florid English, from 1461, to 1509, including the reigns of Edward the Fourth and Fifth, Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh.

"From this era," observes Mr. Britton, "we lose sight of all style and congruity; and publick buildings erected during the reigns

reigns of Henry the Eighth, Elizabeth, and James the First, may be characterized by the terms of Debased English, or Anglo-Italian."

*Dr. Milner** also considers the vicissitudes of fashion in pointed architecture, to have led to the formation of three perceptible orders in this style, "as distinct from each other as are the orders of Grecian architecture, having their respective members, ornaments, and proportions; though the essential and characteristic difference among them consists in the degree of angle formed by the pointed arch."†

The *First Order*, that of the acute arch, he considers to have been perfected before the end of the twelfth century, and to have continued till near the conclusion of the thirteenth century. Example, interior of the east end of Canterbury cathedral.

The *Second Order*, *Dr. Milner* terms that of the perfect, or equilateral arch; but adds, in an explanatory note, that "it is not meant that all the arches of this second order are of the proportion in question; it is sufficient that they come near to it, and are all elegantly turned." He states this order as prevailing from the disuse of the former, till after the middle of the fifteenth century. Example, interior of York minster.

The *Third Order*, or that of the obtuse arch, obtained from the date at which the preceding was rejected, down to the middle of the sixteenth century, when the style itself was exploded. Example, chapel of Henry the Seventh, Westminster.

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Mr. Dallaway

* Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England during the Middle ages.

† Antiquaries are not decided as to the propriety of such a criterion in endeavours to ascertain the age of an erection. Mr. J. A. Repton, in a letter to Mr. Britton, printed in the fourth volume of *Architectural Antiquities*, asserts that he has "communicated a paper to the Society of Antiquaries, containing observations on the progress of English architecture from the Conquest to the reign of Henry the Eighth, elucidated by drawings of capitals, arch-mouldings, cornices, &c. by which it will be shewn that the shape of the arch alone is not to be depended on, to point out the dates of buildings." This paper is not yet given to the public.

*Mr. Dallaway** divides the pointed style into four classes, which he thus names, and applies as to dates of prevalence :

Lancet Arch Gothic, from 1220 to 1300.

Pure Gothic, from 1300 to 1400.

Ornamented Gothic, from 1400 to 1460.

Florid Gothic, from 1460 to the close.

Mr. Millers, in some observations prefixed to his Description of the Cathedral church of Ely, presents a "Sketch of the Characteristics of English church Architecture," containing the following scheme of division in regard to this style :

EARLY ENGLISH; from 1200 to 1300, comprehending the reigns of John, Henry the Third, and Edward the First.

ORNAMENTED ENGLISH; from 1300 to 1460, comprehending a small part of the reign of Edward the First, and those of Edward the Second, Edward the Third, Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth.

FLORID ENGLISH; from 1460 to 1537, the dissolution of religious houses; comprehending the reigns of Edward the Fourth, and Fifth, Richard the Third, Henry the Seventh and Eighth.

Notwithstanding a disagreement as to the application of terms and dates of prevalence, it will be observed that nearly the whole of the above writers coincide in believing that English architecture is amenable to three divisions in point of character; and it is presumed that an illustration of the justness of such an opinion will be afforded by the examples and remarks presented in succeeding pages.

Convinced that the terms applied by *Mr. Britton* are sufficiently appropriate and expressive, I have on the present, as on other occasions, adopted his Nomenclature (with one slight alteration, suggested by *Mr. Millers*) and shall proceed to a brief statement of the characteristic features of these three fashions,

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* Observations on English Architecture.

or orders. To the description of each style will be appended an enumeration of specimens, placed under the reigns embraced by the era of its prevalence, together with occasional observations on peculiarities that have been ascertained in such stages of its progress.

But it will be evident, on examination, that no architectural fashion has grown suddenly into general use. All, indeed, have gained on public notice and approbation by progressive steps; and a consequent intermixture of modes is often seen, in such buildings as were erected in those unpropitious years which intervened between the rejection of one style and the adoption of another. The necessity of bearing this fact in recollection, has been suggested to the reader in my remarks on the architecture of the Anglo-Normans. But the preservation of a consistent chronological link, requires that it should be again presented to his consideration, and should be here applied to ages immediately preceding the entire establishment of this new mode.

It will be observed that the following list of examples commences with the reign in which the pointed style is usually believed to have first assumed the appearance of a separate and uniform order. But it has been shewn that the characteristic arch of this style was introduced at a date considerably anterior. The indeterminate mode which obtained in consequence of such a partial and immethodical use of the pointed form, is obviously that species of architecture which Mr. Warton, most inappropriately, denominates Gothic-Saxon. It will be recollected that the arches in such buildings are very irregular and rude; in some instances extremely acute, and in others ungracefully obtuse; while the pillars, and many other architectural members, commonly retain the fashion of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman eras.

We have seen that, according to the opinion of Dr. Milner, the pointed arch was first used in the ecclesiastical architecture of this country, towards the close of Henry the First's reign. Buildings in which this arch was exhibited were frequent in the reigns of Stephen and Henry the Second. Parts of the following

ing structures are characteristic of the style often practised in these reigns, and are curious instances of imperfect struggles towards the formation of a new and harmonious architectural order. *Buikwas Abbey*, Shropshire, begun about the year 1135; remains of the *Priory Church, Dunstable*, reign of Stephen; *Abbey church, Romsey*, Hants; *Lanthoni Abbey*, Monmouthshire, founded in 1136. To these English examples may be added part of the north side of the nave of *St. David's cathedral, South Wales*, and the north side of the choir of the same structure.

It will also be remembered that, in fixing the era at which the pointed style may be considered as commencing in this country, that period is adopted at which it grew into so decided a preference as to prevail in the great majority of instances. This circumstance of disposal will be allowed its due weight, when the reader perceives that the choir and chancel of *Canterbury cathedral* are not included by the date to which the establishment of pointed architecture is here ascribed. The east end of this cathedral is, indeed, a nearer approach to the purity of the first pointed order than occurs in any other known building of its era. This division of the structure was erected between the years 1176 and 1180; and presents a regular succession of acutely pointed arches, on the sides and in the groining of the roof; but the columns are plain and weighty, their capitals bearing a meretricious resemblance of the Corinthian order; and various mouldings, appertaining to the circular mode, being introduced in different parts of the building.

Of a style nearly similar, but less decidedly approximating to the consistency of the first uniform pointed order, is the circular part of the *Temple church, London*. From these two edifices may be derived a distinct idea of the improved architecture growing into use in the latter part of the reign of Henry the Second, and clearly indicating the designs which were in action for the formation of an architectural system in which the pointed man-

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ner should be marked, throughout, with collateral features suited to its own peculiar character.

**CHARACTERISTICS AND EXAMPLES OF THE
EARLY ENGLISH STYLE, PREVAILING IN
THE REIGNS OF RICHARD THE FIRST;
JOHN; AND HENRY THE THIRD.**

That result of architectural effort to which we have been making slow approaches, stands exemplified in many surviving buildings, which are equally venerable as the first instances of a consistent order in the new style, and admirable for their harmony of arrangement and simple beauty.

A refined taste and consummate judgment had been working on the crude, scattered, elements of pointed architecture. The ignorant or indolent have recourse to excessive ornament, in the first essay towards producing beauty in a novel walk of art. That elevation of mind must be formed on a close study of nature and sound mathematical knowledge, which prefers simplicity to decoration, and seeks the gratification of the spectator without raising his wonder.—Such was the dignified view of the architects who formed the first order of the pointed style; and they were fortunate in raising monuments to their own fame, as durable as they are free from ostentation.

The Early English style is denoted by the comparative plainness of its chief constituent parts, and by an uniformity, chaste as to conception, but which in some instances, when applied to the interior of large buildings, is productive of an effect bordering on offence through the operation of monotony. In the greater number of buildings in this mode, we are, however, permanently gratified by the unity and harmony which prevail; and an elegant lightness of proportions renders the whole peculiarly attractive.

The most important characteristic marks of this style consist in the acute form of its arches; its slender pillars of marble, sur-
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rounded with shafts of the same material, slightly detached, the whole uniting beneath one capital; and its windows long and narrow, assuming the form usually denominated the lancet-shape. —But the reader will be most desirably reminded of the criteria by which the early English style is ascertained, through a descriptive statement of its principal architectural features, separately considered.

The ARCHES used in this first class of English architecture were of narrow proportions, and sharply pointed. In large structures, where a second tier is introduced, opening to the triforium, two or more arches are united under one, with trefoil or cinquefoil heads; and arches with the same kind of finishing sometimes occur in other parts of the building.

The COLUMNS are slender, and are surrounded with detached shafts of marble,* united at the base; and each, according to Mr. Bentham, “having a capital richly adorned with foliage, which together, in a cluster, form one elegant capital for the whole pillar.” This description would appear to be sufficiently expressive,

* Some remarks of Mr. Essex afford considerable information on the subject of the marble used in buildings of this architectural class.—After stating that no important changes occurred in the art of construction until the era now under notice, he observes that, “in the middle of the 12th century, many alterations were made in the style of architecture, and the bases and capitals of the pillars, and very often the pillars themselves, surrounded with small shafts, were made of marble highly polished. Marble was used for these purposes until the latter end of Edward the Second’s reign, though the other parts of buildings were executed with common stones, of moderate dimensions, and laid in the same manner as in the preceding ages. But in the following reign we find that marble was much neglected (either on account of the great labour required in cutting and polishing, or because they found that the fine polish that was given it was not of long continuance;) and before the end of Edward the Third’s reign it was quite disused. The marble used for the above-mentioned purposes was brought from quarries near Petworth, in Sussex, or from the Isle of Purbec. It is commonly of a greyish colour, with a shade of green; and, being full of small shells filled with spar, it appears speckled with small white spots.” *Archæol.* Vol. IV. p. 104.

pressive, if it be added that the capitals thus uniting under one head, were not invariably adorned with rich foliage, but were sometimes conspicuous for simplicity of decoration.

The Roofs are vaulted; and the groining, in early instances, consists only of simple intersecting ribs, or cross-springers. In later examples of this class, we, however, find the vaultings more ornamented; the springers are increased in number, and the line of their intersection is adorned with carved flowers and various devices. The material of which the vaulting was composed, depended much on the natural produce of the neighbourhood in which the edifice was constructed. Mr. Bentham observes that the builders "generally chose to make it of chalk, for its lightness; but the arches and principal ribs were" (usually) "of free-stone."

It has been already concisely stated that the WINDOWS are of a narrow oblong form, and pointed like a lancet. They are sometimes seen in one opening, forming a single light; in which mode they often occur in the chancels of small parochial churches, and may be presumed to indicate the earliest stage of this architectural class. But, in edifices on which greater labour was bestowed, and which form the standard criteria of this order, the same lancet windows were multiplied, and adorned with additional characteristics.* We here find two, or as frequently three, united, and forming together that simple and pleasing window by which the finest examples of this order are immediately recognised. The union of three lancet openings, the central being higher than those placed laterally, is the prevailing window in many

* Mr. Bentham remarks that "the order and disposition of the windows varied in some measure according to the stories of which the building consisted; in one of three stories, the uppermost had commonly three windows within the compass of every arch, the centre one being higher than those on each side; the middle tire or story had two within the same space; and the lowest only one window, usually divided by a pillar or mullion, and often ornamented on the top with a trefoil, single rose, or some such simple decoration." *Mist. of Ely Cathedral*, p. 49.

many of the noblest structures of the third Henry's reign. Where two, or more, of these arches are placed together, under one larger arch, the vacant space between their heads is filled with a trefoil, quatrefoil, or cinquefoil. They were often ornamented, both on the inside and on the exterior, with slender shafts (commonly of marble) having capitals enriched with foliage.

It may be necessary to add some few remarks concerning the ORNAMENTS used in this order of pointed architecture.—Where these are introduced, they are usually designed with much elegance of taste, and are often well executed. The mouldings displayed in the circumference of arches, and on columns or pilasters, are generally formed of a combination of leaves or flowers. Small statues in niches were placed in various parts of the interior; and larger statues on the west or east fronts, in niches formed by an acute angle, or having the trefoil head. The buttresses were very prominent, and were sometimes surmounted with crocketed pinnacles.

Previous to the commencement of an enumeration of several ecclesiastical structures, which illustrate the above observations, and afford specimens of this first class of English architecture, it is desirable to submit some remarks which apply to each subsequent series as well as to the present.

It will be apparent that only a few instances are noticed where many possibly might be adduced. This, however, will scarcely be viewed as a subject of regret with the reader, or as an act of reprehensible omission in the writer, when it is recollected that buildings in the English style, of a coeval date, generally evince a striking uniformity in every architectural particular. The cause of this unquestionable similarity is not distinctly known, but the following conjecture is submitted with some confidence.—The free-masons, who appear to have been the general agents in sacred architecture throughout this and other European countries, were likely to advise the regular adoption of the same plan which they had successfully practised in certain memorable instances;
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and the interference of those ecclesiastics who studied architecture and had attained a proficiency in the art, was not calculated, as we may safely presume, to induce an important deviation from any great standard example, unless on the occurrence of a master-genius, whose boldness of invention was rendered authoritative by influence of rank and depth of pecuniary resources. The rare existence of such a combination of talent and power, inevitably produced a new era in the art. The structure suggested by so dignified an architect would necessarily be of the first class, as to extent and grandeur; and would, as naturally, find imitators in the projectors of minor buildings, and advocates in the artificers with whom its novelties had become familiar and approved by successful operation.

If this conjectural explanation should be deemed unsatisfactory, we may find more elaborate attempts at solution in several modern writers. As an example of these, some remarks of Mr. Britton, in the third volume of his *Architectural Antiquities*, are presented to the notice of the reader: "Wherever monastic establishments were fixed, there architecture was studied, and every new church rose up in strict accordance with the new style, and novel inventions of the age. Buildings of a coeval date generally display an uniformity of design and ornament. We are thus indeed to suppose that a regular system of communication was established among the ecclesiastical community, and that every invention in architecture, as well as all new regulations in monastic economy, either emanated from a centre,—from a governing power,—or was submitted to that power for sanction and authority. The Pope, we know, was the supreme head and ruler of the one, and it does not appear improbable, in supposing him to have been the law-giver, or licencer of the other. The free-masons or architects, as well as the provincial abbots, might deem it requisite, perhaps it was imperious, to consult their all-powerful master respecting every novelty, or innovation, which either might wish to see introduced."*

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* *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 48.

This decided uniformity of style in all ecclesiastical buildings which are accurately traced to their date of erection, is a subject of some gratulation with the antiquarian examiner, as the same want of written documents that has been lamented in previous sections, frequently prevails in the ages now under consideration. Even where monastic records have survived the injuries of time and the destructive ordeal of reformation, they are often found to contain little intelligence, as to the dates at which particular parts of respective buildings were erected. The architectural history of cathedrals is, in many instances, developed with conclusive authenticity; and our most satisfactory examples are, therefore, derived from those edifices, which at once illustrate the progress of art and exhibit its most splendid and happiest efforts. Parochial churches were usually built by degrees, from the pious offerings of manorial lords, or other neighbouring residents. Direct memorials of such progressive labours, arising from private benefaction, cannot be expected to occur in great frequency.

As the use of letters grew more common, we, however, find auxiliaries of information that were but little known in periods antecedent to the commencement of the pointed style. The dates at which churches in this mode were built, and the names of the founder and contributors, are sometimes ascertained by attached inscriptions, expressly commemorating the erection and consecration;* or by laudatory passages in epitaphs on such devout

* As some obscurity prevails, in regard to the time at which churches were usually consecrated, the following remarks of Mr. Pegge may be acceptable to the reader;—"Churches were not always immediately consecrated upon erection, for Otto, the legate, in the very first of his canons, A. D. 1238, observes, that he himself had seen, and had heard from many, that there had been great neglect in the consecration of churches; that several of them, and even some cathedrals, had not been consecrated, though built of old; wherefore he ordained, that all cathedral, conventual, and parochial churches, which had their walls perfected, should be consecrated by

POINTED, OR ENGLISH, STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE. 497

vout persons. Armorial allusions, sculptured on the spandrels of arches, carved on roofs, or emblazoned in windows of stained glass, likewise assist in perpetuating the memory of those who imparted aid to the erection, or restoration, of an edifice; and thus often conduct to the discovery of positive dates. The introduction of such heraldic memorials was frequent in the fifteenth century, but was by no means confined to that era.

It may not be superfluous to remind the reader that the richest, most delicate and elaborate efforts of artists in the English style, are exhibited in the ornamental parts of small chapels and oratories, and in the decorations of tombs; the most costly instances of which last fabrics invariably display, in beautiful miniature delineation, the peculiar fashion, and select ornaments, of the ages in which they were constructed.

ECCLESIASTICAL STRUCTURES DISPLAYING THE
EARLY ENGLISH STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE.

REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST, FROM 1189 TO 1199.

Noticed in the Beauties.

North side of the west transept of <i>Rochester cathedral</i>	}	Kent, P. 642.
The chapel of the Holy Trinity at <i>Canterbury</i> , which has windows in the lancet shape, appears to have been completed about the commencement of this reign. See <i>Archæol.</i> Vol. XI. p. 367, and		Kent, P. 796.
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by their diocesan, or some other person authorized by him, within two years. And it is certain that, in pursuance of this ordinance, many dedications actually ensued. But still I am of opinion that, in a common way, dedications were solemnized as soon as conveniently could be *after the completion of the fabrics*; and, in general, the dedication or consecration, where that can be known, necessarily implies an erection to have been *perfected before* that date, except in case of a re-edification." *Pegge's Sylloge of Ancient Inscriptions*, &c. p. 1—2.

Noticed in the Beauties.

Upper transept and choir of <i>Lincoln cathedral</i>	} Lincolnshire, P. 632—3.
Part of the nave and aisles of <i>Peterborough cathedral</i>	} Northamptonshire, P. 235.

REIGN OF JOHN. FROM 1199 TO 1216.

Vestibule at the entrance, termed the <i>Galilee</i> , of <i>Ely cathedral</i>	} Cambridgeshire, P. 162.
Parts of the east end of <i>Winchester cathedral</i>	} Hampshire, P. 51—52.
Remains of <i>Beaulieu Abbey</i> , including the former refectory, now used as a parish church.....	} Hampshire, P. 194—198.
Choir and upper transept of <i>Rochester cathedral</i> , partly in this reign, but finished in that of Henry the Third: the style uniform.....	} Kent, P. 643—645, with a print.
Parts of the nave and central tower of <i>Lincoln cathedral</i>	} Lincolnshire, P. 633.

REIGN OF HENRY THE THIRD. FROM 1216 TO 1272.

The long reign of this king, although clouded by sanguinary civil contests, and thence unfavourable to the cultivation of many useful arts, is conspicuous for the munificent patronage bestowed on ecclesiastical architecture. Few of the Middle ages were more prolific of moral and political turpitude; and the superstitious humour of the period led affluent criminals to seek an expiation of offence against Heaven and mankind, by the foundation of structures devoted to mediatory religious ceremonies.—The emulative spirit of the times, when once aroused into action, was not confined to monastic or collegiate institutions, but was honourably exercised in the erection and improvement of splendid cathedral and other churches. The pointed order of architecture had now attained so enthusiastic a degree of approbation, that

that the labours of the architect were not restricted to entire buildings in the new style, but the more weighty and objectionable parts of numerous existing buildings were taken down, and re-edified in the prevailing mode. This may be particularly remarked in the eastern, and more sacred, portions of many remaining edifices.

It has been stated that some changes, implicating an increase of ornament, are observable in the vaulting of buildings erected in this lengthened reign. Some other variations are also perceptible, and require notice. The chief of these relate to the windows, and are exemplified in the Abbey church of Westminster. "The design of this building," as is remarked by Mr. Carter, "gives a style peculiar to the period; and immediately succeeded that mode of work made use of in the erection of Salisbury cathedral, perfected in the early part of Henry's sovereignty. The transition from the Salisbury to the Westminster style was not, however, marked by any extraordinary change: the alterations were few, and not very obtrusive, they occurring principally in the windows. At Salisbury the windows are given plain in their openings (excepting those to the side aisles in the west front, shewing mullions and tracery, and which were inserted, probably, some time after;) while the windows at Westminster contain both mullions and tracery. The mouldings of each pile had not much variation; and battlements seem, about this period, to have been introduced, at the latter place, in room of the parapet so characteristic at the former."*

The windows to which the above writer refers, have the cinquefoil introduced in their heads; and those which light the triforium externally, consist of a triple cinquefoil under a pointed arch.

It may not be undesirable to observe that painted or stained glass, for the use of church windows in England, is believed to have been introduced, or at least so frequently adopted as to con-

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stitute

* Carter's Ancient Architecture of England, Part II. p. 1.

stitute an era, about the time of Henry the Third.* Mr. Carter, in the elaborate work quoted above, presents a print containing specimens of painted glass from the cathedrals of Canterbury and Salisbury, and observes that they comprise nearly all the known relics of such glass relating to this period. He adds, that it will be evident, from the examples adduced, "that the openings of windows, either single or double, by means of mullions and tracery, were filled in with lead work, run into geometrical forms; which forms were enriched with an infinity of paintings of ornaments and small figures." Such appears to have been the general character of window-glazing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, where stained glass was introduced.

Numerous examples might be cited, of the architectural style which prevailed in this reign. The under-named are unquestionably the most splendid instances, while they promise to be completely satisfactory, as they respectively display those small shades of variation noticed in the preceding page.

Noticed in the Beauties.

Presbytery of *Ely cathedral*, used as the choir. Erected between the years 1235 and 1252.†..... } Cambridgeshire, P. 162—163.

Westminster Abbey church, begun in 1245; completed, as to the works of this reign, about the year 1269. The north transept, and part of the adjoining work, have experienced little alteration, except that the great Catharine-wheel window of the transept is believed to have been enlarged to its present dimensions at a subsequent period.‡..... } Westminster, with several prints.

The

* Ornaments of churches considered, p. 94; and Bentham's *Ely*, p. 40. For some conjectural opinions as to the use of stained glass among the Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans, see Stevenson's supplement to the latter work, notes, p. 29—31.

† Millers' *Ely*. ‡ See Carter's *Ancient Architecture of England*, Part II.

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| The tower and western front of Wells Cathedral | } Somersetshire, P. 485. |
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| <i>Salisbury Cathedral.</i> This edifice is inestimable as an architectural specimen, since it has not experienced any important alterations in the main work, except from the addition of the two upper divisions of the tower, and the lofty spire. This cathedral was begun in 1220, and finished, with the above exceptions, in 1258..... | } Wiltshire, P. 166—167, with a print. |
| | |
| The transept of <i>Worcester Cathedral</i> | Worcestershire, P. 61—83. |
| The south transept of <i>York Cathedral</i> , erected about 1228; and the north transept of the same structure, erected about 1260..... | } Yorkshire, P. 212—214. |
| | |

CHARACTERISTICS AND EXAMPLES OF THE DECORATED ENGLISH STYLE, PREVAILING IN THE REIGNS OF EDWARD THE FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD; RICHARD THE SECOND; AND HENRY THE FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH.

The procedure of English, or Pointed, architecture through the numerous reigns embraced by the present section, was marked by several subordinate variations, the most important of which will be noticed under the heads of the respective reigns in which they are ascertained to have occurred. But, notwithstanding such minor vicissitudes of fashion, the architecture of this country may be accurately described as assuming the character of a new order in the reign of the first Edward, and as retaining the great distinctive lineaments of its novel complexion, until years

nearly bordering on the date mentioned above as that at which it yielded to less judicious efforts of taste in the art of design.

After a due allowance of all the merits of its first order—lovely in simplicity, and permanently attractive without the labour of embellishment—it must be admitted that the pointed style was not calculated for a final residence in a stage so plain and unassuming. It was susceptible of greater powers of captivation, before that line should be passed which divides the rectitude of exalted imagination and the imbecile vagaries of wanton fancy. This fine and commanding intermediate rank, is possessed by the architectural order that is denominated the Decorated English.

On a consideration of the reigns to which the prevalence of this mode is ascribed, it will be found that many of the noblest and most admired structures which adorn our island, constitute examples of this class. In such buildings we view the polished result of a chaste but rich fancy, acting on geometrical principles of ordination; and, as far as we have the test of example to regulate opinion, we behold in these edifices the highest point of beauty that is within the attainment of the English style. It is, indeed, evident that the architects with whom the principles of this style were equally familiar by precept and example, have never transcended in magnificence of display the sacred buildings erected while our great king, the third Edward, sustained the English sceptre; or in consistent splendour of decoration the piles raised during the reign of our sixth Henry—the pious, meek, patron of every undertaking that wore an air of sanctity.

The order of Decorated English architecture may be said, in general terms, to be distinguished by the following marks.—The expansive scale of its windows, which, in the best ages of this style, display the pointed form in most just and beautiful proportions; and, under all its variations, are divided into several lights, having the heads adorned, but not crowded, with tracery work.—The unity of its columns, which in earlier ages consisted of many slender, detached shafts.—The increased richness of the vaulting; which important part of the interior retained,

ained, as we have seen, much simplicity even in the most dignified buildings of the preceding class.—The introduction of tabernacle work, and plentiful, but not superfluous, ornaments; comprising various graceful, but, in many instances, nameless particulars of embellishment, on those parts of the inside and exterior which were left plain by the architects of the previous era.—Such are its general characteristics; but I shall endeavour in the present, as in the former section, to aid the purpose of enquiry by a digested enumeration of the most applicable remarks that have been made concerning each principal architectural member.

The ARCHES of this order exhibit a considerable degree of variation, but are uniformly less acute and more open. That which approached the nearest to perfection of any pointed arch, and which prevailed in many buildings constructed during the sway of the three early Edwards, was “formed by segments of a circle, including an equilateral triangle, from the imposts to the crown of the arch.”* In subsequent reigns the arch becomes lower, and consequently loses a portion of symmetry and beauty. In the 14th century, arches of the ogee shape, formed of four segments of circles contrasted, were very common; and are said, in the *Beauties for Wiltshire*,† and in *Lysons’s Gloucestershire Antiquities*, to have prevailed especially in the tombs of the crusaders.

The COLUMNS are satisfactorily mentioned by Mr. Bentham, as having “retained something of their general form already described,‡ that is, as an assemblage of small pillars or shafts; but these decorations were now not detached, or separate from the body of the column, but made part of it; and, being closely united and wrought up together, formed one entire firm, slender,

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and

* Milner’s Letter, p. 23.

† *Beauties for Wiltshire*, p. 665. *Gloucestershire Antiquities*, p. 3, and pl. VI.

‡ See article *Columns*, section *Early English style*, in previous pages of this Introduction.

and elegant column.”* The reader will recollect that it has been stated in the preceding section, on the authority of Mr. Essex, that marble was almost universally employed in the construction of pillars in great buildings, until the latter end of the reign of Edward the Second; but was only partially used by the architects of Edward the Third’s time, and was quite rejected before the termination of that historical era.

In regard to the ROOF, the vaulting, in common with every other part, became greatly more decorated. The ribs branched out into a kind of tracery work, and divided the vault into numerous angular compartments, ornamented at the intersections with carved heads, foliated orbs, and various devices having an historical or legendary allusion.

The WINDOWS form so important and obvious a feature in every division of English architecture, that they require particular notice. It has been suggested above, that the windows of the mode now under discussion present several varieties of form; but these changes are, in a great degree, implicated in what has been already said respecting the arches of this order; and will meet with some farther attention in the remarks occasionally introduced under the heads of respective reigns. In general character, to use the words of Dr. Milner, “the window no longer consisted of an arch divided by a mullion into two, and surmounted with a single or triple circle, or quatrefoil, but was now portioned out by mullions and transoms, or cross bars, into four, five, six, and sometimes into nine bays, or days, as the separate lights of a window were called; and their heads were diversified by tracery work into a variety of architectural designs, and particularly into the form of flowers.”†

A striking increase of beauty in structures of this class is derived from the large east and west windows, which constitute prominent characteristics. These vast and magnificent openings grew

* Hist. of Ely Cathedral, p. 41.

† Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Middle ages, p. 105—106.

grew into general use at an early period of the present mode, and frequently occupied nearly the whole width of the nave, sometimes commencing near the level of the floor, and rising almost as high as the vaulting. It will be evident that a glare of light, objectionable to the utility of the edifice, would have proceeded from such spacious windows, and that their disproportionate size would have been liable to a strong objection, if a sister art had not been at hand to aid the architect in the production of new beauties.—In these windows we behold, disposed with lavish munificence, the attractive and appropriate splendour of painted glass, conducive to the intended object of the structure by illustrating passages of sacred history, revealing tales of saints and martyrs, and perpetuating, in the rude portraiture of the times, the effigies of kings, prelates, and founders. The fascinating influence of these storied windows, even in intellectual ages, when the sanctity once attached to the fabulous parts of their narration is forgotten, or remembered only with a smile, is acknowledged by every spectator of taste and feeling.

The adoption of eastern windows appears to have first occurred in the 13th century, and led to an alteration in the form of that part of the church; but the practice of constructing windows of large dimensions, both in the more sacred part and at the western extremity, obtained so much estimation in the early part of the era now under notice, that we find them frequently introduced as alterations of ancient structures, which were otherwise allowed to remain nearly in their original state.

The numerous but not redundant ORNAMENTS of this architectural class, although in general disposed with much felicity, were, perhaps, not designed in so elegant a taste as those of the preceding era. The capitals of the clustered columns were often richly foliated, and the arches of windows “were invariably adorned with one or more cusps on each side of the head; so as to form trefoils, cinquefoils, &c.”* Where pediments were raised

* Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Middle ages, p. 104.

raised over arches they were uniformly purfled, or adorned with those representations of foliage termed crockets. The arches, thus surmounted with architectural decoration, were also accompanied by pinnacles, constantly purfled, and crowned with a finial, or flower. Many new mouldings occur in this order; and rows of small ornamental arches are frequently seen. The niches, which remained plain, or subject to little ornament, in the previous mode, were now richly embellished; and, together with tabernacles (or niches of a more elaborate display) were constructed with an unsparing hand, and filled with statues, in many instances executed with considerable spirit. The sculpture of this style was sometimes meretriciously enriched with painting and gilding; and similar efforts towards the production of a superb effect occurred in other ornamental parts of edifices.

Many of the above particulars apply to the exterior, as well as to the internal parts of a structure. In regard to the former division of the building, it may be farther observed that the arches of doorways were usually much enriched with crockets and other decorations. The buttresses were often ornamented with tracery-work and statuary, and terminated in pinnacles, decorated with crockets and a finial, as already described. Spires grew into frequent use in the early years of this era. Well calculated for popular admiration, from the subject of wonder connected with their aspiring height, their introduction was hailed with enthusiastic applause.—The retired village church, enveloped in woodland, or situated amongst soft rural scenery, acquired a pleasing and consonant addition in the light unassuming proportions of this new feature: the sacred structure of the city, or great town, was, perhaps, more suitably adorned by the less elevated but commanding tower.

ECCLESIASTICAL STRUCTURES DISPLAYING
THE DECORATED ENGLISH STYLE OF
ARCHITECTURE.

REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST, FROM 1272 TO 1307.

The rise of every architectural style is so entirely progressive; that, although the date of its perfection may usually be ascertained with sufficient certainty, it is often difficult to distinguish the exact years of its commencement. Thus, the architecture of the early part of this reign has a great similitude to that which obtained in the time of Henry the Third. It is, however, believed that the narrow lancet-shaped window without mullions, and its correspondent architectural lineaments, were rarely used after the year 1300. The prevailing windows, in the mature and in the latter years of this king, and throughout the whole reign of Edward the Second, were more expanded, but of less elegant proportions, than those constructed in the time of the third Edward—the Augustan age of pointed architecture.

The crosses erected by Edward the First, to the memory of Eleanor, his beloved consort, who died in 1290, display the extreme richness of the tracery and tabernacle work which were, about this time, added to the embellishments of church-architecture.* And these splendid examples, perhaps, much facilitated the universal adoption of such ornamental particulars.

Noticed in the Beauties.

Several parts of <i>Exeter Cathedral</i> . The	}	Devonshire, P. 61—72.
transepts were formed in the early		
part of this reign. The choir (begun		
in 1138,) was finished in 1309.....		

St.

* Three only of the numerous crosses of memorial erected by King Edward, upon this occasion, are now remaining. These are situated at Geddington, Northamptonshire; at Northampton, or rather in the vicinity of that town; and at Waltham, Herts. An engraved view of each is contained in the *Beauties of England*.

Noticed in the Beauties.

- St. Ethelbert's Gatehouse, in the precinct of *Norwich Cathedral*, erected about 1275. The cloister of the same cathedral also presents a curious example of the architecture of this reign. "The groinings, and even the details of the columns and of the rib mouldings, throughout the whole four sides of the quadrangle," are in the style of Edward the First. The eastern part of the cloister, "having trefoil openings within triangles," is of the same character.*.....
- The Lady chapel of *Litchfield Cathedral*.....
- The nave of *York Minster*, begun in the year 1290, and completed in the next reign, according to the original design. A fine and satisfactory specimen.....
- Norfolk, P. 150, 151, and 158.
- Staffordshire, P. 792 and 799.
- Yorkshire, P. 213—215.

REIGN OF EDWARD THE SECOND, FROM 1307 TO 1327.

The style of Ecclesiastical Architecture throughout this reign was the same, in its leading features, as in the latter years of King Edward the First. It would, therefore, be superfluous to enumerate specimens which afford only a continuation of a mode already explained and illustrated.

REIGN OF EDWARD THE THIRD, FROM 1327 TO 1377.

In closing an attentive review of the architecture of this bright era in our national annals, it is observed by Mr. Carter "that the art

* A judicious account of the cloister to this cathedral church, with engraved views, is given in the *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, Vol. III.

art was then in its highest degree of perfection; the plans and elevations were on the grandest scale; the proportions just; the decorations ample and majestic; and the enrichments splendid and beautiful beyond all former precedent."* The same writer likewise notices some leading characteristics of this fine style, in words to the following effect:—The proportions of doorways and windows are rendered more consonant to geometrical rule. The mullions and tracery of the windows "run out in the most delightful and elegant manner. The buttresses become one of the principal features, from their infinity of parts and high embellishment. The parapets, or breast works, on the walls, are changed into battlements with perforated compartments. The clusters of columns to all situations are masoned in one solid mass in their several courses, without bands; the shafts rising from base to capital in a clear and uninterrupted line." The groins present tracery, compartments, &c. "and it should appear that the great aim of the architects, at this period, was to embellish the faces and lines of their structures in the most brilliant and luxurious manner," as many particulars in the interiors were gilded and painted in various colours.

Noticed in the Beauties.

The Octagon and Lantern of <i>Ely Cathedral</i> , completed in 1342. The St. Mary chapel of the same building, now used as a parochial church, erected between the years 1321 and 1349.	}	Cambridgeshire, P. 163—165, with a print.
Choir of <i>Carlisle Cathedral</i>		Cumberland, P. 85.
Part of the South Transept, parts of the North Transept, choir and cloisters, <i>Gloucester Cathedral</i>	}	Gloucestershire, P. 539—547.
Parts of the nave, side aisle, &c. of St. <i>Alban's Abbey Church</i> †.....		
		Hertfordshire, P. 69—81.
		Parts

* Ancient Architecture of England, Part II, d, p. 14.

† Engraved as specimens of this reign, in Carter's Ancient Architecture of England.

		<i>Noticed in the Beauties.</i>
Parts of the church of <i>St. Mary Redcliffe</i> , }	Bristol..... }	Somersetshire, P. 676—
		672.
Choir of the church of <i>St. Mary, War-</i> }	wick..... }	Warwickshire, P. 197—
		199.
<i>St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster</i> , now }	Westminster.	
the House of Commons, and de-		
prived of its ancient architectural cha-		
racter, was one of the most splendid		
instances of sacred buildings erected		
in this reign. It was begun by King		
Edward the Third, in the year 1348...		

REIGN OF RICHARD THE SECOND, FROM 1377 TO 1399.

Few deviations of importance from the previous mode are noticed as occurring in this reign, except that the pointed arch, in many instances, now began to droop in height, or depart from those regular triangular proportions which constituted its purest and most beautiful form.

Wykeham's work, comprising great part }	of the nave, <i>Winchester Cathedral</i> ... }	Hampshire, P. 53—56.
<i>College at Winchester</i> , founded by }		Ibid, P. 81—85.
Wykeham..... }		
Nave, chapter-house, and part of the }	cloisters, <i>Canterbury Cathedral</i> }	Kent, P. 834, 872—3.
Some remains at <i>New College, Oxford</i>	Oxfordshire, P. 178—183.	
An elegant specimen of the architecture }	of this reign is afforded by the tower }	Warwickshire, P. 127, with
and spire of <i>St. Michael's church</i> , }		
<i>Coventry</i> ; begun 1373, completed }		
1395..... }		
		a print.

REIGN OF HENRY THE FOURTH, FROM 1399 TO 1413; AND REIGN OF HENRY THE FIFTH, FROM 1413 TO 1422.

No variations in ecclesiastical architecture, requiring notice
in

POINTED, OR ENGLISH, STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE. 511

in a work treating on general characteristics, are distinguishable in these martial reigns. An enumeration of examples is, therefore, unnecessary.

REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, FROM 1422 TO 1461.

In this reign the decorated style of English architecture proceeded to the verge of that redundancy in embellishment, which constitutes a new era in the progress of the art. The line of boundary, however, is not passed. The ornaments are disposed with a judicious as well as munificent hand; and extreme lightness is united with that solidity necessary to an effect at once august and fascinating. The wonderful skill in construction displayed at this era, and the delicacy with which the ornamental particulars were executed, rendered superfluous the aids of paint and gold-leaf. But, while these adjuncts of magnificence were in a great measure abandoned by the architect and mason, painted glass was retained, and was found a powerful assistant in the production of that splendour of effect for which all possible means were exercised, consistent with a refinement in art and purity of taste. Many superb buildings remain,* to evince the height of decorative excellence attained by the pointed style immediately previous to the rise of that fondness for exuberant ornament, which led to a neglect of symmetry, and deprived our sacred architecture of a great portion of the impressive air of solemnity invariably cultivated in more early ages.

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* Mr. Dallaway mentions it, "as a singular fact, that, during the commotions between the houses of York and Lancaster, and their adherents, so prejudicial to the progress of the arts of civilization, architecture in England flourished in a greater degree. The superior ecclesiastics were confined to their cloisters, as few of them had taken an active part in the dispute; and some of the fairest structures which remain, arose in consequence of wealth accumulated by instigating the noble and affluent to contribute to the general emulation of splendid churches, built under their own inspection." *Observations on English Architecture*, p. 37—38.

REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH CONTINUED.

Noticed in the Beauties.

The chapel of King's College, <i>Cam-</i>	} Cambridgeshire, P. 48—60.
<i>bridge</i>	
Beaufort's Chantry, <i>Winchester Cathe-</i>	} Hampshire, P. 72.
<i>dral</i>	
The chapel of the Virgin, <i>Canterbury</i>	} Kent, P. 840.
<i>Cathedral</i>	
The Divinity School, <i>Oxford</i>	Oxfordshire, P. 231—232.
The Beauchamp chapel, at <i>Warwick</i>	Warwickshire, P. 201—205.

CHARACTERISTICS AND EXAMPLES OF THE FLORID,
OR HIGHLY-DECORATED ENGLISH STYLE, PRE-
VAILING IN THE REIGNS OF EDWARD THE
FOURTH, AND FIFTH ; RICHARD THE THIRD ;
AND HENRY THE SEVENTH.

The English style of architecture, which had arisen in dignified simplicity, and, in its mature ages, was marked by a degree of sublimity at once awful and attractive, assumed a fresh character of beauty before that period at which ("doom'd to hide its banish'd head")* it yielded to the encroachments of false refinement, and left no efficient substitute, for sacred purposes.

Emulous

* The Florid English style of architecture is calculated to elicit effusions of poetry. The following lines have been frequently cited, but their merit prevents repetition from becoming tedious:—"Doom'd to hide her banish'd head

For ever, Gothick architecture fled—
Forewarn'd she left in one most beautiful place
Her pendent roof, her windows' branchy grace,
Pillars of cluster'd reeds, and tracery of lace."

*Fosbrooke's Economy of Monastick
Life, p. 72.*

Emulous of novelty, and convinced, as we may infer, that grandeur, on principles strictly chaste, had been carried to the greatest attainable elevation by the mode perfected in the time of Edward the Third, and which we have denominated the Decorated English, the architects of this era produced a variation in the pointed style, striking, original, and magnificent.

Those who have critically examined the progress of our ancient architecture, maintain that its advancement towards perfection, and its tendency to decline and disrepute, are denoted by the degree of elevation possessed by its great distinctive feature, the pointed arch. Such a position would, indeed, appear to be incontrovertible, however seductive may prove the minute embellishments, and dazzling the general splendour, of its last stage, the Florid style. It has been observed that, notwithstanding "the architects of these ages displayed more art and more professional science than their predecessors, they did this at the expense of the characteristical excellence of the style itself which they built in. They consulted more their own reputation than the proper effect of their works. The spectator, in viewing these was amazed at the sight of huge masses of stone, called pendent capitals, hanging in the air, which, instead of supporting the vast groins in which they are fixed, are supported by them. But this taste betrayed a disregard for the aspiring arch, the curvature of which was henceforward discernible at its springing, rather than at its point. Ingenuity more than sublimity was now affected, and curiosity more than devotion gratified."*

But, whilst we deplore the want of an august temperance of display in structures of this class, the fancy is enchanted by the variety of combinations; the judgment is overpowered by the superb profusion of enrichments! Magnificence, ingenuity, and delicacy, the alleged characteristics of this order of buildings, are, indeed, presented in so captivating a form that the mind is filled

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* Ecclesiastical Architecture of England during the Middle ages, p. 113
—114.

by the gorgeous scene; and we recollect without displeasure the hyperbolic remark so often repeated, that the work would seem to have been *knit together by the fingers of angels*.*

The Florid, or Highly-Decorated, English style is chiefly marked by the depressed, obtuse, form of its arches; its large wide windows, divided by numerous mullions, and ornamented with an intricate redundancy of tracery; the inexpressible richness of its vaulting, over which the most delicate fret-work is thrown, "like a web of embroidery," interspersed with ponderous and highly-wrought pendent capitals; and by the profusion of tracery-work, sculpture, armorial devices, and other ornamental particulars which embellish every part of the structure.

The lineaments of this style are so peculiar and strongly-marked, that it is scarcely necessary to enter on an individual notice of the principal architectural members. This, however, is done, in attention to the custom adopted in the two preceding sections.—Intended to act as a manual of remembrance, repetitions may be pardoned in such a delineation of characteristics.

The ARCHES, as has been mentioned, are wide, and flat, or obtuse.

The ROOF has been briefly noticed as displaying a scene of unparalled splendour and delicacy. The ribs of the vaulting, which had before been large, and apparently intended to add to the strength and support of the groins, were now divided into numerous parts, and enriched with a profusion of armorial cognizances, badges, rebuses, and various sculptured devices. Clusters of pendent ornaments, resembling stalactites, or, to use the words of Mr. Bentham, "the works nature sometimes forms in caves and grottos," hang down from these elaborate roofs, and impart to them an air of imposing beauty.

WINDOWS.—The point of the arch flat; the window extremely wide,

* Ward's London Spy—The whole passage in this enthusiastic author stands thus: "Henry the Seventh's chapel is the wonder of the universe, so far exceeding human ability that it appears *knit together by the fingers of angels*, under the direction of omnipotence."

POINTED, OR ENGLISH, STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE. 515

wide, and descending low. The mullions numerous, and the upper division of the window filled with many small compartments, often having trefoil heads. The great multiplication of windows affords a prominent characteristic of this style.

The ORNAMENTS of this architectural class were distributed in gorgeous profusion. The most estimable consist of numerous statues of kings, queens, saints, prelates and other persons. The abundant niches, tabernacles, canopies, pedestals, tracery, fasciæ, and pendants, are of the most elaborate workmanship, and are usually finished with exquisite delicacy. With ostentation consonant to the general arrangement of the building, armorial bearings and family devices are introduced to a great excess. Painting and gilding were frequently employed, to heighten the magnificent character of the whole.—In the unique instance of Henry the Seventh's chapel, the ornaments of the exterior are almost as plentifully disposed as those of the interior.

ECCLESIASTICAL STRUCTURES DISPLAYING THE
FLORID, OR HIGHLY-DECORATED, ENGLISH
STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE.

REIGN OF EDWARD THE FOURTH, FROM 1461 TO 1483.

Noticed in the Beauties.

The most splendid example is afforded
by *St. George's chapel, Windsor*.
This structure is the work of several
reigns; but the design, and greater
part, of the present edifice are generally
attributed to Richard Beauchamp,
Bishop of Salisbury, who was appointed
master and surveyor of the works by
King Edward the Fourth.

Berkshire, P. 243—254.

Church of *Honiton*, greatly enlarged,
and ornamented with its curious
screen, in this reign.....

Devonshire, P. 300.

Noticed in the Beauties.

- Parts of the church of *Charing*, including the tower..... } Kent, P. 1217.
 Church of St. Lawrence, *Norwich*..... Norfolk, P. 162.
 Chapel on the bridge of *Wakefield*, built by King Edward the Fourth, in memory of his father, and those of his party who fell in the battle at that place } Yorkshire, P. 804—805.

**REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIFTH, 1483; AND REIGN OF
 RICHARD THE THIRD; FROM 1483 TO 1485.**

The first of these reigns is merely nominal; and the latter was too short and troubled to afford any distinguishable change in the national style of architecture.

REIGN OF HENRY THE SEVENTH, FROM 1485 TO 1509.

The Florid, or Highly-Decorated, English style, in the plenitude of its costly and elaborate characteristics, is chiefly exemplified in chapels, regal, mortuary, and attached to churches; and in porches, monuments, screens, thrones and stalls. It is remarked by Mr. Dallaway that "there is, perhaps, no parish church which exhibits a complete specimen of this style, in all its parts."*

Many parochial churches, evincing the broad lineaments of the Florid style, were, however, erected in the present reign. Mr. Warton observes "that most of the churches in Somersetshire, which are remarkably elegant, are in the style of the Florid Gothic. The reason is this: Somersetshire, in the civil wars between York and Lancaster, was strongly and entirely attached to the Lancastrian party. In reward for this service, Henry the Seventh, when he came to the crown, rebuilt their churches. The tower of Gloucester cathedral, and the towers of the churches
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* Observations on English architecture, p. 56.

at Taunton and Glastonbury, and of a parochial church at Wells, are conspicuous examples of this fashion." The same writer adds, "that most of the churches of this reign are known, besides other distinctions, by latticed battlements, and broad open windows."—Mr. Lysons, in the volume of *Magna Britannia* for Cornwall, observes "that the greater part of the churches in that county, appear to have been rebuilt in the 15th, and succeeding century."

The following remark of Mr. Essex may not be unacceptable in this place. After stating that there were but few alterations in the constructive methods of building with stone, from the reign of Henry the Third until the introduction of Grecian architecture, Mr. Essex observes that, "about the times of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth, it was customary to chequer the fronts of brick and stone buildings with black flints, sometimes in regular square figures, and sometimes intermixed with stone, in imitation of open Gothic work. Many of those were neatly executed, and still have a tolerably good effect; as may be seen in several fine towers of churches in various parts of the kingdom, particularly in Norfolk and Suffolk, where this fashion greatly prevailed a little before the Reformation."*—It is, however, sufficiently ascertained that the use of flints, disposed nearly in the manner described above, on the facings of ecclesiastical structures, although prevalent in the reigns noticed by Mr. Essex, is by no means confined to those eras, but occurs in buildings of a much earlier date.†

Noticed in the Beauties.

Bishop Alcock's chapel, *Ely Cathedral*....Cambridgeshire, P. 163—4.

Church of *Walden*. (finished in the } Essex, P. 387—388.
reign of Henry the Eighth)..... }

The Lady chapel, *Gloucester Cathedral*. }
To this building the date of 1499. is }
ascribed, in the account of Gloucester cathedral published by the Society } Gloucestershire, P. 544—5.
of Antiquaries..... }

* Archæol. Vol. IV.

† See *Beauties* for Norfolk, p. 51—52.

Noticed in the Beauties.

Parts of the church of <i>Cirencester</i>	{ Gloucestershire, P. 608—611, with a print.
Chantry of Bishop Waynflete, <i>Winchester Cathedral</i>	{ Hampshire, P. 72—73.
St. Mary's, the University church, <i>Oxford</i>	{ Oxfordshire, P. 241—242.
Church of <i>Dunster</i> , built by Henry the Seventh, as a memorial of the active services rendered by the inhabitants of that place in the battle of Bosworth...	{ Somersetshire, P. 568.
The chapel of King Henry the Seventh, commenced in this reign, and executed according to the design then formed.....	{ Westminster.
Church of <i>Great Malvern</i>	{ Worcestershire, P. 304—309. With a print.

After the reign of Henry the Seventh, the pointed style of architecture declined rapidly in excellence, and soon fell into entire disuse. With the dissolution of religious houses was rejected the mode in which it had been so long customary to erect the buildings appertaining to such foundations. The Italian artists, whose prejudice against this style has been already noticed, were unquestionably instrumental in accelerating its downfall; but the incongruous mixtures of irregular and ill-executed imitations of the Grecian orders with the declining English, was a proof of barbarity in taste more deplorable than that which *Vasari* anathematized in those who raised the works called German, in Italy, as has been remarked in a previous page. This base commixture, and degradation even of the relics of a fine and venerable mode of architecture (further polluted by the addition of numerous absurd devices) remained in practice until the Grecian style, in its purity, was revived by the mature judgment of Inigo Jones, in the time of Charles the First.

One of the last buildings, approaching to the character of pure English,

English, that was erected in the time of Henry the Eighth, is the Abbey church of Bath, completed in 1532. Lord Orford observes that he recollects no later instance of the unmixed Gothic (or English) than the tomb of Archbishop Warham, at Canterbury. This monument was constructed soon after the year noticed above as that in which the Abbey church of Bath was finished.

SEPOLCHRAL MONUMENTS.

The sepulchral monuments of England and Wales present a subject of too much interest with the topographer, to remain entirely unnoticed in this "Introduction." But a satisfactory essay on the history of monuments raised to the memory of the dead, including remarks on the various habiliments of the corpse; on the different kinds of coffins; on the architectural variations in the monuments of different ages; on the peculiarities of dress exhibited in the figures; and on the progress of the arts, as connected with the sculptural embellishments of these mournful, but gratifying, memorials; would occupy more pages than those dedicated to the whole multifarious matter of our introductory volume. These topics are largely discussed, and illustrated, in the elaborate work of Mr. Gough.* From that laborious production, aided in some instances by the brief notices of Mr. Grose;† by the remarks of Mr. Lethieullier;‡ by various other papers in the *Archæologia*; and by the information contained in the *Beauties of England and Wales*; are collected the following hints toward intelligence; which are chiefly designed to act as criteria, enabling the reader to distinguish between the probable

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* Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, &c. Vide List of Books treating generally of England and Wales.

† Grose's *Addenda* to his preface to the *Antiq. of England and Wales*.

‡ *Archæol.* Vol. II. p. 291—300.

ages of such undated interments, or sepulchral memorials, as may fall under his observation.

The modes of burial prevailing among the different nations which effected a settlement in Britain, previous to the Norman Conquest, have been already noticed; and it has been stated, in those earlier sections of this work, that coffins of stone were sometimes used by the Romans, and frequently by the Anglo-Saxons. From the time of the conversion of the latter people, to the reign of Henry the Eighth,* stone-coffins appear to have been much used in every age; and they have been found in nearly every part of England. Nor would it seem that they were confined to persons of particular sanctity or eminence; but were used in all interments where the expense was disregarded.

Coffins made of lead, and of wood, are also believed to have been used by the Romans in Britain, and by the Anglo-Saxons.† But the earliest recorded instance of the use of a wooden coffin, in this country, is that of King Arthur, as noticed by Giraldus; who describes it as having consisted of an entire trunk of oak, hollowed to receive the body.

The manner in which bodies have been dressed, or shrouded, for the grave, is more various than the materials of the coffin in which they were deposited; and we are generally unable to ascertain, with any resemblance of accuracy, the date of an interment by the character of the materials in which the corpse is wrapped. Through many ages subsequent to the Norman Conquest, if not in earlier periods, the remains of the illustrious dead were often enclosed in leather, which is sometimes described as being gilt. This species of encasement is, however, more frequently mentioned as consisting of the mere skin of an animal. Thus, Henry the First, is said to have been "sewed up in a bull's skin;" and his daughter, the Empress Maud, to have been

* In some few curious instances, stone-coffins have been used much later. Sir William Dugdale and his lady are buried "in stone coffins, each made in two parts." Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, by Dr. Thomas, Vol. II. p. 1046.

† Sepulchral Monuments, Introduction, p. 39, et seq. Turner's *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. II. &c.

been "wrapt up in an ox's hide." But the body of a deceased royal personage was sometimes enwrapped in a manner very different from the above. The remains of Sebba, an Anglo-Saxon sovereign, were discovered in St. Paul's, as we are informed by Dugdale, "curiously embalmed with sweet odours, and clothed in rich robes."* The corpse of Edward the First was richly habited, and adorned with the royal mantle, or pall, of crimson satin.

It is well known that priests were generally buried in their sacred habits; but this custom was not entirely confined to ecclesiastics. The garb of a priest was often coveted by the dying; as a fanciful proof of sanctity. It will be remembered that King John was, by his own desire, buried in a monk's cowl. Mr. Gough observes "that the paten and chalice were buried with ecclesiastical persons of common rank, as well as with prelates and presidents of religious societies. The chalice and paten commonly went together, though the latter is sometimes described as the cover of the former, and in some graves is missing, being more liable to decay. It is most probable that all these vessels, so interred, being rather emblematical of the profession of the party, than his private property (for it is not to be supposed that the parish would part with their communion plate) were made of meaner metal, silvered over; as the rings interred with prelates were gilt. The chalice, though found in the coffins of bishops, never appears on their monuments."†

It has been stated, in a previous section, that few, if any, sepulchral monuments, now remaining in this country, are of an earlier date than the Norman Conquest. The number is not considerable of those which occur between that era and the time of Henry the Third, although it would seem probable that many were erected in the intervening ages. They become more frequent in the reigns of the two first Edwards; and are very numerous

* Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's, p. 48.

† Sepulchral Monuments, Vol. I. Introduction.

numerous in the reign of Edward the Third; from which time the number continually augments as we approach the existing period.

Respecting the fashions of sepulchral monuments, as prevailing in different ages, a memoir was drawn up by the late Maurice Johnson, Esq. founder of the Literary Society of Spalding, which demands attention, as it is much commended by Mr. Gough, and is transcribed by him, in the preface to his voluminous work on sepulchres in Britain.

Mr. Johnson divides the tombs of this country into eight forms. *The first form* may be described as the *prismatic tomb*, plain on the top; and is thus noticed by Mr. Johnson: "Before the evil practice of burying in churches became general, and the arts of designing were restored, our ancestors, if of fortune sufficient to afford it, were interred in stone coffins, the bottom part being of one large stone, sufficient to receive the corpse. *The form of the lid, or upper part, varied with the times, as arts were retrieved. The lid of the most ancient was in the form of a prism, or triangular; and though they be now generally under ground, originally only the bottom part, or that which contained the corpse, was so; and the lid, or covering stone, was seen above ground.*"

The second form retains the prismatic lid, with the addition of carving on that part.

The third form is described as the *table monument*, supporting effigies, or sculpture; and appears to have succeeded, at a very early period, to the prismatic tomb, in regard to the burial of distinguished personages.—It is supposed by Mr. Johnson, that, "about the beginning of the 13th century, if they did not place the effigies on a monument, they left off raising the upper stone to a point, and only carried it up some part of the way, with some decoration on the plain top; as is shewn by an old cross fleury of Archbishop Langton, made about 1233. Of this form were tables, set in pillars on feet; as Archbishop Sewal's, in York cathedral, A. D. 1258."

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The *fourth form* is mentioned under the head of *tombs with testoons*, or arches over them.—The *testoon*, or *tester*, was designed to shield from dust, or other descending injurious matter, the costly sculpture and various ornaments of splendid table, or altar, monuments. This protecting coverlet was probably first introduced about the beginning of the 14th century, when the arts connected with monumental commemoration emerged from long obscurity, and met with much encouragement from the first Edward. The earliest testoons were flat, and in a straight line;* as, indeed, were many, even down to the 15th century; but an improvement soon occurred, in the substitution of the arch, for this weighty flatness, and straight formality of outline. "The obtuse point of the arch was usually decorated, at top, with foliage-work, all the way up the sides, and a large fleur de foliage over the summit; and images of the wife, children, and other relations of the party, together with saints, or sovereigns, and benefactors, about the table, on the sides; and much painting and gilding were now bestowed on the sculpture, though of marble, or copper."—Instances of this description of monument, erected in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, may be seen in many cathedral, and other churches.

The *fifth form* of tombs, according to the arrangement of Mr. Johnson, involves the curious subject of *sepulchral chapels*. The rise of these he traces to the inconvenience proceeding from the augmentation, in size and number, of those tombs surmounted with arches of stone, which succeeded to the first monuments protected by testoons, or testers. The chief information conveyed by his remarks, may be expressed in the following terms:—When the arched monuments were so much enlarged, as to incumber, and take up too much room, even in the most spacious cathedral and conventual churches, a method was devised for palliating

* Instances of the early testoon may be seen in many royal and noble monuments. It is observed by Mr. Gough, "that the testers of Henry the Third; Eleanor; Philippa; and Richard the Second; are of wood, painted with the Deity, saints, and angels, on their ceiling."

palliating the inconvenience, by annexing chapels to such monuments; "having doors out of the side aisles of the churches, and being open to the church, only secluded by iron work." But these, again, produced fresh deformities; "having an extraordinary ill effect, and spoiling the view on the outside." In chapels of this description, lie King Henry the Fifth, at Westminster; King Edward the Fourth at Windsor; and Bishop Russell, and Archbishop Longland, in Lincoln cathedral.

"But those great men," continues Mr. Johnson, "avoided this error, and well consulted for, and increased the beauty of these venerable piles, who added such chapels for the reception of themselves, and their relations, or friends, at the *east end* of them; that division from the cross aisle being much too short for the nave, and well admitting it. Thus, King Henry the Seventh's sumptuous chapel, added to Westminster Abbey, greatly increases the beauty of that pile. Sometimes the effect is well enough when running parallel in the choir, as that of Humphrey, the good Duke of Gloucester, at St. Alban's; the sumptuous chapel of Richard Beauchamp, at Warwick; and of Arthur, prince of Wales, at Worcester."

From the above remarks we perceive that sepulchral chapels were not always additions to the outline of a building, but were sometimes distinct erections within the church.* In most of these chapels, however situated, mass was celebrated, in honour of a patron saint, whose image was placed at the head, over the tomb; and they were endowed with masses for the soul of the deceased.

The *sixth form* consists of the monumental stone, *inlaid with brass*. Such monuments are well known to be extremely common; and the brasses are, sometimes, elaborately worked and highly wrought.

The age at which inscriptions in brass were first introduced,
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* Such are the chapels of Bishop Wykeham, at Winchester; and Edward the Black Prince, at Canterbury.

is a subject of interesting enquiry. Mr. Lethieullier * observes, "that either avarice, or an over-zealous aversion to some words in the inscription, has robbed most grave-stones of the brass which adorned them, and left the less room for certainty when this fashion began." The same antiquary had neither seen, nor read, of many brasses earlier than the 14th century; and concludes his remarks in the following words: "Upon the whole, where we have not a positive date, I should hardly guess any brass plate I met with to be older than 1360; and few so old. But, from about 1380, they grew in common use; and remained so, even to King James the First's time. Only, after the reign of Edward the Sixth, we find the old Gothic square letter changed into

* *Archæol.* Vol. II. p. 297.—Brasses are so easy of removal, that, being of a determinate, although small, value, they have experienced great depreciation. The agents of reformation, in the 16th century, seized, as testimonials of popery, every article that could be converted into money. Many instances of the sale of monumental brasses, at the dissolution of religious houses, are presented in the preface to "*Sepulchral Monuments*," p. 120; and more may be seen in different county-histories.

In commissions issued by Edward the Sixth, the visitors of respective counties are explicitly directed "to sell by weight all parcels, or pieces, of metal, except the metal of the great bell and saint bell." This cruel permission remained in force (although suspended during the reign of Mary) until that proclamation of Queen Elizabeth which forbade such "slandorous desolations," under severe penalties (see the proclamation, in *Fuller's Church History*, Cent. 16, Book 9, p. 66.)

Considering that such acts of spoliation were legally sanctioned for several years, it is surprising that so many fine and *weighty* brasses were spared.

The contumelious fanatics of the 17th century, wrested, with a ruffian-hand, the brass from many stones which the reverential feeling of the reformers had suffered to remain.

It is well known that the same religious bigots committed many injuries on monuments which contained no brass. In regard to paintings on glass, it will be remembered that they were sometimes prevailed on to rest contented with merely destroying the head of the saint, or other memorable personage, represented on a window. Many instances will probably occur to the reader, in which transparent glass is now substituted for the part then demolished.

into the Roman round hand; and the phrase *Orate pro anima*, universally omitted."

It appears, however, that monumental inscriptions, inlaid in brass, are of higher antiquity than is supposed by the above writer. Mr. Gough* adduces several instances of brasses in the thirteenth century. "The capital letters, whether Saxon or Gothic, or a mixture of both, occur about the close of that century, and continue through the reigns of the three Edwards, at least. These letters were cut deep in the stone; and brass, or lead, poured into them; which having been picked, or worn out, the cavities retain a bold and legible impression in many parish churches in Hertfordshire, and elsewhere." But the traces of inscriptions in metal, of an earlier date than the 14th century, are quite ruinous and obscure. The oldest sepulchral brass, entire and well-preserved, that had fallen under the inspection of Mr. Gough, was of the year 1308.† In consequence of the lateness of the ages in which brasses came into use, we rarely meet with cross-legged figures in monumental decorations composed of that metal.

The *seventh form* comprises all *monuments*, either let into, or fixed against, the walls, or pillars, of churches. This practice appears to have chiefly grown into use since the reformation. In many of these monuments, erected in the time of Edward the Sixth, and the three succeeding reigns, we find the same strange and discordant mixture of the Grecian with the ancient English mode of architecture, that was frequent in sacred and domestic edifices.

The *eighth form*, Mr. Johnson describes as consisting of *detached buildings*, erected to preserve the remains of the dead, or their memory. Such detached erections are not very frequent in this country. As instances, may be noticed the spacious and costly buildings at Castle Howard, Yorkshire; and at Brocklesby park,

* Sepulchral Mon. Vol. I. Introduction, p. 6.

† Ibid. p. 101.

park, Lincolnshire; both of which are described in the *Beauties of England*.*

In some instances of ancient monumental commemoration, the *locality* of interment is an object deserving of attention.—The *porch* appears to have been a spot frequently appropriated to the sepulture of the founder of a religious structure.—Thus we are told that Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and his countess Godiva, were buried in the porches of the abbey church at Coventry, which they had founded. According to Mr. Pennant, it was a customary act of devotion “for all persons, on their entrance into churches and religious houses, to pray for the souls of the founders and benefactors.”† The observations of Mr. Pennant are too often amusing, rather than instructive. We are not informed of his authority for the above remark; but it is certain that many ceremonies of the ancient religion were performed in the porches of churches; and that such parts of the structure were formerly regarded with peculiar reverence.‡ The image of the virgin, or patron-saint, which was often placed over the porch, might, perhaps, add a fanciful sanctity to this division of the building.

Although there are several instances in which founders and benefactors were buried in the church porch, we are not, as is observed by Mr. Gough, to suppose that every ancient slab, now to be seen in such a situation, is in its original place; “as many circumstances have occasioned the removal of such monuments.”

The heads of religious houses were commonly buried in their chapter-houses, or their cloisters; and rectors, or vicars, in the close vicinity of the altar, or in the chancel of the church to which they belonged. Chaplains and chantry priests were usually buried in their respective chapels. “Lords of manors, patrons, and founders were often interred in the chancel; and
sometimes,

* *Beauties for Yorkshire*, p. 261; and for Lincolnshire, p. 686.

† *Tour in Wales*, Vol. I. p. 245.

‡ *Vide ante*, p. 269, *note*.

sometimes, though not so frequently, within the rails." The monuments of founders were likewise placed beneath an arch, inserted in the north or south wall. Mr. Gough observes that "there is pretty good authority for referring those monuments, whose situation within the substance of the walls of churches, or chancels, makes it highly probable that they must have been coeval with them, to founders, or refounders, of the several churches, or parts of churches, where they are seen. Of this, the churches in Hertfordshire and Essex afford many instances."*

It would seem likely that the *cumbent figure* on tombs, originated in the figures carved in low relief on the lids of coffins. These were often half-lengths, or heads and feet, or heads only. But it is observable that such partial figures are not, invariably, of high antiquity.†

The following remarks, by Mr. Gough, are equally useful and interesting.—"A curious question arises, as to how far the effigies on tombs are to be considered as *portraits*. That this is the case on our regal monuments, there seems no doubt. They discover a superiority of style which bespeaks resemblance. This may hold, also, with respect to particular monuments of lords, or prelates, after the 13th century. Dr. Stukeley thought all the statues of Queen Eleanor copies of each other, and of her real features. The same may be said of many elegant statues on the fronts, or sides, of churches; and Hearne affirms that the Virgin Mary was copied from the Queens of the time. But, in earlier ages, the knights, the crusaders, the abbots, and the bishops, are too uniform and rude, to mean any thing more than a human figure."‡

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* Sepulchral Mons. Vol. I. Introduction, p. 88.

† See several exceptions to the usual high antiquity of such figures noticed in Gough's Sepulchral Mons. Vol. I. Introduction, p. 97.

‡ Ibid.—The material of which such statues were composed was chiefly stone, of various kinds. Figures in alabaster are also frequent. Mr. Gough remarks that effigies formed of various marbles seem to have grown into disuse after the thirteenth century. Cumbent figures continued in fashion until late in the 17th century.

It is observed by Mr. Gough, that, "among the innumerable instances of figures on tombs, very few variations of *attitude* occur." From different pages of the same writer, in conjunction with the other authorities used in forming this article, may, however, be collected the following useful particulars of intelligence.

Prelates are sometimes distinguished by lifting up the right hand, and extending the two first fingers, to give the benediction; though they, as frequently, have their hands joined and elevated.

Although, in early monuments, the character of the figure is usually destitute of animation, some few attitudes are varied to a comparative degree of lightness and elegance; as those of some knights in the Temple church, and other places, who are described in the attitude of drawing their swords.

Figures sculptured in the sixteenth century, often "support their head in the right hand: an attitude taken from the Greek and Roman monuments."

Instances of the lady being placed at the right hand of the man, are not so unusual as has been supposed by some writers. Dr. Salmon accounts for this circumstance, by presuming that the lady was an heiress. This, however, is scarcely of uniform application. Mr. Gough observes that "Richard the Second's queen, at Westminster, takes the right hand of her husband; as, also, does Henry the Fourth's queen at Canterbury."

The kneeling attitude (except to the cross) does not appear to have been introduced, either on stone or brass, before the reformation. The infant in swaddling clothes, or in a cradle, was first represented on monuments, at the same date.

Figures on tombs, with the *legs crossed*, are well known to be of frequent occurrence; but the motive for placing them in that attitude is not correctly ascertained. An opinion formerly prevailed that all persons thus commemorated were of the order of Knights Templars. This persuasion, like many other fancies in regard to the customs of antiquity, has been discarded by those

who have carefully investigated the sources of popular opinion. We do not appear to have any direct authority for believing that the Knights Templars were, as members of that order, "buried in such an attitude," as is suggested by Mr. Lethieullier;* and it is certain that numerous cross-legged monumental figures commemorate persons who were neither templars nor hospitallers.

It is known that many of the persons thus peculiarly commemorated, had been engaged in the crusades of the eleventh and two succeeding centuries; and we may, thence, infer with safety, that, in other instances, where the history of the deceased is unknown, but where neither the habit nor badge of the Templars is displayed, the monuments were erected to persons distinguished by a share in the same romantic undertakings.

It is believed that the actual performance of the engagement was not necessary for this monumental distinction; but that the mere vow of bearing arms against the infidels who possessed the holy land was deemed sufficient. Whilst such enterprises were fashionable, a cross-legged effigies was, undoubtedly, considered an honour necessary to the preservation of dignity in every ancient family; and it appears that, at one period, if not at others, the Pope was willing to absolve reluctant crusaders from the performance of their vow, in the instance of their contributing a sum of money, to be administered for the benefit of the Christian cause, through his hands.

Persons who survived the order of templars, and the rage of the crusades, likewise appear to have been commemorated with the distinction of a cross-legged effigies. Many such instances are presented by Mr. Gough;† and this practice deserves especial remembrance with the topographical examiner.—It will not be forgotten

* *Archæol.* Vol. II p. 291—300.

† *Sepulchral Mons.* Vol. I. Introduction, &c. p. 96.—The first crusade was commenced in the year 1096; and the seventh and last in the year 1270. The Knights Templars were instituted A. D. 1118; and the order was dissolved, A. D. 1313.

forgotten that those who, by a lengthened life, would appear, on a comparison of dates, to be unconnected with the dissolved order, or the latest crusade, were sometimes honoured with a memorial of their former distinction, or religious zeal, by a monumental allusion to their early duties, engagements, or exploits.

Vows of repairing to the Holy Land, with a crusading purpose, were also made in years long subsequent to the actual prosecution of a crusade. Of this we have an instance in Sir Walter Malbyse, of the county of York, who mortgaged his estate, to raise money for a crusade, in the year 1366. A recollection of this circumstance will enable us to account for several cross-legged figures, on tombs of the latter part of the 14th century.*

It is probable that a vow of going to the Holy Land, in *pilgrimage*, also entitled a person to an effigy of this description. Such appears likely to have been the circumstance with females, who, in some few instances, are thus represented on their monuments. It is, however, known that many ladies attended their husbands in the expeditions of the crusaders. According to Mr. Grose,† such ladies had their *arms* crossed on their bosoms; but that writer was not enabled to present a specimen of such a practice.

Some persons went to the crusades as proxies for others; in which case it appears probable that both parties were represented by cross-legged figures.

At the feet of cumbent statues are frequently placed the representations of animals, as lions, bears, or dogs; or of imaginary chimeræ, as dragons and griffins. In many instances the figures so placed are the family supporters;‡ as was, perhaps, universally

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* A curious instance of a monumental figure of this description, erected in a much later age, is noticed in the *Beauties for Suffolk*, p. 404; where it is said that Sir Richard Jernegan, gentleman of the privy chamber to King Henry the Eighth, is "represented cross-legged, in imitation of the Knights Templars."

† Grose, *Addenda to Preface*, p. 31.

‡ Some instances are adduced by Mr. Gough, *Sepulchral Mons. Vol. I. Introduction*, p. 123, &c.

sally the case after the reformation: and, sometimes, they are rebuses of the name; as in the example of two hares at the feet of Bishop Harewell, at Wells.

Lions at the feet of effigies are explained by several writers as emblems of vigilance and courage; but Mr. Gough "doubts this etymology, and rather inclines to think the practice derived from an allusion to the words in Psalm XCi. 13. 'Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder; and the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.'

No animal is more frequently introduced than the dog. Although such an opinion is not sanctioned by many writers on the subject of sepulchral monuments, it is obvious to suppose that this animal might often be chosen on account of its reputation for watchfulness and fidelity. Mr. Gough suggests, that, when at the feet of ladies, they may only allude to their favourite lap-dogs; and he adds, "that knights, and nobles may have them at their feet as the companions of their sports, or as symbols of their rank. The greyhound is introduced in pictures of ceremonies, from the Bayeux tapestry, to the Champ de drap d'or."*

The custom of placing sculptured animals at the feet of monumental statues, was not abandoned before the middle of the 17th. century. One of the latest instances occurs in the monument of Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, who died A. D. 1645.

Monumental figures *carved in wood*, and of full-length proportions, are sometimes seen, though not frequently. The use of this material has not been proved to ascertain the age at which the monument was erected. That some, however, are of considerable antiquity is evident from the cross-legged attitude in which the figures are represented.

"The oldest funeral inscriptions, after those on stone cippi, were on leaden plates; of which that in Arthur's coffin may be deemed the earliest instance." Some few examples of this practice have been found, bearing date in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

* Sepulchral Mon. Vol. I. Introduction, p. 125.

centuries. It was customary, in the reign of Henry the Third, to fasten plates of lead, with inscriptions, *on the breasts* of the parties interred.

It is almost superfluous to remind the reader that the representation of the *cross* was not confined to the tombs of the religious by profession. The variety of monumental crosses, both in stone and brass, is exceedingly great. Four plates, containing curious specimens, reduced into classes, are presented by Mr. Gough.

Among the most remarkable monuments in English churches, may be noticed those which represent, on the upper story of an altar tomb, the deceased in the natural features of healthful life; and, in the lower compartment, reveal the mournful figure of an enshrouded skeleton, or emaciated, decaying, human body. These monuments have given rise to many idle tales with modern vergers and sextons, and to some conjectures, equally idle, among persons likely to possess superior intelligence. But it is evident that they are merely intended to exhibit, with instructive emphasis, the change of appearance effected by the common lot of mortality. Such moral, but dreary, sculptural devices were chiefly raised to ecclesiastics.

The following observations are selected from the Addenda to Mr. Grose's preface, (compared with Mr. Lethieullier's remarks, and those of Mr. Gough, on which they are chiefly founded) as they may, in some measure, assist the examiner in ascertaining the age of obscure sepulchral vestiges:

" Those monuments ornamented with circular and intersecting arches, are usually of greater antiquity than those having pointed ones, described by the intersection of two circles; and these are more ancient than those low pointed arches described from four centres; the latter being scarcely older than the reign of King Henry the Seventh.

" In figures of armed knights, those with the mail armour, and cylindrical helmets flat at the top, are always older than those with plate armour and a head-piece, having a visor and

bever. The radiating hair, curling inwards towards the head, is a mark of a monument of the 13th or 14th century.

" A monument adorned with armorial bearings cannot be older than the latter end of the eleventh century, as arms were not used in England before that period. Mr. Gale says, not before the year 1147; Mr. Edmonson places the introduction of them before the commencement of the tenth century: the medium as stated above may, perhaps, be nearer the truth than either.

" The first instance of quartering arms by any subject, was given by John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, following the example of King Edward the Third;* therefore monuments adorned with different quarterings must be posterior to that period.

" Monuments, with supporters to coats of arms, mark them to have been erected since the time of King Richard the Second, that prince being the first who used them.

" Till the time of Henry the Third, the heads of the peers were not adorned with coronets. John of Eltham, second son of King Edward the Second, who died A. D. 1334, and is buried in Westminster Abbey, has on a coronet with leaves, and is the most ancient of its kind.

" Where the arms of France contain only three fleurs de lis, or lilies, the monument has been erected since the reign of King Henry the Fifth; before that time they were semé with those flowers.

" Those monuments on which the heads of the cumbent figures are supported by pillows, or cushions, are prior to the 16th century; after that period, mats were represented as used for that purpose."†

Amongst

* Mr. Gough (on the authority of Habington, MS. in Nash's Worcester-shire, II. 143.) observes that few persons in England quartered arms before A. D. 1388.

† Addenda to Grose's preface to his *Antiquities of England and Wales*.—The well-known "Rules for sepulchral monuments," given in *Anselme's Palais de l'Honneur*, and often reprinted by English authors, would greatly

Amongst the curious remains of ages disfigured by religious bigotry, SHRINES hold a conspicuous place. These have been concisely defined as the *sepulchres of the saints*; and, as such, they were at once ornamental and profitable to a religious establishment.

It will be recollected that canonization had virtually its rise in Pagan Rome; and was a remote offspring of that disgusting policy, and tyranny over the prostrate human intellect, which induced the deification of the Roman emperors. The first Christian saint is supposed to have been Suibert, canonized by Leo the Third, in the 9th century; and the last Englishman thus distinguished (according to Fuller) was Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford, who died in 1282.

The bones and other reliques of canonized persons were exhibited by the religious, as objects deserving of reverence—and of rich offerings. *Shrines* were provided for the reception of these remains; and the sanctified fragments were carried in procession, on marked days, for the amazement of such of the vulgar as were poor, and for the allurement of such as were affluent.

It would appear, that, by the term shrine, we are to understand the fixed monument of the saint, which was usually placed above (i. e. behind) the high altar. This was an erection of considerable magnificence, and generally of rich stone-work, enclosing the body, or other reliques, of the respective saint. The enclosed and portable parts of shrines, containing the bones and reliques, were denominated *Feretra*;* and these were carried in

2 M 4

procession,

greatly assist in enabling the examiner to ascertain the intention of any variety in the attitude, or disposal, of monumental figures of the chivalric ages, if their fidelity could be relied on. But it is believed that if those rules were, in fact, ever observed, their operation was confined to the continent.

* It is observed by Mr. Gough (*Sepulchral Mon.* Vol. II. Introduction, p. 194,) that "we should carefully distinguish between feretories, containing the whole body, and portable only on anniversaries of the saints, or grand occasions; and shrines, though sometimes called *feretra*, portable, and made

procession, on the anniversary of the saint's day and on other grand celebrations.

Some of the principal shrines now remaining (although divested of their feretories, and more solid treasures) are those of Edward the Confessor, at Westminster; Bishop Cantilupe, at Hereford; of St. David, (now ruinous) in the cathedral of St. David's; of St. Werburgh, (mutilated) at Chester; and of St. Frideswide, at Oxford. These are costly monuments of stone, with the exception of St. Frideswide's, the material of which is wood.

The portable part of the shrine was, indeed, often enclosed by an encasement of wood; as in the instance of Becket's shrine at Canterbury, where we are told "the wooden case, being drawn up by cords, discovered one of gold, whose riches were incalculable. Gold was the least valuable article amid the display and lustre of rare jewels; some of so large dimensions as to exceed a goose's egg."*

The modes of revealing the shrine of a saint, and of receiving offerings on ordinary occasions, are shewn in the following passage respecting the shrine of St. Cuthbert, at Durham.—

"Among

made of wood, and covered with enamelled plates of metal of various, and small proportions, and containing a single relique of a particular saint, or various reliques of different ones."—These latter shrines may, with propriety, be denominated *reliquaries*; and were generally placed round the upper and high altar of the church to which they appertained. One of these, formerly in the possession of Mr. Astle, is engraved in the *Vetusta Monumenta*.

* Sepulchral Mons. Vol. II. Introduction, p. 183—4. We may readily suppose that the gems, and other valuables, appertaining to shrines, were greatly over-rated by ordinary observers. Dart, describing the shrine of Edward the Confessor, observes that "over the stone-work is a frame of wainscot, said in times past to have been curiously plated with gold, and adorned with precious stones; the frame is very neat and regular, but seems never to have been covered; and as for the jewels that adorned it, they are still there; for, on the pilasters between the arches, is a kind of mosaic work of stained glass, a customary ornament at that time." Dart's History of St. Peter's Westminster, Vol. II. p. 24.

* Among the officers of the church were a master and keeper of the feretory, who was also vice prior; and when any men of honour or worship were disposed to offer their petitions to God and St. Cuthbert, or to offer at his shrine, if they requested to have it drawn, or to see it, the clerk of the feretory gave notice to his master, who brought the keys of the shrine, giving them to his clerk to open it; his office was to stand by and see it drawn. It was always drawn up in mattins time, when *Te Deum* was singing; or in high mass time, or at evening song, when *Magnificat* was sung; and when they had made their prayers, and did offer any thing, if it were gold, silver, or jewels, it was instantly hung on the shrine; and if it was any other thing, as a unicorn's horn, elephant's tooth, or such like, it was hung within the feretory, at the end of the shrine; and, when their prayers were ended, the clerk let down the cover thereof, and looked it at every corner, returning the keys to the vice prior."*

It is said by Dart,† "that the customs in enshrining were very different. Sometimes the coffin was placed level with the surface of the earth; sometimes upon it; and sometimes IN ALTUM. The first was for men of exemplary piety, who had suffered no more for religion than what self-denial, self-imposed severities and abstinence required; the other for men of more early example, and was first a custom, as in the case of *Cuthbert* before he was sainted, and others, but afterwards grew a favour to saints of the second rank; the elevated body was usually for such who had suffered martyrdom for religion."—It must, however, be observed that no ancient authorities are given for the above assertions.

It is found impracticable to present in these pages such an examination of the fashions prevailing at different periods, in regard to armour and attire, as might assist the topographer in
researches

* Rites of Durham, p. 117, 118, &c.

† Hist. of St. Peter's Westminster, Vol. II. p. 24.

researches amongst the sepulchral monuments of England and Wales. This is to be regretted, as the figures on such monuments may be deemed, for several ages previous to the familiar use of the art of painting, the historical portraits of our ancestry; and are, as such, the clear, though unintended, chronicles of the modes of dress prevailing at their respective dates. An attempt towards the performance of such a task would be *useless* and contemptible, if not full at every point. Restrained, by the unavoidable limits of the work, from presenting comprehensive and satisfactory remarks on this subject, it is the duty of the writer (as the best substitute for detailed intelligence) to remind the reader of the places in which the desired information may be obtained.

The principal annalists of Great Britain were merely the chroniclers of battles, the registrars of royal births and deaths, and the investigators of political intrigue, until Dr. Henry arose, to shew that the people, and the progress of arts, customs, and manners, were entitled to a large share of the historian's notice. In the judicious "History of Great Britain," written by Dr. Henry, are presented some remarks on the modes of dress prevailing amongst the inhabitants of this island, from the earliest period to the latest on which he treats. His dissertations are well-adapted to the purpose of general history, but are not sufficiently precise and minute for the gratification of the antiquarian reader.

The observations of Mr. Granger, in his "Biographical history of England," are still less satisfactory: a deficiency which is almost reprehensible, when his numerous opportunities of intelligence are duly considered.

Mr. Strutt affords some judicious, but limited remarks.*

Each of these writers preceded Mr. Gough; and all are rendered of secondary importance by his great work on "Sepulchral Monuments." In the magnitude of such an undertaking
many

* In works noticed in the List of Books appended to these pages.

many errors must necessarily occur; but, for a rich fund of information concerning all the varieties of regal ornaments, and those appertaining to the nobility; armour, and knightly appendages; fashions in apparel, and the numerous circumstances relating to dress, as exhibited in monumental sculpture; the reader is referred, with confidence, to the introductory discourses prefixed to the first and second volumes of Mr. Gough's valuable publication. Detailed examples of each custom, there stated in general terms, are afforded by the monuments illustrated and described in the body of the work.

In concluding these ANTIQUARIAN SKETCHES, it would appear that the writer cannot do better than to apply to each section the tenour of the preceding paragraphs. He has endeavoured to compress within determinate limits as much information as was attainable; and where the subject under discussion required more extended or minute remarks, he has availed himself of the research connected with his labours, to direct the attention of the reader to more elaborate and fertile sources of intelligence.

END OF THE INTRODUCTION.

A LIST

OF

THE PRINCIPAL BOOKS WHICH TREAT ON THE TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES OF ENGLAND COLLECTIVELY; AND OF WORKS ILLUSTRATING THE PROGRESS OF THE ARTS MOST IMPORTANT IN TOPOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES, AND OTHERWISE AFFORDING MATERIALS TO THE LOCAL HISTORIAN.

. Lists of such Books as are illustrative of the History and Antiquities of WALES in general, are appended to the 17th and 18th volumes of this work.

CATALOGUES OF TOPOGRAPHY.

THE ENGLISH TOPOGRAPHER; or, An Historical Account (as far as can be collected from printed Books and Manuscripts) of all the Pieces that have been written relating to the Antiquities, Natural History, or Topographical Description of any Part of England. Alphabetically digested, and illustrated with the Draughts of several very curious old Seals, exactly engraven from their respective Originals. By an impartial Hand. (Dr. RAWLINSON.) *Octavo*. Lond. 1720.

Bibliotheca Topographica Anglicana: A Catalogue of Books on English Topography, by JO. WORRALL. *Duodecimo*. Lond. 1736.

British Topography: or an Historical Account of what has been done for illustrating the Topographical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland. In Two Volumes. By RICHARD GOUGH, Esq. With Plates. *Quarto*. Lond. 1780.

Catalogue of the Books relating to British Topography, and Saxon and Northern Literature, bequeathed to the Bodleian Library in the Year 1799, by RICHARD GOUGH, Esq. F. S. A. *Quarto*. Oxford, 1814.

Catalogue of Books relating to the History and Topography of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. By Sir RICHARD COLT HOARE, Bart. Compiled from his Library at Stourhead, Wiltshire. *Octavo*. London: Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. 1815.

. The impression of this valuable work is restricted to Twenty-five.

A Bibliographical Account of the Principal Works relating to English Topography, (being a complete collation of each volume: stating the quantity of Letter Press, Lists of the Plates and of such Pedigrees as are not incorporated in the Letter press, and intended as a guide to Collectors of Works on the Antiquities and Local History of England.) By WILLIAM UPcott, of the London Institution. In Three Volumes. *Octavo*. Lond. 1818.

Lives of Topographers and Antiquaries who have written concerning the Antiquities of England, with (Twenty-six) Portraits of the Authors, and a complete List of their Works, so far as they relate to the Topography of this Kingdom; together with a List of Portraits,

Portraits, Monuments, Views, and other Prints contained in each Work; with Remarks that may enable the Collector to know when the Works are complete. By J. P. MALCOLM, Esq. F. S. A. *Quarto*. Lond. 1815.

INDICES VILLARES, GAZETTEERS, ETC.

The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine; presenting an exact Geography of the Kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Isles adjoining; with the Shires, Hundreds, Cities, and Shire-Townes within the Kingdome of England, divided and described by JOHN SPEED. *Folio*. Lond. 1611, or 1650.

Villare Anglicum; or, A View of the Towns of England, Collected by the Appointment of Sir HENRY SPELMAN, Knt. *Quarto*. Lond. 1656, or 1678.

* * * Inserted in Gibson's Edition of Spelman's English Works.

A Book of the Names of all the Parishes, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and smallest Places in England and Wales, alphabetically set down as they be in every Shire; with the Names of the Hundreds in which they are, and how many Towns there are in every Hundred; with Maps of the Counties, by JACOB VAN LAUGEREN. *Small Quarto*. Lond. 1657; republished in 1668.

Index Villaris; or, An Exact Register, alphabetically digested, of all the Cities, Market Towns, Parishes, Villages, the Hundred, Lath, Rape, Ward, Wapentake, or other Division of each County; the Bishoprick, Deaneries, Churches, Chappels, Hospitals, with the Rectories and Vicarages in England and Wales, and their respective Valuations in the King's Books. The private Seats of the King, Nobility, Gentry, &c. By JOHN ADAMS, of the Inner Temple. The Third Edition; with a Map. *Folio*. 1700.

Dictionarium Anglia Topographicum et Historicum; An Alphabetical Description of the chief Places in England and Wales; with an Account of the most memorable Events which have distinguished them. By the celebrated Antiquary WILLIAM LAMBARDE, formerly of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. and Author of "The Perambulation of Kent." Now first published from a Manuscript under the Author's own Hand. *Portrait by Vertue. Quarto*. Lond. 1730.

England's Gazetteer; or An Accurate Description of all the Cities, Towns, and Villages of the Kingdom. In three volumes. Vol. I. and II. contain a Dictionary of the Cities, Corporations, Market Towns, and the most noted Villages, their distance from London, with their distance or bearing from the next market town, or well known place. Vol. III. a new Index Villaris, or alphabetical register of the less noted villages. This work includes all the chief harbours, bays, forests, hills, mines, medicinal springs, moors, and other curiosities both of nature and art; and not only takes notice of most of the manors and seats in the kingdom, both ancient and present; but also points out the old military ways, camps, castles, and other remarkable ruins of Roman, Danish, and Saxon antiquity: and particularly shews the estates that were formerly Abbey-land.

land. In Three Volumes. By Stephen Whatley. Lond. 1750—1, *Duodecimo*.

In the Gent. Mag. Feb. 1768, is a two-page view of all the counties of England and Wales; with the archbishopricks and bishopricks, and their valuation; the circumference, acres, hundreds, parishes, market towns, number of houses, members, chief town, latitude longitude, distance from London, market days, air, soil, and rivers.

The Complete Gazetteer of England and Wales; or, an accurate Description of all the Cities, Towns, and Villages in the Kingdom; shewing their Situations, Manufactures, Trades, Market, Fairs, Customs, Privileges, Principal Buildings, Charitable and other Foundations, &c. and their distances from London: with a Descriptive Account of every County, their Boundaries, Extent, Natural Produce, &c. including the Chief Harbours, Bays, Rivers, Canals, Forests, Mines, Hills, Vales, and Medicinal Springs; with other curiosities both of Nature and Art, pointing out the Military Ways, Camps, Castles, and other remains of Roman, Danish, and Saxon Antiquity. Two Volumes. Lond. 1775." *Duodecimo*.

England's Gazetteer: by PHILIP LUCKOMBE. Three Volumes. *Duodecimo*. Lond. 1790.

An Account of the several Cities and Market Towns in England and Wales; describing the Antiquities, Curiosities, and Manufacture carried on at each Place, the Days that the Markets are kept on, the number of Parliament men sent from each City, &c. and the computed and measured miles from London, alphabetically digested. *Octavo*. London: printed for S. Bladon.

A New Index Villaris for England and Wales. *Quarto*. Lond. 1804.

A Topographical Dictionary of England; exhibiting the names of the several Cities, Towns, Parishes, Tythings, Townships, and Hamlets, with the County and Division of the County, to which they respectively belong. The Valuation and Patrons of Ecclesiastical Benefices and the Tutelary Saint of each Church.—The resident Population, according to the Returns made to Parliament in 1801; and the Amount of the Parochial Assessments, according to the Returns made to Parliament, in 1803.—The Distance and Bearing of every Place from the nearest Post Office, and from the County Town.—Market and Fairs.—Members of Parliament, and Corporations.—Free Schools.—Petty Sessions, and Assizes.—To which is added Miscellaneous Information respecting Monastic Foundations, and other matters of Local History. Collected from the most Authentic Documents, and arranged in Alphabetical Order. In Two Volumes. By NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London. *Quarto*. Lond. 1808.

Gazetteer of England and Wales; containing the Statistics, Agriculture, and Mineralogy of the Counties; the History, Antiquities, Curiosities, Manufactures, Trade, Commerce, Fairs, Markets, Charitable and other Institutions; Population and Elective Franchises

chises of the Cities, Towns, and Boroughs; including a complete *Index Villaris*, with the Bearings and Distance of each Village and Mansion from the nearest Market Town. Illustrated by two large Maps, descriptive of the Roads and inland Navigation. By THOMAS PORTS. *Octavo*. Lond. 1810.

A Topographical Dictionary of the United Kingdom; compiled from Parliamentary and other authentic Documents and Authorities; containing Geographical, Topographical, and Statistical Accounts of every District, Object, and Place in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and the various small Islands dependant on the British Empire. Accompanied by Forty-six Maps drawn purposely for this Work on an original Plan. By BENJAMIN PITTS CAPPER, Esq. *Octavo*. Lond. 1813.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

The Description of Britayne and Ireland, taken out of the Policonicon, finished (by Caxton) 18 Aug. 1480, 20 Edw. IV. A little Folio Tract at the end of Caxton's "Chronicles of England."

Historical Description of the Island of Brittain; with a Briefe rehearsal of the Nature and Qualities of the People of England, and such Commodities as are to be found in the same; comprehended in three books and written by W. H. (William Harrison,) Chaplain to Sir William Brook, Lord-Warden of the Cinque-Ports; prefixed to both Editions of Holinshed's Chronicle, 1577 and 1587, *Folio*.

BRITANNIA: sive florentissimorum Regnorum, Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, et Insularum adjacentium ex intima Antiquitate Chorographia Descriptio. Authore GUL. CAMDENO. Lond. 1586 and 1587. *Octavo*.—Reprinted in *Quarto* in 1590, 1594, and 1600. —In *Folio*, at London, in 1607, and at Amsterdam in 1648 and 1659.

Britain: or A Chorographical Description of the most flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and the Islands adjoining, out of the Depth of Antiquity; beautified with Maps of the several Shires of England. Written first in Latin by William Camden, and translated into English by PHILEMON HOLLAND, Dr. in Physic. *Folio*. Lond. 1610 and 1637.

Britannia: or, A Chorographical Description of Great Britain and Ireland, together with the adjacent Islands. Written in Latin by WILLIAM CAMDEN, Clarenceux King at Arms; and translated into English, with Additions and Improvements, by EDMUND GIBSON, D.D. late Lord Bishop of London. This Fourth Edition is printed from a Copy of 1722, left corrected by the Bishop for the Press. In Two Volumes. *Folio*. Lond. 1772.

* * * Originally printed in One Volume, folio, in 1695; in Two Volumes in 1722 and 1753.

Britannia: or, A Geographical Description of the flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Islands adjacent, from

from the earliest Antiquity. By WILLIAM CAMDEN. Translated from the Edition published by the Author in MDCVII. Enlarged by the latest Discoveries by RICHARD GOUGH, F. A. and R. S. S. In Three Volumes. Illustrated with Maps and other Copper-plates. *Folio*. Lond. 1789.—Reprinted in Four Volumes in 1806.

A Discoverie of certaine Errours published in print in the much commended Britannia, 1594, very preiudicial to the Discentes and Successions of the auncient Nobilitie of this Realme. By RALPH BROOKE, Yorke Herault at Armes. To which are added the learned Mr. Camden's Answer to this Book; and Mr. Brooke's Reply. Now first published from an original Manuscript in the Library of John Anstis, Esq. Garter King at Arms. *Portrait of the Author, and the Monument of Camden*. *Quarto*. Lond. 1724. A satisfactory, and curious, account of Ralph Brooke's invidious publication is contained in the Life of Camden by Mr. Gough, prefixed to his edition of the Britannia.—Originally printed in 1599 in *Quarto*.

Descriptio Britannia, Scotiz, Hyberniz, et Orchadum, ex libro Pauli Jovii, episcopi Nucer. de Imperiis et Gentibus cogniti Orbis, cum ejus operis prohoemlo, ad Alexandrum Farnesium Card. amplius. *Quarto*. Venet. 1548, and Bas. 1561, *duodecimo*.

Magna Britannia Delicia seu Insularum et Regnorum quæ Magna Britannia nomine, et sereniss. Regis Jacobi, &c. imperio hodie comprehenduntur, Descriptio: ex variis auctoribus collecta, et reliquarum Europæ Nationum jam ante editis Deliciis addita. (Auctore GASP. EVS.) *Duodecimo*. Colon. 1613.

RUTGERI HERMANNIDÆ Britannia Magna, sive Angliæ, Scotiz, Hiberniz, et adjacentium Insularum Geographico-Historica Descriptio. *Duodecimo*. Amstel. 1661.

POLY-OLSION: or, A Chorographicall Description of all the Tracts, Rivers, Mountaines, Forests, and other Parts of this renowned Isle of Great Britaine; with Interimixture of the most remarkable Stories, Antiquities, Wonders, Rarities, Pleasures, and Commodities of the same. Digested in a Poem by MICHAELL DRAYTON, Esq. *Folio*. London: Printed for M. Lownes, J. Browne, J. Helme, J. Bushie, 1613. With a Frontispiece, whole-length Portrait of Henry, Prince of Wales, engraved by William Hole, and Maps.

To the Second Edition, 1622, were added Twelve Books, describing the East and North Parts of the Island. Reprinted in a folio Edition of Drayton's Works in 1748, and in an octavo Edition in Four Volumes, in 1753.

In Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, 1617, fol. Part III. Book III. c. 3, 4, 5, are descriptions of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in single chapters each. The last, with his History of the Affairs of Ireland from 1599 to 1603, was Reprinted at Dublin, 1735, in Two Volumes. *Octavo*.

The History of the Worthies of England. Endeavoured by THOMAS FULLER,

FULLER, D.D. With a Portrait of the Author, by D. Loggan. *Folio*. Lond. 1662.

An Abridgement and Continuation was published in octavo in 1684, intitled "Anglorum Speculum; or The Worthies of England in Church and State, by G. S."

* * * The original Work was reprinted in Two Volumes, quarto, in 1811, with a few explanatory Notes, by John Nichols, F.A.S.

In the Philosophical Transactions, No. 352, p. 589, and in the Proæmium of his "Belgium Britannicum," 1719, is Dr. William Musgrave's Latin Dissertation "de Britannia quondam pæne insula."

Magna Britannia et Hibernia, Antiqua et Nova: or A New Survey of Great Britain; wherein to the Topographical Account given by Mr. Cambden, and the late Editors of his Britannia, is added a more large History, not only of the Cities, Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes mentioned by them, but also of many other Places of Note, and Antiquities since discovered. Collected and composed by an impartial Hand. In Six Volumes. *Quarto*. Lond. in the Savoy, 1720—1731.

ENGLAND DESCRIBED: or The several Counties and Shires thereof briefly handled; some Things also premised, to set forth the Glory of this Nation. By EDWARD LEIGH, Esq. Master of Arts of Magdalen Hall, in Oxford. *Octavo*. Lond. 1659.

G. Hussey's "*Memorabilia Mundi*"; or, Choice Memoirs of the History and Description of the World, 1670, 12mo. is more than half employed in the Description of England and Ireland.

BRITANNIA: or, A Geographical Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Isles and Territories thereunto belonging. By RICHARD BLOME. *Folio*. Lond. 1672.

England's Remarques; giving an exact Account of the several Shires, &c. *Duodecimo*. 1678, 1682.

ANGLIA REDIVIVA; being a full Description of all the Shires, Cities, principal Towns and Rivers in England; with some useful Observations concerning what is most remarkable, whether in relation to their Antiquity, Situation, Buildings, Traffick, or Inhabitants. Collected by Mr. DUNSTAR. *Duodecimo*. Lond. 1699.

Britannia Baconica: or, the Natural Rarities of England, Scotland, and Wales, according as they are to be found in every Shire: historically related, according to the Precepts of the Lord Bacon; and the Causes of many of them philosophically attempted: by J. CHILDREY. *Small Octavo*. Lond. 1661.

Firma Burgi: or, An Historical Essay concerning the Cities, Towns, and Boroughs of England; taken from Records. By THOMAS MADOX, Esq. His Majesty's Historiographer. *Folio*. Lond. 1726.

British Curiosities in Art and Nature; giving an Account of Rarities both ancient and modern; viz. Monuments, Monasteries, Priors, Frieries, Nunneries, Colleges, Hospitals, Walls, Roman Camps, Garrisons, Highways, Coins, Altars, Urns, Pavements of Mosaic Work,

- Work, Temples, Churches, Bridges, Kings Palaces, Noblemen's Seats, &c. To which is added a very useful Scheme, containing a brief Account of the State of each County in England at one View, curiously engraved, and printed on a Sheet, to fold up or put in a Frame. *Duodecimo*. Lond. 1728.
- New Description of England and Wales, with the Adjacent Islands, &c. with many Historical and Critical Remarks, and a New and Correct set of Maps of each County, their Roads, and Distances; their Margins adorned with a great variety of very remarkable Antiquities, By HERMAN MOLL. *Folio*. 1724.
- New Survey of England; wherein the Defects of Camden are supplied, and the Errors of his Followers remarked; the Opinions of our Antiquaries compared; the Roman Military Ways traced; and the Station settled according to the Itinerary, without altering the Figures; with some Natural History of each County. By N. SALMON. In Two Volumes. *Octavo*. *Plates*. Lond. 1731.
- The Agreeable Historian; or Complete English Traveller; giving a Geographical Description of every County in Great Britain, with the Antiquities of the same. By SAMUEL SIMPSON. In Three Volumes. *Octavo*. Lond. 1746.
- The English Traveller, giving a Description of those Parts of Great Britain called England and Wales, &c. In Three Volumes, *12mo*. Printed for T. Reade, in Dogwell-court, White-Fryars, Fleet Street, 1746.
- In the First Volume of "A Complete System of Geography with Maps by E. BOWEN, in Two Volumes. *Folio*. 1747, is a Description of Great Britain and Ireland, with many particulars not usually inserted in such General Surveys.
- A New Description of all the Counties in England and Wales, the 6th Edition, 1752." *12mo*. principally for Roads, Carriages, and Fairs.
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Remains concerning Britaine: their Languages, Names, Surnames, Allusions, Anagrammes, Armories, Monies, Emprresses, Apparell, Artillarie, Wise Speeches, Proverbs, Poesies, and Epitaphs. Written by WILLIAM CAMDEN, Esq. Clarenceux King of Armes, surnamed the Learned. The Fifth Impression, with many rare Antiquities never before imprinted, by the Industry and Care of John Philpot, Somerset Herald. *Portrait. Quarto.* Lond. 1636, 1637.—The preceding Editions are 1614, 1623, 1629.

Archæologia Britannica; giving some Account additional to what has been hitherto published, of the Languages, Histories, and Customs of the original Inhabitants of Great Britain; from Collections and Observations in Travels through Wales, Cornwall, Bas-Bretagne, Ireland, and Scotland. By EDWARD LHYD, M.A. of Jesus College, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Vol. I. Glossography. *Folio.* Oxford, 1707.

Letters, Essays, and other Tracts illustrating the Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland; together with many curious Discoveries of the Affinity betwixt the Language of the Americans and the Ancient Britons to the Greek and Latin, &c.; also Specimens of the Celtic, Welsh, Irish, Saxon, and American Languages. By the Rev. Dr. MATCOLME. *Octavo.* Edinb. 1738, and Lond. 1744.

Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea: ex Autographis descripsit ediditque THO. HEARNIUS, A.M. Oxoniensis, qui et Appendicem subiecit, totumque Opus (in VI Volumina distributum) Notis et Indice adornavit. *Octavo.* Oxonii, 1715.—Reprinted in 1774.

Select Papers relating to English Antiquities, published from the Originals. By JOHN IVES. With Plates. *Quarto.* 1773.

Collectanea Curiosa; or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to the History and Antiquities of England and Ireland, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and a variety of other Subjects, chiefly collected, and now first published from the Manuscripts of Archbishop Sancroft; given to the Bodleian Library by the late Bishop Tanner. In Two Volumes. *Octavo.* Oxford, 1781.

An Account of the Ancient Division of the English Nation into Hundreds and Tithings. By GRANVILLE SHARP. *Octavo.* Lond. 1784.

Archæologia: or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. I-XVIII. *Quarto.* Lond. 1770—1816.

Index to the First Fifteen Volumes of *Archæologia*. Printed by Order of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 2d of March, 1809. By NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Secretary. *Quarto.* Lond. 1809.

Vetusta Monumenta: quæ ad Rerum Britannicarum Memoriam conservandam Societas Antiquariorum Londini sumptu suo eadenda curavit. Four Volumes. *Folio.* 1747, 1789, 1796, 1817.

An Index to the First Three Volumes of the *Vetusla Monumenta*.
By NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Secretary. *Folio*. Lond. 1810.

The ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY; A Miscellaneous Assemblage of
Topography, History, Biography, Customs, and Manners; intended
to illustrate and preserve several valuable Remains of old Times.
Chiefly compiled by or under the Direction of FRANCIS GROSE,
Esq. F.R. & A.S. THOMAS ASTLE, Esq. F.R. & A.S. and other
eminent Antiquaries. Adorned with numerous Views, Portraits,
and Monuments. A New Edition, with a great many valuable
Additions. In Four Volumes. *Quarto*. Lond. 1807, 1808, and
1809.

* * * Originally printed in Four Volumes quarto, in 1775.

Miscellanies, Antiquarian and Historical, by F. SAYERS, M. D.
Octavo. Norwich, 1805.

Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica: comprehending Antiquities in
various Counties in England and Wales. In Ten Volumes.
Edited by JOHN NICHOLS. F.A.S. *Quarto*. Lond. 1780—
1800.

The TOPOGRAPHER, for the Years 1789, 1790, and 1791; contain-
ing a variety of original Articles illustrative of the Local History
and Antiquities of England; particularly in the History and De-
scription of ancient and eminent Seats and Styles of Architecture;
in the Preservation of curious Monumental Inscriptions; in the Ge-
nealogies and Anecdotes of famous Families; in Disquisitions upon
remarkable Tenures, and in the Delineation of the Face of Coun-
tries. Embellished with Engravings. In Four Volumes. *Octavo*.
Lond. 1789—1791.

Topographer; containing a Variety of original Articles, illustrative
of the Local History and Antiquities of this Kingdom. With
Forty-two Plates. *Quarto*. Lond. 1791.

Topographical Miscellanies, (being a Continuation of the Topogra-
pher;) containing Ancient Histories, and Modern Descriptions, of
Mansions, Churches, Monuments and Families, with many En-
gravings, particularly of Ancient Architecture throughout Eng-
land. Vol. I. being portions of the History of Sussex, Kent, Hamp-
shire, Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, and
Derbyshire. With Plates. *Quarto*. Lond. 1792.

A Topographical Survey of the Counties of Hants, Wilts, Dorset,
Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, commonly called the Western
Circuit. Embellished with Maps of the several Counties, taken
from actual Surveys. By WILLIAM TUNNICLIFF, Land Surveyor.
Octavo. Salisbury, 1791.

A Restoration of the ancient Modes of bestowing Names on the
Rivers, Hills, Vallies, Plains, and Settlements of Britain; recorded
in no Author. Exemplified in the Derivations of Roman-British,
and later Denominations of Districts, Names of the principal
Towns, and Appellations of the Features of Nature; from which

nearly all the Explanations given to these Terms by Verstegan, Skinner, Vallancey, Bryant, Bortase, Whitaker, Pryce, Macpherson, and other Etymologists, are shewn to be unfounded. By G. DYER (of Exeter.) *Octavo*. Exeter; printed for the Author. 1805.

A General Account of all the Rivers of Note in Great Britain; with their several Courses, their peculiar Characters, the Counties through which they flow, and the entire Sea Coast of our Island; concluding with a minute Description of the Thames, and its various auxiliary Streams. By HENRY SKRINS, Esq. LL.B. of Warley in Somersetshire. *Octavo*. Lond. 1801.

Illustrations of the Manners, and Expences of ancient Times in England, in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries, deduced from the Accompts of Churchwardens and other authentic Documents, collected from various Parts of the Kingdom, with explanatory Notes. *Quarto*. Lond. 1797.

Fragments Antiquitatis: or Ancient Tenures of Land, and jocular Customs of Manors, originally published by THOMAS BLOUNT, Esq. of the Inner Temple; enlarged and corrected by JOSIAH BECKWITH, Gent. F.A.S.; with considerable Additions from authentic Sources by HERCULES MALLEBYSSÉ BECKWITH. *Quarto*. Lond. 1815.

* * * Originally printed in 1679, and reprinted in 1784, *octavo*.

Observations on Popular Antiquities; chiefly illustrating the Origin of our vulgar Customs, Ceremonies, and Superstitions. By JOHN BRAND, M.A. Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Arranged and revised, with Additions, by HENRY ELLIS, F.R.S. Sec. S.A. Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. In Two Volumes. *Quarto*. Lond. 1813.

* * * Originally printed in one volume *octavo*.

A Provincial Glossary; with a Collection of Local Proverbs and Popular Superstitions. By FRANCIS GROSE, Esq. F.A.S. *Octavo*. Lond. 1787.

The State of the Prisons in England and Wales; with preliminary Observations, and an Account of some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals. By JOHN HOWARD, F.R.S. The Third Edition. *Quarto*. Warrington, 1784.

State of Prisons in England, Scotland, and Wales, extending to various Places therein assigned, not for the Debtor only but for the Felons also, and other less criminal Offenders: Together with some useful Documents, Observations, and Remarks, adapted to explain and improve the Condition of Prisoners in general. By JAMES NEILD, Esq. *Quarto*. Lond. 1812.

ITINERARIES AND TOURS THROUGH PARTS OF ENGLAND.

The Laboryouse Journey and Serche of John Leylande, for Englandes Antiquities, geuen of hym as a newe years gyfte to Kynge Henry the

the viii. in the xxxvii. yeare of his Reygne, with Declaracyons enlarged; by JOHAN. BALE. *Duodecimo*. Lond. 1549.—Reprinted at Oxford in the Lives of Leland, Hearne, and Wood; in 1772; at the same Time a considerable Number were printed separately.

“The Peregrination of Dr. Andrew Boarde,” printed by Hearne at the end of *Benedictus Abbas*, 1735, p. 764, from a Copy in the Hand-Writing of Lawrence Noel, in the possession of T. Lambarde, of Sevenoak, Kent.

The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary. Published from the original MS. in the Bodleian Library by THOMAS HEARNE, M.A. In Nine Volumes. *Octavo*. Oxford, 1710—1712.—Reprinted at Oxford, in 1745 and 1768-9.

Itinerarium Germaniæ, Galliæ, Angliæ, Italiæ, scriptum a PAULO HENTZNERO; cum Indice Locorum, Rerum, atq. Verborum Memorabilium. *Quarto*. Breslæ, 1627.

A Journey into England. By PAUL HENTZNER, in the Year MDXCVIII. Printed at Strawberry Hill, 1757. *Duodecimo*. Reprinted at the private Press of T. E. Williams, Reading, 1807. Fifty copies only. *Quarto*.

Itineraria Symonis et Willielmi de Worcestre: quibus accedit Tractatus de Metro, in quo traduntur Regulæ a Scriptoribus mediæ ævi in Versibus Leoninis observatæ. E Codicibus MSS. in Bibliotheca Coll. Corp. Christi Cantab. asservatis primus eruit ediditque JACOBUS NASMITH, A.M.S.A.S. ejusdemque Collegii nuper Socius. Royal Octavo. Cantab. 1778.

Guyde for English Travailleurs, shewing in general how far one Citie and many Shire-Townes in England are distant from other; together with the Shires in particular, and the chiefe Townes in every of them. By JOHN NORDEN. *Folio*. Lond. 1625.

Select Remains (Itineraries and Letters) of the learned JOHN RAY, M.A.F.R.S.; with his Life, by the late William Derham, D.D. Canon of Windsor, and F.R.S. Published by GEORGE SCOTT, M.A. and F.R.S. Portrait. *Octavo*. Lond. 1760.

An Historical Account of Mr. Rogers's Three Years Travels over England and Wales; giving a true and exact Description of all the chiefest Cities, Towns, and Corporations in England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Twede; together with the Antiquities and Places of Admiration, Cathedrals, Churches of Note, in any City, Town, or Place in each County. With a Map. *Small Octavo*. Lond. 1694.—Reprinted in 1697.

* * * A surreptitious copy of Brome's Travels,—Gough.

Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales; giving a true and exact Description of the chiefest Cities, Towns, and Corporations: together with the Antiquities of divers other Places, the most famous Cathedrals, and other eminent Structures; of several remarkable Gaves and Wells; with many other diverting Passages never before

fore published. By JAMES BROME, M.A. Rector of Cheriton in Kent. *Octavo*. Lond. 1726.—Originally printed in 1700.

Itinerarium Curiosum: or, An Account of the Antiquities and remarkable Curiosities in Nature and Art, observed in Travels through Great Britain. Illustrated with Copper-plates. By WILLIAM STUKELEY, M.D.F.R. and A.S. The Second Edition, with large Additions. In Two Volumes. *Folio*. Lond. 1776. Originally printed in One Volume in 1724, and reprinted in Two Volumes in 1817.

▲ *Voyage to England*; containing many Things relating to the State of Learning, Religion, and other Curiosities of that Kingdom, by Mons. SORBIERE; as also Observations on the same Voyage, by Dr. THOMAS SPRAT, F.R.S. and now Lord Bishop of Rochester. Translated from the French. *Octavo*. Lond. 1709.

Drunken Barnaby's Four Journeys to the North of England, in Latin and English Metre. First Edition (circa 1640) with Frontispiece by Marshall: reprinted in 1716, 1723, 1774, and 1805. *Duodecimo*.

▲ *Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain*, divided in Circuits or Journeys; giving a particular and diverting Account of whatever is curious and worth Observation; with useful Observations upon the whole. (By DANIEL DEFOE.) In Three Volumes. *Octavo*. Lond. 1724-7. Originally printed in One Volume, *octavo*, 1714.—An Eighth Edition, with large Additions, by Samuel Richardson, Printer, and the Rev. Mr. Kimber. was published in Four Volumes 12mo. in 1777.

The Comical Pilgrim's Travels through England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. *Octavo*. Lond. 1722.

Journey through England and Scotland. By JO. MACKAY. In Three Volumes. *Octavo*. Lond. 1722-3.

▲ *Tour through Parts of England, Scotland, and Wales*, in 1778; in a Series of Letters, by RICHARD JOSEPH SULLIVAN, Esq. Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. In Two Volumes. *Octavo*. 1785,—Originally printed in Quarto, in 1780.

▲ *Tour to the West of England in 1788*, by the Rev. S. SHAW, M.A. *Octavo*. Lond. 1789.

Prospects and Observations, on a Tour in England and Scotland, Natural, Œconomical, and Literary. By THOMAS NEWTE, Esq. With Twenty-four Plates. *Quarto*. Lond. 1792.

▲ *Tour through the South of England, Wales, and Part of Ireland*, made during the Summer of 1791. Plates. *Octavo*. Lond. 1793.

Eccentric Excursions in England and Wales, with One Hundred Sketches of Character and Country, by G. WOODWARD. *Quarto*. Lond. 1796.

Observations relative chiefly to the Natural History, Picturesque Scenery, and Antiquities of the Western Counties of England, made in the Years 1794 and 1796. Illustrated by a Mineralogical Map and Sixteen Views in Aqua-tint by ALKEN. By WILLIAM GEORGE

- GEORGE MATON**, M.A. Fellow of the Linnæan Society. Two Volumes. *Octavo*. Salisbury, 1797.
- Observations on the Western Parts of England, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty.** To which are added, a few Remarks on the Picturesque Beauties of the Isle of Wight. By **WILLIAM GILPIN**, M.A. Prebendary of Salisbury, and Vicar of Boldre in New Forest, near Lynnington. Plates. *Octavo*. Lond. 1798.
- Observations on the Coasts of Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, made in the Summer of the Year 1774.** By the late **WILLIAM GILPIN**, M.A. Plates. *Octavo*. Lond. 1804.—Copies of the two preceding Articles were printed in Quarto.
- Observations on several Parts of the Counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; also on several Parts of North Wales, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, in Two Tours, the former made in the Year 1769, the latter in the Year 1773.** By **WILLIAM GILPIN**, M.A. Plates. *Octavo*. Lond. 1809.
- A Walk through some of the Western Counties of England, by the Rev. RICHARD WARNER of Bath.** Plates. *Octavo*. Bath, 1800.
- A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Journeys; interspersed with useful Observations; particularly calculated for the Use of those who are desirous of travelling over England and Scotland.** By the Rev. C. CRUTTWEILL, Author of the Universal Gazetteer. In Six Volumes. With coloured Maps. *Small Octavo*. Lond. 1801.
- Observations on a Tour through almost the whole of England, and a considerable Part of Scotland, in a Series of Letters addressed to a large Number of intelligent and respectable Friends by Mr. (CHARLES) DIBDIN.** In Two Volumes. With Plates. *Quarto*. London, 1801.
- A Tour through the Northern Counties of England, and the Borders of Scotland.** By the Rev. RICHARD WARNER. In Two Volumes. With Plates. *Octavo*. 1802.
- The Traveller's Guide: or English Itinerary.** By W. C. OULTON, Esq. In Two Volumes. With Plates. *Small Octavo*. Lond. 1805.
- Summer Excursions through Parts of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, &c. and South Wales.** By Miss E. I. SPENCE. In Two Volumes. *Duodecimo*. Lond. 1809.
- Observations and Remarks during Four Excursions made to various Parts of Great Britain in the Years 1810 and 1811; viz. I. From London to the Land's End in Cornwall. II. From London to Lancaster. III. From London to Edinburgh; and IV. From London to Swansea.** Performed by Land, by Sea, by various Modes of Conveyance, and partly in the pedestrian Style. By DANIEL CARLESS WEBB. *Octavo*. Lond. 1812.
- British Tourists: or Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales,**

Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; comprehending the most celebrated modern and recent Tours in the British Islands, with several originals. By WILLIAM MAJOR, LL.D. Third Edition, enlarged. In Six Volumes. With Maps. *Duodecimo*. Lond. 1814.

PUBLIC RECORDS.

A short Account of some Particulars concerning Domesday Book, with a view to promote its being published. By a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London. (P. C. WEBB.) *Quarto*. Lond. 1756.

A short Account of Danegeld; with some further Particulars relating to William the Conqueror's Survey. (By P. C. WEBB.) *Quarto*. Lond. 1756.

Domesday Book:—seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi Regis Angliæ inter Archivos Regni in Domo Capitulari Westmonasterii asservatus. (The Survey of England, made by Order of K. William I. in 1080-1086.) Two Volumes. *Folio*. Londini, 1783.

Libri Censualis vocati Domesday Book, Additamenta ex Codic. Antiquiss. Exon' Domesday. Inquisitio Eliensis. Liber Winton'. Boldon Book. *Folio*. 1816.

Libri Censualis vocati Domesday Book, Indices. Accessit Dissertatio Generalis de Ratione hujusce Libri. *Folio*. 1816.

Domesday Book has been translated by the late Rev. WILLIAM BAWDEN, * B.A. Vicar of Hooton Pagnell, and Curate of Frickley-cum-Clayton, Co. York; and Two Volumes were published in his Life-time in Quarto.—Vol. I. (1809) containing the County of York, Amounderness Lonsdale and Furness in Lancashire, and such Parts of Westmoreland and Cumberland as are contained in the Survey: also the Counties of Derby, Nottingham, Rutland, and Lincoln; with an Introduction, Glossary, and Indexes.—Vol. II. (1812) containing the Counties of Middlesex, Hertford, Buckingham, Oxford, and Gloucester.

King Alfred, about the year 900, composed a book of this nature, which was extant at Winchester at the coming-in of the Conqueror, but is since lost. The incomparable record of *Domesday* was begun, by order of William the Conqueror, in the year 1080, and completed in the year 1086. It is comprised in two volumes, one a large folio, the other a quarto. The first begins with Kent, and ends with Lincolnshire; the quarto volume contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk. The counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham are not described; neither is Lancashire, under its proper title; but Furness, and the northern part of the county, as well as the south of Westmoreland, with part of Cumberland, is included within the West riding of Yorkshire; and that part of Lancashire which lies between the rivers Ribble and Mersey, and which, at the time of the Survey, comprehended

* He died Sept. 14, 1816.

prehended six hundreds, is described in Cheshire; and part of Rutlandshire is described in the counties of Northampton and Lincoln.

The description is generally thus:—How many hides, or carucates, the land is gelded or taxed at? whose it was in the time of King Edward (the Confessor?) who the present owner, and the sub-tenants? what, and how much, arable land, meadow, pasture, and wood there is? how much in demesne, how much in tenancy, and what number of ploughs it will keep? what mills and fishings? how many freemen, sokemen, co-liberti, cotarii, bordarii, radmanni, radchenistres, villans, maid-servants, and bondmen there are? in some counties, what young cattle, sheep, working-horses, &c. are upon the land? and how many hogs the wood will support? sometimes, what churches there are, and how many priests or parsons? what customary rents, prestations, and services, are to be paid and rendered out of the lands? what has been added to the manor, what withheld from it, and by whom? what land is waste? what the whole was let for in the time of King Edward, and what the net rent; whether it was too dear rented, or might be improved? But all entries in this book are not alike, they being more or less exact and particular in some counties than others, according to the care, diligence, and industry of the commissioners, and scribes.—(Introduction to Domesday Book illustrated.)

Domesday Book illustrated; containing an Account of that ancient Record; as also of the Tenants in Capite or Serjeanty therein mentioned; and a Translation of the difficult Passages, with occasional Notes; an Explanation of the Terms, Abbreviations, and Names of Foreign Abbies; and an alphabetical Table of the Tenants in Capite or Serjeanty in the several Counties contained in that Survey. By ROBERT KELHAM, of Lincoln's Inn, Author of the Norman Dictionary. Octavo. Lond. 1788.

Formulare Anglicanum; or, A Collection of ancient Charters and Instruments of divers Kinds, taken from the Originals, placed under several Heads, and deduced (in a Series according to the Order of Time) from the Norman Conquest to the End of the Reign of King Henry VIII. (By THOMAS MADOX, Esq. Folio. Lond. 1702.

Sir Robert Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, (Rolls of Parliament) in the Tower of London, from the Reign of K. Edward II. unto K. Richard III. of all Parliaments holden in each King's Reign, &c. published by W. Prynne. Folio. Lond. 1657 or 1679, the last being only a reprinted Title page.

Calendars of the ancient Charters, &c. and of the Welch and Scottish Rolls, now remaining in the Tower of London; as also Calendars of all the Treaties of Peace, &c. entered into by the Kings of England with those of Scotland; and of sundry Letters and public Instruments relating to that Kingdom, now in the Chapter House at Westminster: Together with Catalogues of the Records brought to Berwick from the Royal Treasury at Edinburgh, and of those which were removed to different Parts of Scotland by Order of King Edward I. &c. To which are added Memoranda concerning the Affairs

fairs of Ireland, extracted from the Tower Records. To the whole is prefixed an Introduction, giving some Account of the State of the Public Records, from the Conquest to the present Time. (By Sir Jos. AYLOFFE.) *Quarto*. Lond. 1772.

An Index to the Records, with Directions to the several Places where they are to be found; with a List of the Latin Sir-names and Names of Places, as they are written in the old Records, explained by the modern Names; with a Chronological Table of the Kings Reigns and Parliaments, &c. by — STRACHEY. *Octavo*. 1739.

Index to Records called the Originalia and Memoranda, on the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Side of the Exchequer; extracted from the Records and from the MSS. of Mr. Tayleure, Mr. Madox, and Mr. Chapman, formerly Officers in that Office, containing all the Grants of Abbey Lands and other Property, granted by the Crown, from the Beginning of the Reign of Henry VIII. to the End of Queen Anne: also Inrollments of Charters, Grants, and Patents to several Religious Houses; and to Cities, Boroughs, Towns, Companies, Colleges, and other Public Institutions, from the earliest Period, &c. By EDWARD JONES, Inner Temple. In Two Volumes. *Folio*. Lond. 1793-95.

Reports from the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the State of the Public Records of the Kingdom; with an Analysis of the principal Matters in the various Records, Rolls, Instruments, &c. preserved in the several Public Repositories. *Folio*. Lond. 1806.

Commissions and Abstract of Annual Reports of the Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom; with a Statement of the Measures executed, or now in Progress under the Authority thereof. *Folio*. Lond. 1806.

Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium in Turri Londinensi. *Folio*. 1802.

Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ, auctoritate P. Nicholai IV. circa A.D. 1291. *Folio*. 1802.

Calendarium Rotulorum, Chartarum et Inquisitionum ad quod Damnum. Temp. Reg. Joann. ad Hen. VI. *Folio*. 1803.

Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii Abbreviatio temporibus Regum Henrici III. Edwardi I. II. III. Two Volumes. *Folio*. 1803, 1810.

Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem sive Escartarum, temp. Hen. III. Ed. I. Ed. II. et Ed. III. Two Volumes. *Folio*. 1806, 1808.

Testa de Nevill; sive Liber Feodorum in Curia Scaccarii, temp. Hen. III. et Ed. I. *Folio*. 1807.

Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii, temp. Regis Edw. III. *Folio*. 1807.

Valor Ecclesiasticus tempore Henrici VIII. auctoritate regia institutus. Two Volumes. *Folio*. 1810—1814.

Placitorum

- Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum
Abbreviatio temporibus Regum Richardi I., Johannis, Henrici
III., Edwardi I. et II. *Folio.* 1810.
- Inquisitionum ad Capellani Domini Regis retornatorum, quæ in
publicis Archiviis Scotiæ adhuc servantur, Abbreviatio. Three
Volumes. *Folio.* 1811, 1816.
- Rotuli Hundredorum temp. Henrici III. et Edwardi I. in Turri
Londinensi, et in Curia receptæ Scaccarii, Westm. asservati.
Tom. I. *Folio.* 1812.
- Rotuli Scotiæ in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmo-
nasteriensi asservati, temporibus Regum Angliæ Edwardi I.
Edwardi II., Edwardi III. Vol. I. *Folio.* 1814.
- Reports of the Commissioners on the State and Condition of the
Woods, Forests, and Land Revenue of the Crown. Two Vo-
lumes. *Folio.* 1787—1809.
- Abstracts of the Answers and Returns made pursuant to an Act for
taking an Account of the Population of England, Wales, and
Scotland in 1801 and 1811. Three Volumes. *Folio.* Lond.
1802, 1812.
- Copies of Memorials or Statements of Charitable Donations delivered
in to the several Offices of the Clerks of the Peace of the several
Counties or Ridings, or Cities or Towns being Counties of them-
selves, in England and Wales, in pursuance of an Act of the 52d
of George III. intituled "An Act for the registering and securing
Charitable Donations." *Folio.* 1815.

EARLY BRITISH HISTORY.*

Many bold and curious opinions on the history and antiquities of this
era, are contained in the first book of the *History of Manchester*,
by the Rev. JOHN WHITAKER.

De Anglorum Gentis origine disceptatio; Authore ROBERTO SKE-
RINGHAMO. *Octavo.* Cant. 1670.

Belgium Britannicum in quo illius Limites, Fluvii, Urbes, Viz Mili-
tares, Populus, Lingua, Dii, Monumenta, aliaque per multa clarius
& uberius exponuntur. Auctore GUIL. MUSGRAVE, M. D. Præfixa
est Dissertatio, De Britannia quondam pene Insula. In Four
Volumes. *Octavo.* Iscæ Dunnioniorum. 1719-20.

Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland; on the
Origin of the Ancient Britons, Scotch, Irish, and Anglo-Saxons,
including their Character, Manners, and Customs. By JAMES
MACPHERSON. *Quarto.* Lond. 1773.

The

* Several works containing allusions to the history, manners, and customs
of the Britons, are noticed in the subsequent chronological classes, to which
they bear a more immediate reference; more particularly under the class of
Roman Geography of Britain.

- The Genuine History of the Britons Asserted against Mr. Macpherson. By the Rev. Mr. WHITAKER, Author of the History of Manchester. The Second Edition, corrected. *Octavo*. Lond. 1773.
- The British History, translated into English from the Latin of Jeffery of Monmouth, with a large Preface concerning the Authority of the History. By AARON THOMPSON, late of Queen's College, Oxon. *Octavo*. Lond. 1718.
- Johannis Rossi Britannica, sive de Regibus veteris Britanniz usque ad exitum Gentis, & Saxorum imperium, Historia versibus expressa. *Duodecimo*. *Franc.* 1607.
- Sketch of the Early History of the Cymry, or Ancient Britons, from the year 700, before Christ, to A. D. 500. By the Rev. P. ROBERTS, A. M. Author of an Harmony of the Epistles, &c. *Octavo*. Lond. 1803.
- Celtic Researches*, on the Origin, Traditions, and Language of the Ancient Britons; with some Introductory Sketches, on Primitive Society. By EDWARD DAVIES, Curate of Olveston, Gloucestershire. *Royal Octavo*. Lond. 1804.
- Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, in Antiquities, concerning the most Noble and Renowned English Nation. By the Study and Travail of RICHARD VERSTEGAN. *Plates*. *Quarto*. *Antwerp*. Printed by Robert Bruney, 1605.
- Antique Restaurata*; a Concise Historical Account of the Ancient Druids, shewing their Civil and Religious Governments, Ceremonies, Groves, Derivations, and Etymologies, categorically deduced: with Biographical Sketches. Also the remains of Druidical Antiquity, in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and France. By JACOB DES MOULINS. *Octavo*. Lond. 1794.
- Antiquities Historical and Monumental, of the County of Cornwall, consisting of several Essays on the First Inhabitants, Druid-Superstition, Customs, and Remains of the most remote Antiquity in Britain, and the British Isles, exemplified and proved by Monuments now extant in Cornwall and the Scilly Islands, with a Vocabulary of the Cornu-British Language. By WILLIAM BORLASE, L. L. D. F. R. S. Rector of Ludgvan. *Plates*. *Folio*. Lond. 1769.
- A Complete View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, &c. of the Inhabitants of England, from the arrival of the Saxons to the present Time: with a Short Account of the Britons, during the Government of the Romans. By JOSEPH STURTT. In Three Volumes. *Quarto*. Lond. 1775-6.
- The Chronicle of England: or a History of the Ancient Britons and Saxons: from the arrival of Julius Cæsar to the Norman Conquest. By JOSEPH STURTT. In Two Volumes. *Quarto*. Lond. 1777-8.
- The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England from the earliest period to the present time, in which are represented most of the popular Diversions. By JOSEPH STURTT. *Quarto*. 1801.

A Compleat

A Compleat View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England, from the establishment of the Saxons in Britain to the present Time. To which is prefixed an Introduction, containing a General Description of the Ancient Habits in Use among Mankind, from the earliest period of time to the conclusion of the Seventh Century. By JOSEPH STRUTT. In Two Volumes. Quarto. Lond. 1796-99.

Before the discovery of the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, in the middle of the 18th century, the only works which had descended to us respecting the Roman stations and the Roman roads within this island, were the Geography of Ptolemy; the Itinerary of Antoninus; the Imperial Notitia; the Anonymous Chorography; and the Tabula Peutingeriana.

The *Notitia* "is a list of the several military and civil officers and magistrates, in the Eastern and Western Empires, lower than the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius; written, probably, towards the end of the younger Theodosius's reign, or about 445, when the bulk of the Roman forces was stationed on the Kentish coast, against the Saxon invaders, and on the Northern barrier, *per lincam valli*. It seems to have been transcribed from the *Latercula*, or Registers of State." See Gough, British Topography, Vol. I. P. 8.

The *Chorography of Britain*, by the anonymous geographer of *Ravenna*, is a work of less utility than the preceding, and has been termed "a mere confused catalogue of hard names"; but a conjecture of Dr. Mason may be thought to reduce it to some kind of consistency. He supposes "that the names have been taken from some map, which Ravennas began at the south-west corner, proceeding east and across the kingdom; still in the main advancing northwardly; by which means some are twice over, and, no doubt, many omitted." The author of this work, and the time at which it was composed, are equally involved in doubt. See Horsley, Brit. Rom. P. 489, and Reynolds, Introduction to Iter Britanniarum, P. 131.

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* is "a parchment roll, above twenty-two feet long, and one broad, on which were traced the stages, or mansions, for the Roman army throughout the empire; and bears great resemblance to our surveys of roads by Ogilby. It is an Itinerary, or Routier, in a form for carriage, exhibiting, as well as such a size would permit, the roads, and distances of the principal places. Some judicious critics date it in the reign of Theodosius the Great; and suppose Antonine's Itinerary was copied from such a table." See Gough's British Topography, Vol. I. P. 6, where is given a statement of the different editions through which the above table has passed.

ROMAN GEOGRAPHY OF BRITAIN.

Antonini Iter Britanniarum Commentariis illustratum Thomæ Gale, S. T. P. nuper Decani Ebor. Opus posthumum. Revisit, auxit, edidit R. G(ale). Accessit Anonymi Ravennatis Britanniarum Chorographia,

rographia, cum Autographo Regis Galliz Ms^o, et Codice Vaticano collata: adjiciuntur Conjecturæ plurimæ, cum Nominibus Locorum Anglicis, quotquot iis assignari potuerint. *Quarto*. Londini, 1709.

Vetera Romauorum Itineraria, sive Antonini Augusti Itinerarium, cum integris Jos. Simleri, Hieron. Suritz, et And. Schotti Notis. Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum: et Hieroclis Grammatici Synecdemus; curante Petro Wesselingio, qui et suas addidit Adnotationes. *Quarto*. Amstel. 1735.

A Commentary on Antoninus his Itinerary, or Journies of the Roman Empire, so far as it concerneth Britain. By WILLIAM BURTON, Batchelor of Lawes. With a Chorographically Map of the several Stations; and Indexes to the whole Work. Portrait and Map by Hollar. *Folio* Lond. 1658.

Iter Britanniarum; or that part of the Itinerary of Antoninus which relates to Britain, with a new Comment by the Rev. THOMAS REYNOLDS, A. M. Rector of Bowden Parva, Northamptonshire. Two Maps. *Quarto*. London, 1799.

The above curious work, namely the Itinerary of Antoninus, "has preserved some account of most of the provinces belonging to the Roman empire; not taking them in any regular succession, nor yet giving a full description of any of them; but it contains so many particulars relating to the ancient geography of the different countries with which it is concerned, that it has always held a place in the first class among the valuable productions which have come down to us from the Roman times."

In its manner it very much resembles the books of roads published in this kingdom for the assistance and direction of travellers, "except that it only mentions towns of some consequence. Like the section of a road-work, an *Iter* begins at some town of prime note, and passes through several other towns, some of equal, some of less consequence, to another of the first rank." The distances between each down are laid down in Roman miles.

This work is believed by Mr. Reynolds, and by many other antiquaries, to have been composed in the latter years of the Emperor Hadrian, by Antoninus Pius, adopted son and successor of that Emperor.— See Reynolds's Introduction to *Iter Britanniarum*.

Britannicarum Gentium Historiæ Antiquæ Scriptores Tres: Ricardus Corinensis, Gildas Badonicus, Nennius Banchoarensis. Recensuit Notisque et Indice auxit Carolus Bertramus, Societatis Antiquorum Londinensis Socius, &c. *Octavo*. Havniæ, impensis Editoris, 1757. With a Frontispiece and Folded Map, dedicated to Dr. Stukeley, drawn and engraved by the Editor, intitled "Mappa Britannicæ Faciei Romanæ secundum fidem Monumentorum perveterum depicta."

An Account of Richard of Cirencester, Monk of Westminster, and of his Works; with his antient Map of Roman Britain, and the Itinerary thereof. Read at the Antiquarian Society, March 18th, 1756. By WILLIAM STUKELEY, M. D. Rector of St. George, Queen Square. *Quarto*. London, 1757.

The

The Description of Britain : translated from Richard of Cirencester ; with the original Treatise *de Situ Britannia*, and a Commentary on the Itinerary. By Mr. HATCHER. Illustrated with Two Maps, and a Fac-Simile of the MS. of Richard of Cirencester. Octavo. Lond. 1809.

This valuable work is the compilation of Richard, usually termed Richard of Cirencester, from the place of his birth ; who was a monk of St. Peter's, Westminster, and flourished from the middle to the latter end of the 14th century. The MS. was discovered at Copenhagen, by Mr. Bertram, an English gentleman, in the year 1747, and was published by him, at the request of Dr. Stukeley. The author states the Itinerary to have been collected by himself, " from some remains of records, which had been drawn up by the authority of a certain Roman general, and left by him for the use of succeeding ages." From circumstances of internal evidence, Mr. Whitaker (*Hist. of Manchester*, vol. i. 8vo. p. 85-6) believes the Itinerary to have been made after the year 138, and before the year 170. The Itinera of Richard (eighteen in number) unite to form an entire Itinerary, " more extensive in its design," observes Mr. Hatcher, " and more complete in its execution, than that which bears the name of Antonine ; correcting it when they differ, and confirming it when they agree ; and containing the names of above sixty posts and towns before unknown." The antiquarian public is much indebted to the last-named gentleman for his excellent edition of this work, with a truly valuable commentary on the Itinerary, from the pen of the Rev. Thomas Leman.

Britannia Romana ; or the Roman Antiquities in Britain ; viz. Coins, Camps, and Publick Roads. By JOHN POINTER, M. A. Chaplain of Merton College in Oxford, and Rector of Slapton in Northamptonshire. Octavo. Oxford, 1724.

A Survey of the Roman Antiquities in some of the Midland Counties of England. By N. SALMON. Octavo. Lond. 1726.

Roman Stations in Britain, according to the Imperial Itinerary, upon the Watling Street, Ermine Street, Ikening or *Via ad Icanos*, so far as any of these Roads lead through the following Counties : Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Middlesex. By N. SALMON. Octavo. Lond. 1726.

Britannia Romana ; or, The Roman Antiquities of Britain, in Three Books. To which are added a Chronological Table, and Indexes to the Inscriptions and Sculptures, after the manner of Gruter and Reinesius ; also Geographical Indexes both of the Latin and English Names of the Roman Places in Britain, and a General Index to the Work. The whole illustrated with above an hundred Copper-plates. By JOHN HORSLEY, M. A. and F.R.S. Folio. London, 1732.

An analysis of the above valuable work, and a list of the plates which it contains, is given in "*Savage's Librarian*," vol. i.

The Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain, and particularly their ancient System of Castrametation, illustrated from Vestiges of the Camps of Agricola existing there ; hence his

March from South into North Britain is in some degree traced: comprehending also a Treatise, wherein the ancient Geography of that part of the Island is rectified chiefly by the Lights furnished by Richard of Cirencester: together with a Description of the Wall of Antoninus Pius, commonly called Grime's Dyke. To which is added an Appendix, containing detached Pieces; the whole being accompanied with Maps of the Country, and Plans of the Camps and Stations. By the late WILLIAM ROY, F. R. S. F. S. A. Major-General of his Majesty's Forces, Deputy Quarter-master-general, and Colonel of the Thirtieth Regiment of Foot. Published by the Order and at the Expence of the Society of Antiquaries, London. *Folio*. London, 1793.

Disertatio de Monumentis, quibusdam Romanis in Boreale Magna-Britann. parte detectis. Quarto. Edinb. 1731.

Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, sive Syllabus Etymologicus Antiquitatum Veteris Britanniz atque Iberniz, temporibus Romanorum. Auctore WILLIELMO BAXTER, Cornavio, Scholæ Merciariorum Præfecto. Accedunt Viri Cl. D. Edvardi Luidii, Cimetiarichæ Ashmol. Oxon. de Fluviorum. Montium, Urbium, &c. in Britannia Nominibus, Adversaria Posthuma. Editio Secunda. Portrait by G. Vertue. Octavo. Lond. 1733.

ANGLO-SAXON AND ANGLO-NORMAN HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

Chronicon Saxonicum, seu Annales Rerum in Anglia præcipue gestarum, a Christo nato ad Annum usque MCLIV. deducti, ac jam denum Latinitate donati, cum Indice Rerum Chronologico: accedunt Regulæ ad investigandas Nominum Locorum origines, et Nominum Locorum ac Virorum in Chronico Memoratorum explicatio. Opera et Studio EDMUNDI GIBSON, A. B. Æ Collegio Reginæ. Quarto. Oxonii. 1692.

The History of the Anglo-Saxons, from their first appearance above the Elbe, to the death of Egbert: with a Map of their Ancient territory. By SHARON TURNER. In Four Volumes. *Octavo*. Lond. 1799—1805. Reprinted and enlarged in Two Volumes *Quarto* in 1807.

The Second Book of Whitaker's History of Manchester is virtually a Treatise upon the political division of Britain, and upon the arts, manners, and general history of this Country at large while under the sway of the Anglo-Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxon Version, from the Historian Orosius. By ALFRED THE GREAT: together with an English Translation from the Anglo-Saxon. *Octavo*. Lond. 1773.

Ecclesiastical History of the Britons and Saxons. By the Rev. JOHN DANIEL. *Octavo*. 1815.

A Discourse on the Bookland and Folkland of the Saxons. *Octavo*. Cambridge, 1775.

A Dissertation on the Folcland and Boclande of the Saxons. *Quarto*. Lond. 1777.

A Series

A Series of Dissertations on some elegant and very valuable Anglo-Saxon Remains : with a Preface, wherein the question, Whether the Saxons coined any Gold or not, is candidly debated with Mr. North. By SAMUEL PEGGE, A. M. *Quarto*. Lond. 1756.

Anglo-Norman Antiquities considered, in a Tour through part of Normandy, by DOCTOR DUCAREL. Illustrated with Twenty-four Copper-plates. *Folio*. 1767.

The History of the Royal Abbey of Bec, near Rouen in Normandy, by DOM. JOHN BOURGET, Benedictine Monk of the Congregation of St. Maur in the said House, and F. S. A. of London. Translated from the French. *Small Octavo*. Lond. 1779.

Baronia Anglica; an History of Land Honours and Baronies, and of Tenure in Capite, verified by Records. By THOMAS MADOX, Esq. *Folio*. Lond. 1741.

The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the Kings of England in two periods : to wit, from the Norman Conquest to the end of the reign of K. John : and from the end of the reign of K. John to the end of the reign of Edward II. taken from Records. By THOMAS MADOX. *Folio*. Lond. 1711. Likewise in Two Volumes in *Quarto*. 1769.

Index to Madox's History of the Exchequer, serving as a Glossary to illustrate the original of Families and Customs, and the Antiquities of England. *Folio*. Lond. 1741.

An Essay towards a General History of Feudal Property in Great Britain, by JOHN DALRYMPLE. *Octavo*. Lond. 1757.

ECCLESIASTICAL TOPOGRAPHY.

The History of Churches in England ; wherein is shewn the Time, Means, and Manner of Founding, Building, and Endowing of Churches, both Cathedral and Rural, with their Furniture and Appendages. The Second Edition, with Improvements. By THOMAS STAVELEY, Esq, Author of the English Horseleech. *Octavo*. Lond. 1773.

A Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, Man, Litchfield, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, Bristol, Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, Peterborough, Canterbury, Rochester, London, Winchester, Chichester, Norwich, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, St. David's, Landaff, Bangor, and St. Asaph ; containing an History of their Foundations, Builders, ancient Monuments and Inscriptions ; Endowments, Alienations, Sales of Lands, Patronages, ; Dates of Consecration, Admission, Preferments, Deaths, Burials, and Epitaphs of the Bishops, Deans, Precentors, Chancellors, Treasurers, Subdeans, Archdeacons, and Prebendaries, in every Stall belonging to them ; with an exact Account of all the Churches and Chapels in each Diocese distinguished under their proper Archdeaconries and Deanries ; to what Saints dedicated, who Patrons of them, and to what Religious Houses appropriated. The whole extracted from numerous Collections out of the Re-

gisters of every particular See, old Wills, Records in the Tower and Rolls Chapel. Illustrated with Thirty-two Plates. In Three Volumes; including the "*Parochiale Anglicanum*"; or the Names of all the Churches and Chapels within the Dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, London, Winchester, Chichester, Norwich, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, St. David's, Landaff, Bangor, and St. Asaph, distinguished under their proper Archdeaconries and Deantries; with an Account of most of their Dedications, their Patrons, and to what Religious Houses the Appropriations belonged. 1733." By BROWNE WILLIS, Esq. Quarto. Lond. 1727—1733, or 1742.

The Cathedral Antiquities of England; or, An Historical Architectural, and Graphical Illustration of the English Cathedral Churches. By JOHN BRITTON, F. S. A. *Medium and Imperial Quarto*.—Publishing in Parts.

History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches of Great Britain. Illustrated with a Series of highly-finished Engravings, exhibiting general and particular Views, Ground Plans, and all the Architectural Features and Ornaments in the various Styles of Building used in our Ecclesiastical Edifices. By JAMES STORER, To be completed in Four Volumes, Three of which are already published. *Demy and Royal Octavo*. Lond. 1815—17.

"A book of the valuations of all the Ecclesiastical preferments in England and Wales, &c. Lond. 1680" *Octavo*.

Valor Beneficiorum: or a valuation of all Ecclesiastical preferments in England and Wales. To which is added, a collection of choice precedents relating to Ecclesiastical affairs. Lond. 1693." *12mo*.

The State of the Proceedings of the Corporation of Governors of the bounty of Queen Anne for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, giving a particular account of their constitution, benefactions, and augmentations, with directions to such as desire to become benefactors to so pious and charitable a work. The Second Edition, with a continuation to Christmas, 1720. Lond. 1721. *Octavo*.

The Clergyman's Intelligencer; or, A compleat alphabetical List of all the Patrons in England and Wales, with the Dignities, Livings, and Benefices in their Gift, and their Valuation annexed. To which is added, an alphabetical Index of all the Benefices, and the pages in which they are to be found. *Octavo*. Lond. 1745.

Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum; being an Account of the Valuations of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices in England and Wales, as they now stand charged with, or lately were discharged from, the Payment of First Fruits and Tenths. To which are added, the Names of the Patrons and the Dedications of the Churches; with an Account of Procurations and Synodals, extracted from the Records of Henry VIII., &c. By JOHN ECTON, late Receiver-General of the Tenths of the Clergy. The Third Edition; wherein the Appropriations, Dedications, and Patronages of the Churches have been revised, corrected, and placed in regular Order, under their respective Archdeaconries; with numerous Additions,

Additions, by BROWNE WILLIS, LL.D. To which is added A complete Alphabetical Index. *Quarto*. Lond. 1763. Originally printed in octavo in 1718, under the Title of "*Liber Valorum et Decimarum*."

Liber Regis; vel *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum* By JOHN BACON, Esq. Receiver of the First Fruits. With an Appendix; containing proper Directions and Precedents relating to Presentations, Institutions, Inductions, Dispensations, &c. and a complete alphabetical Index. *Quarto*. Lond. 1786.

Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus; An improved Edition of the "*Liber Valorum*;" containing an Account of the Valuation of all the Livings in England and Wales, their Charge in the King's Book, respective Patrons, &c. With an Appendix. By the Rev. JOHN LLOYD, A. B. late of Jesus College, Oxford. *Octavo*. Lond. 1788.

The Arms of all the Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, and Deaneries, in England and Wales; together with the Paternal Coat Armour of each respective Prelate and Dean, alphabetically digested; by WILLIAM JACKSON." Two Sheets.

Thirty-two Views of all the Cathedral Churches in England and Wales, with the Collegiate Churches; also a short Account of each and Arms on. Eight Plates. Printed for R. SAYER. Others by J. HARRIS.

A Sylloge of the Remaining Authentic Inscriptions relative to the Erection of our English Churches; embellished with a number of Copper-plates, exhibiting Fac-Similies of some of the most material. By the Rev. SAMUEL PEGGE, A.M. London, 1787. *Quarto*. In Nichols's *Bibliotheca Topog. Britannica*.

MONASTICAL HISTORY.

Monasticon Anglicanum, sive Pandectæ Cœnobiorum Benedictinorum, Cluniacensium, Cisterciensium, Carthusianorum, a Primordiis ad eorum usque Dissolutionem, ex MSS. Cod. ad Monasteria olim pertinentibus: Archivis Turrium Londinensis, Eboracensis; curiarum Scaccarii, augmentationum;—Bibliothecis Bodleianâ: Hattonianâ, aliisque digesti per ROGERUM DODSWORTH, Eborac. GULIELMUM DUGDALE, Warwic. Tribus Voluminibus. Folio. Lond. 1655, 1661, 1673.

The first Volume was reprinted with large Additions in 1682.

Monasticon Anglicanum; or, The History of the ancient Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, in England and Wales, with divers French, Irish, and Scotch Monasteries formerly relating to England. Collected, and published in Latin by Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE, Knt. late Garter King of Arms. In Three Volumes, and now epitomized in English, Page by Page, With Sculptures of the several Religious Habits. (Abridged by JOHN WRIGHT, Author of the History of the County of Rutland.) *Folio*. Lond. 1693.

Monasticon Anglicanum; or, The History of the ancient Abbies, Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales: also of all such

Scotch, Irish, and French Monasteries as did in any manner relate to those in England; containing a full Collection of all that is necessary to be known concerning the Abbey Lands and their Revenues; with a particular Account of their Foundations, Grants, and Donations, collected from original MSS., the Records in the Tower of London, at York, and in the Court of Exchequer and Augmentation Office; as also the famous Libraries of Bodley, King's College, Camb. the Benedictine College at Doway, Arundel, Cotton, Selden, Hatton, &c. Illustrated with the original Cuts of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and the Habits of the Religious and Military Orders. First published in Latin by Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE, Knt. late Garter Principal King at Arms. To which are now added exact Catalogues of the Bishops of the several Dioceses to the Year 1717. The whole corrected and supplied with many useful Additions by an eminent Hand. *Folio.* Lond. 1718.

The History of the antient Abbeys, Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, being Two additional Volumes to Sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*; containing the Original and first Establishment of all the Religious Orders that ever were in Great Britain; being those of the Benedictines, Cluniacks, Cistercians, Regular Canons of St. Augustin, Carthusians, Gilbertins, Trinitarians, Premonstratenses, and Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, treated of in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*; as also of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustinian Friars, Regular Canons of Arroasia, Briggittins, Monks of Fontevraud, of Savigni, and of Tiron, Crouched Friars, Friars of Penance, or of the Sack, and Bethlehemites, not spoken of by Sir William Dugdale and Mr. Dodsworth. The Foundations of their several Monasteries, &c. By JOHN STEVENS, Gent. In Two Volumes, *Folio.* Lond. 1722-1723.

Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*: A new Edition of the whole Work, including Stevens's Continuation, is now publishing in *Folio*, with very considerable Additions and Improvements from the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, the Records in the Tower, the Augmentation Office, and various inedited MSS. in the British and Ashmolean Museums, and other authentic Sources. By JOHN CALVEY, Esq. Keeper of the Records in the Augmentation Office; HENRY ELLIS, Esq. Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum; and the Rev. BULKELEY BANDINEL, M. A. Keeper of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The first Catalogue of our Religious Houses was drawn up by Burton, or Leland, published in Speed's History, and translated into Latin at the end of Harpsfield's Church History.

Monastichon Britannicum; or, a Historicall Narration of the first Founding and flourishing State of the antient Monasteries, Religious Rules and Orders of Great Brittain, in the Tymes of the Brittaines and primitive Church of the Saxons, Collected out of most authentick Authors, Lieger Books, and Manuscripts. By that learned Antiquary R. B. (RICHARD BROUGHTON.) *Octavo.* Lond. 1655,

Notitia

Notitia Monastica: or, An Account of all the Abbies, Priors, and Houses of Friars, formerly in England and Wales; and also of all the Colleges and Hospitals founded before A.D. MDXL. By the Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Tanner, late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. Published A.D. MDCCXLIV, by John Tanner, M.A. Vicar of Lowestoft in Suffolk, and Precentor of the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph: and now reprinted with many Additions by JAMES NASMITH, M.A. Rector of Snalewell in Cambridgeshire, and Chaplain to the Rt. Hon. John Earl of Buckinghamshire. Portrait by G. Vertue. *Folio*. Camb. 1787. Originally printed in one volume octavo in 1695.

▲ Summary of all the Religious Houses in England and Wales, with their Tiles and Valuations at the time of their Dissolution, and a Calculation of what they might be worth at this Day; together with an Appendix concerning the several Religious Orders that prevailed in this Kingdom. *Octavo*. Lond. 1717.

▲ An History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbies and Conventual Cathedral Churches: shewing the Times of their respective Foundations, and what Alterations they have undergone; with some Descriptions of the Monuments, and Dimensions of their Buildings: together with a Catalogue of their Abbots, Priors, &c. By BROWNE WILLIS, Esq. In Two Volumes *Octavo*. Lond. 1718, 1719.

Collectanea Anglo Minoritica: or, a Collection of the Antiquities of the English Franciscans, or Friars Minors. commonly call'd Gray Friars. In Two Parts. With an Appendix concerning the English Nuns of the Order of St. Clare. By A. PARKINSON. *Quarto*. Lond. 1726.

British Monachism: or, Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England. To which are added, I. *Peregrinatorium Religiosum*; or Manners and Customs of antient Pilgrims. II. Con-suetudinal of Anchorets and Hermits. III. Account of the *Continentes*, or Women who had made Vows of Chastity. IV. Four Select Poems, in various stiles. By THOMAS DUDLEY FOSBROOKE, M.A. F.S.A. With Plates. *Quarto*. Lond. 1817. Originally published in Two Volumes, octavo, in 1802.

Some Account of the Alien Priors, and of such Lands as they are known to have possessed in England and Wales. Collected from the MSS. of John Warburton, Esq. and Dr. Ducarel. A new Edition, in Two Volumes. Illustrated with Plates. *Small octavo*. Lond. 1786.

Memoirs of the Antiquities of Great Britain; with an Account of Monasteries, Monks, &c. Plates. *Octavo*. Lond. 1723.

SEPULCHRAL HISTORY.

Ancient Funerall Monvments within the Vnited Monarchie of Great Brittain, Ireland, and the Islands adjacent, with the dissolved Monasteries therein contained: their Founders, and what eminent Persons have beene in the same interred. Composed by the

Stude and Trauels of JOHN WEEVER, with an Index. *Folio*. London, 1631. Reprinted in *Quarto* in 1767.

* * Although we are indebted to Weever for the preservation of numerous ancient epitaphs of considerable interest, he is proved by many which remain at present, to have often copied very inaccurately. Many epitaphs given by him seem to have existed only in the records of religious houses. It was common for monks to pen such spontaneous effusions in honour of benefactors of their house.

Monumenta Anglicana; being Inscriptions on the Monuments of several eminent Persons deceased in or since the Year 1650, to the End of the Year 1718; deduced into a Series of Time by way of Annals. By JOHN LE NEVE, Gent. Five Volumes. *Octavo*. Lond. 1717, 1718, and 1719.

Sepulchral Memorials in Great Britain applied to illustrate the History of Families, Manners, Habits, and Arts at the different Periods from the Norman Conquest to the Seventeenth Century; with introductory Observations. (By RICHARD GOUGH, Esq. F.S.A.) Three Volumes usually bound in Five. Plates. *Folio*. Lond. 1786—1796.

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* * The two first Volumes were published with a French Title, by Joseph Smith, near Exeter Change, and republished in 1724.

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New Print Magazine; being Views of Gentlemen's Seats in England and Wales. *Quarto*. 1796.

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A Descriptive and Historical Account of various Palaces and Public Buildings, English and Foreign; with Biographical Notices of their Founders or Builders, and other eminent Persons. With Plates. By JAMES NORRIS BREWER. *Quarto*. Lond. 1810.

Picturesque Scenery of Great Britain, by P. J. DE LOUTHERBOURG, in Colours. *Large folio*. Lond. 1801.

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LOUTHERBOURG, Esq. R.A. with Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the several Places, of which Views are given, engraved by WILLIAM PICKETT, and coloured by JOHN CLACK. *Large folio*. 1805.

COINS.

Essay on the Coins of Cunobelin. By Dr. Samuel Pegge. *Quarto*. Lond. 1766.

Dissertation upon the Tascia, or Legend on the Coins of Cunobelin and others by JOHN PETTINGAL, D.D. *Quarto*. 1763. In the *Archæologia*.

Twenty-three Plates of British Coins. By WILLIAM STUKELEY, M.D. and published by — FLEMING. *Quarto*.

The Medallic History of Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius, Emperor in Britain. By WILLIAM STUKELEY, M.D. In Two Volumes. *Quarto*. Lond. 1757.

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Dissertation upon *Oriuna*, said to be Empress or Queen of England, the supposed Wife of Carausius, Monarch and Emperor of Britain, who reigned in the Time of Diocletian the great persecutor of Christians. Illustrated with the Coin of Oriuna, and several others most remarkable of Carausius, hitherto not made public. By PATRICK KENNEDY. *Quarto*. 1751.

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A Catalogue of the Coins of Canute, King of Denmark and England with Specimens. *Quarto*. Lond. 1777.

Numismata Anglo-Saxonica et Anglo-Danica breviter Illustrata ab ANDREA FOUNTAINE, Esq. Aur. Plates. *Folio*. Oxon. 1703. In the Third part of *Hickes's Thesaurus*.

An Historical Account of English Money, from the Conquest to the present Times; including those of Scotland, from the Union of the two Kingdoms in King James I. The Second Edition, by STEPHEN MARTIN LEAKE, Esq. Clarenceux King of Arms. *Octavo*. Lond. 1745. Reprinted in 1793.

Remarks on the Coinage of England, from the Earliest to the present Times. To which is added an Appendix, containing Observations upon the Ancient Roman Coinage, and a Description of some Medals and Coins found near Nottingham. By WALTER MERREY. *Octavo*. Nottingham, 1794.

Annals of the Coinage of Britain and its dependencies, from the earliest period of Authentic History, to the end of the Fiftieth year of the Reign of his present Majesty King George III. By the Rev. ROGERS RUDING, B.D. Vicar of Maldon in Surrey, F.S.A. &c. In Four Volumes. *Quarto*. Lond. 1817.

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ENGLISH BOTANY.

Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England. By RICHARD PULTENEY, M.D.F.R.S. In Two Volumes. *Octavo*. Lond. 1790.

Phytologia Britannica, Natales exhibens indigenarum Stirpium sponte emergentium. Auctore GULIELMO HOWE. *Duodecimo*. Lond. 1650.

The Garden of Eden, or an Accurate Description of all Flowers and Fruits now growing in England; with particular Rules how to advance their Nature and Growth, as well in Seeds or Herbs, as the secret ordering of Trees and Plants. In Two Parts. By that Learned and great Observer Sir Hugh Plat, Knt. Lond. 1652. *12mo*. 1655. the 5th 1659. the 6th 1675. *12mo*.

An Index of Plants that are in the "Phytologia Britannica" is annexed to R. Lovel's "Enchiridion Britannicum." *Duodecimo*. Oxon. 1659, 1665.

The British Physician: or, The Nature and Virtues of English Plants, exactly describing such Plants as grow naturally in the Land, with their several Names in Greek, Latin, or English. By ROBERT TURNER. *Duodecimo*. Lond. 1664.

Catalogus Plantarum Angliæ, et Insularum adjacentium: tum indigenas, tum in Agris passim cultas complectens. Auctore JOHANNES RAJO. Editio Secunda. With Two Plates. *Octavo*. Lond. 1677.

Fasciculus Stirpium Britannicarum, post editum Plantarum Angliæ Catalogum observatarum. Auctore JOHAN. RAJO. *Octavo*. Lond. 1688.

Synopsis Methodica Stirpium Britannicarum, in qua tum Notæ Generum characteristicæ traduntur, tum Species singulæ breviter describuntur. Auctore JOHAN. RAJO. Editio Tertia. With Twenty-four Plates. *Octavo*. Lond. 1724.

Herbarii Britannici Rari Catalogus, cum Iconibus: (A Catalogue of Mr. Ray's English Herbal, illustrated with Figures.) By JAMES PETIVER. *Folio*. Lond. 1711.

A Synopsis of British Plants, in Mr. Ray's Method; with their Characters, Descriptions, Places of Growth, Time of Flowering, and Physical Virtues, according to the most accurate Observations, and the best modern Authors; together with a Botanical Dictionary. Illustrated

Illustrated with several Figures. By JOHN WILSON. *Octavo*. New castle, 1744.

Specimen Botanicum, quo Plantarum plurium rariorum Angliæ indigenarum Loci natales illustrantur. Auctore J. BLACKSTONE, Pharm. *Duodecimo*. Lond. 1746.

Medicina Britannica: or A Treatise on such Physical Plants as are generally to be found in the Fields or Gardens in Great Britain; containing a particular Account of their Nature, Virtues, and Uses. By THOMAS SHORT, of Sheffield, M.D. *Octavo*. Lond. 1746.

The British Herbal; containing a complete History of the Plants and Trees which are Natives of Britain, or cultivated here for Use, or commonly raised for their Beauty; disposed in an easy and natural Method, with their Descriptions at large, &c. By JOHN HILL, M.D. With (Seventy-five coloured) Plates. *Folio*. Lond. 1756.

Flora Britannica: sive Synopsis Methodica Stirpium Britannicarum; sistens Arbores et Herbas, indigenas et in Agris cultas, in Classes et Ordines, Genera et Species redactas secundum Systema Sexuale. Tabulis æneis illustrata: post tertiam editionem Synopseos Raiæ opere Dillenii concinnatam, nuncque primum ad celeberrimi Caroli Linnæi Methodum disposita. Auctore JOHANN. HILL, M.D. *Octavo*. Lond. 1760.

Herbarium Britannicum, exhibens Plantas Britannicæ indigenas, secundum Methodum Floralem novam digestas. Auctore JOHANN. HILL, M.D. With Plates. Two Volumes. *Octavo*. Lond. 1769, 1770.

Virtues of British Herbs; with the History, Description, and Figures of the several Kinds, &c. By JOHN HILL, M.D. *Octavo*. Lond. 1770.

Floræ Anglicæ Specimen, imperfectum et ineditum, Anno 1774, inchoatum. Auctore T. G. CULLUM, Baroneto. *Octavo*.

A Generic and Specific Description of British Plants; translated from the Genera et Species Plantarum of the celebrated Linnæus. With Notes and Observations by JAMES JENKINSON. *Octavo*. Kendal, 1775.

Select Collection of the most beautiful Flowers which blow in the open Air of Great Britain; on One Hundred Plates, coloured from Nature. By GEORGE EDWARDS. *Folio*. Lond. 1775.

The British Flora, by STEPHEN ROBSON. *Octavo*. York, 1777.

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English Botany; or, Coloured Figures of British Plants, with their essential Characters, Synonyms, and Places of Growth. To which will be added occasional Remarks. By **JAMES SOWERBY**, F.L.S. and (Sir) **JAMES EDWARD SMITH**, M.D. F.R.S. Thirty-six Volumes, containing 2592 Plates, with General Indexes. *Royal Octavo*. Lond. 1790—1814.

Silva: or, A Discourse of Forest Trees, and the Propagation of Timber in His Majesty's Dominions; together with an Historical Account of the Sacredness and Use of Standing Groves. To which is added the Terra: A Philosophical Discourse of Earth. By **JOHN EVELYN**, Esq. F.R.S. with Notes by **A. HUNTER**, M.D. F.R.S. L. and E. The Third Edition. In Two Volumes. *Royal Quarto*. Plates. York, 1776 and 1801.

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- Horticultural Society. By WILLIAM HOOKER, F.H.S. *Imperial Quarto*.
- Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London; with Plates. *Quarto*. Lond. 1812—1817.
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- Filices Britannica*: An History of the British Proper Ferns; with plain and accurate Descriptions, and New Figures of all the Species and Varieties, taken from an immediate and careful Inspection of the Plants in their Natural State. By JAMES BOLTON of Halifax. In Two Parts. *Quarto*. Leeds and Huddersfield, 1785—1790.
- British *Jungermannia*: being a History and Description, with coloured Figures, of each Species of the Genus and microscopical Analyses of the Parts. By WILLIAM JACKSON HOOKER, Esq. Fellow of the Royal, Antiquarian, and Linnæan Societies, and Member of the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh. *Quarto* and *Folio*. Yarmouth, 1816.
- Muscologia Britannica*; containing the Mosses of Great Britain and Ireland, systematically Arranged and Described; with Plates illustrative of the Characters of the Genera and Species. By WILLIAM JACKSON HOOKER, F.R.S. A.S. L.S. and Member of the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh, and THOMAS TAYLOR, M.D. M.R.I.A. and F.L.S. and Fellow of the King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland. *Octavo*. London: 1818.

MINERALS

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- The Mineral Kingdom of Great Britain Displayed. By M. STRINGER. *Octavo*. Lond. 1713.
- British Mineralogy; or Coloured Figures to elucidate the Mineralogy of Great Britain. By JAMES SOWERBY, F.L.S. G.S. W.S. In Five Volumes. *Royal octavo*. Lond. 1803—1817.
- Specimens of British Minerals, selected from the Cabinet of PHILIP RASHLEIGH, of Menabilly, in the County of Cornwall, Esq. M.P. with general Descriptions of each Article. In Two Parts. Coloured Plates. *Quarto*. Lond. 1797, 1802.
- Observations on the Earths, Rocks, Stones, and Minerals for some Miles about Bristol. By EDWARD OWEN. *Duodecimo*. Lond. 1754.
- Observations relative to the Mineralogical and Chemical History of the Fossils of Cornwall. By MARTIN HENRY Klaproth. *Octavo*. Lond. 1789.
- Fodina Regales*; or, The History, Laws, and Places of the chief Mines and Mineral Works in England, Wales, and the English Pale in Ireland; as also of the Mint and Money: with a Clavis, explaining some difficult Words relating to Mines, &c. By Sir JOHN PETTUS, Knt. *Folio*. Lond. 1670.
- Observations on the different Strata of Earths and Minerals; more particularly of such as are found in the Coal Mines of Great Britain. By JOHN STRACHEY, F.R.S. With Plates. *Quarto*. Lond. 1727.
- An Attempt towards a Natural History of the Fossils of England, in a Catalogue of the English Fossils in the Collection of JOHN WOODWARD. In Two Volumes. *Octavo*. Lond. 1729.
- Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia; sive Lapidum aliorumq; Fossilium Britannicorum singulari Figura insignium, quotquot hactenus vel ipse invenit, vel ab Amicis accepit, Distributio classica.—Auctore EDV. LUIDE. *Octavo*. Lond. 1699.—A Second Edition, with Additions, was published at Oxford in 1760, octavo, by Mr. Huddesford.

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- CAROLI CLAROMONTII Doct. Med. nob. LOTHARINGI, de Aere, Locis, et Aquis Terræ Angliæ: deque Morbis Anglorum vernaculis; cum Observationibus Ratiocinatione et curandi Methode illustratis. *Duodecimo*. Lond. 1672.
- De Fontibus Medicatis Angliæ. Auctore MART. LISTER. *Octavo*. Lond. 1684.

Political Arithmetic: containing Observations on the present State of Great Britain: and the Principles of her Policy in the Encouragement of Agriculture. By ARTHUR YOUNG, Esq. *Octavo. Lond. 1774.*

END OF LIST OF BOOKS.

APPENDIX

BERKSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF BERKSHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.	
Beynhurst.....	484	17	396	97	41	2942	
Bray.....	512	6	294	156	75	2604	
Charlton ..	484	6	438	66	31	2724	
Compton.....	424	7	350	91	25	2212	
Cookham	819	27	455	288	141	4184	
Faircross	1268	28	1142	214	97	6743	
Farringdon	579	27	417	174	69	3224	
Ganfield	543	6	490	74	40	2894	
Hormer	567	9	519	94	62	3245	
Kintbury Eagle	1878	57	1309	475	251	9424	
Lambourn	527	2	408	89	76	2674	
Moreton	1072	23	943	172	49	5286	
Ock	1179	30	946	177	154	5734	
Reading	1457	32	1185	380	92	7802	
Ripplesmere	569	15	310	119	451	3230	
Shrivenham	815	15	784	135	53	4620	
Sonning	930	26	572	298	150	4951	
Theale	917	22	796	147	98	5131	
Wantage	1283	40	822	494	80	6577	
Wargrave	484	15	336	148	87	2807	
Borough of Abingdon	993	20	144	801	216	4801	
Town of Newbury...	995	29	24	701	311	4898	
Borough of Reading	1945	58	154	1595	532	10788	
Borough of Wal- lingford	363	17	76	280	58	1901	
Borough of Windsor	1017	29	99	319	819	6155	
Local Militia em- bodied, May 17, 1811.....	—	—	—	—	—	726	
Totals	22104	563	13409	7584	4058	118277	

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Ashendon	1832	22	1868	293	56	10260
Aylesbury	2682	55	2273	625	72	14494
Buckingham	1420	20	1330	250	516	8150
Burnham	2916	61	1632	1305	279	15521
Cottesloe	2441	41	1691	903	449	13940
Desborough	3222	71	1585	1169	808	16814
Newport	4289	94	2008	2296	481	20871
Stoke	1829	59	1117	750	371	10965
Borough of						
Aylesbury }	726	24	232	466	68	3447
Buckingham	572	10	197	367	104	2987
Local militia embodied, May 12, 1817	—	—	—	—	—	201
Totals	21929	457	13933	8424	2844	117650

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.	
Armingford	720	4	841	148	36	4887	
Chesterton	493	4	498	146	22	3097	
Cheveley	373	2	330	110	91	2489	
Chilford	657	19	610	185	84	4140	
Hendish	310	2	296	64	38	1803	
Longstow	604	2	638	150	33	3669	
Northstow	453	2	475	78	29	2853	
Papworth	751	10	694	110	132	4250	
Radfield	576	15	550	125	30	3542	
Staine	558	12	470	99	89	3227	
Staploe	1336	22	1114	335	136	7351	
Thriplow	585	6	584	152	42	3603	
Wetherley	532	7	588	82	38	3076	
Whittlesford	388	7	444	99	9	2376	
Isle of Ely	5977	95	4213	1558	1159	32443	
Borough and University of Cambridge	1991	26	80	1600	644	11108	
City of Ely	928	22	406	262	276	4249	
Local Militia embodied, May 17, 1817	—	—	—	—	—	2946	
Totals	17232	257	12831	5303	2888	101109	

CHESHIRE.

CHESHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF CHESHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Broxton.....	2399	45	1809	399	433	13651
Bucklow.....	5929	105	3034	2562	710	32403
Eddisbury.....	3725	78	2524	813	764	20761
Macclesfield.....	12520	479	2653	10057	705	70623
Nantwich.....	3480	85	2382	1207	323	19568
Northwich.....	5160	171	1885	2774	7	26541
Wirrall.....	2160	66	1468	477	320	11579
City of Chester.....	3296	161	397	2296	1052	16140
Town of Macclesfield.....	2518	49	244	2458	26	12299
Local Militia embodied, May, 1811.....	—	—	—	—	—	3466
Totals.....	41187	1239	16396	23043	5063	227031

CORNWALL.

CORNWALL.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF CORNWALL,

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
East	4386	171	2545	1098	1756	26908
Kirrier	6238	229	2511	1992	2923	35497
Lesnewth	1191	86	906	277	118	6466
Penwith	9352	212	2366	2774	5123	50323
Powder	7298	286	3087	2001	3332	40445
Pyder	3377	138	1898	857	1121	18949
Stratton	1212	51	1068	265	22	6857
Trigg	1588	74	1298	442	166	9414
West	2602	133	1635	651	587	14284
Borough Town of } Launceston	262	7	141	170	42	1758
Town of Falmouth... } Local Militia embodied, May, 1817	465	13	10	427	580	3933
Totals	37971	1400	17465	10954	15770	216667

GUMBERLAND.

CUMBERLAND.**SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF CUMBERLAND.***As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.*

Wards, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Allerdale Ward above Darwent. }	6461	140	2595	3015	1612	33200
Allerdale Ward below Darwent.... }	3934	71	1934	1254	1235	21089
Cumberland Ward..... }	3037	121	1530	1156	600	15095
Eskdale Ward..... }	3366	65	2386	1013	453	19379
Leath Ward..... }	3606	68	2277	1132	996	20599
City of Carlisle..... }	1658	51	134	2301	394	12531
Town of Whitehaven }	1940	34	12	1577	784	10106
Local Militia embodied, May, 1817..... }	—	—	—	—	—	1745
Totals..... }	24002	550	10868	11448	6074	133744

DERBYSHIRE.

DERBYSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF DERBYSHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited	Uninhabited	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Clases.	Total of Persons.
Appletree.	4904	87	2709	1944	590	26350
Highpeake.	7179	347	2610	2899	1902	37168
Morleston and Lit- church.	5555	114	2136	3001	636	29624
Repton and Gresley	2988	58	1787	925	411	15223
Scarsdale.	8284	284	3379	3103	2179	41502
Wirksworth.	4104	164	1567	1571	1167	20320
Borough of Derby...	2644	142	95	2382	447	13043
Local Militia em- bodied, May 20, 1811.	—	—	—	—	—	2257
Totals.	35658	1196	14283	15825	7332	185487

DEVONSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF DEVONSHIRE,
As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Parishes, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS. Total of Parish.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprehended under the two preceding Classes.		
Axminster	2191	42	1231	951	209		11394
Bampton	1761	26	686	459	49		5564
Black Torrington	2661	77	2141	509	185		15049
Braunton	2705	65	1191	1146	658		14287
Budleigh	3392	228	1795	1531	524		17473
Cleaton	507	24	405	122	17		2763
Coleridge	2568	107	1582	1227	504		16529
Culiton	1172	72	749	255	244		6088
Crediton	2130	97	989	1119	140		10648
Ermington	1408	70	975	536	145		8671
Exminster	2516	136	1142	914	666		13071
Fremington	1208	38	772	295	138		6587
Halberton	495	31	381	192	40		2690
Hartland	659	12	540	115	33		3970
Hayridge	2159	75	1116	997	168		10847
Haytor	3439	151	1811	1057	1076		19406
Hemyock	932	26	622	406	50		4817
Lifton	1326	24	1145	342	139		9710
Moulton, South	2030	117	1474	534	132		10352
Ottery, St. Mary	554	29	259	286	208		2880
Plympton	1225	47	651	515	357		7766
Roborough	1337	49	852	343	461		9045
Shebbear	2769	91	1640	793	583		15243
Sherwill	609	28	474	114	48		3275
Stanborough	1973	77	1305	799	202		12285
Tavistock	662	16	479	613	122		5778
Tawton, North } with Winkley... }	1988	73	1524	508	142		10606
Teignbridge	1820	91	1142	1639	120		11269
Tiverton	1374	44	505	849	161		7461
Witheridge	1467	70	1128	360	78		7749
Wonford	3723	228	2114	1385	680		20049
City and County } of Exeter..... }	2879	92	156	2898	1411		18896
Borough of Ply- mouth and su- rroundings..... }	5436	116	65	7859	5684		56060
Local Militia em- bodied, May, 1811..... }	—	—	—	—	—		4530
Total's	52318	2475	33044	30977	15394		383308

DORSETSHIRE.

DORSETSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF DORSETSHIRE,

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture	In Trade and Manu- facture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.	
Blandford, North.....	893	34	658	179	183	4801	
Blandford, South.....	2102	59	1338	648	303	10477	
Bridport.....	3633	115	2434	1304	315	20030	
Cerne.....	1194	53	1048	322	74	6600	
Dorchester.....	3020	106	1967	754	716	15980	
Shaston, East.....	3280	113	2224	771	661	16406	
Shaston, West.....	1374	29	938	508	158	7692	
Sherborne.....	1006	44	852	267	75	5644	
Sturminster.....	1645	42	1017	551	384	9338	
Town of Blandford...	431	12	12	605	35	2425	
Borough of Bridport	512	7	20	600	51	3567	
Borough of Dorchester.....	357	7	33	268	178	2546	
Borough of Lyme-Regis.....	342	14	57	201	145	1925	
Borough of Shaftsbury.....	559	28	123	266	236	2635	
Town of Sherborne.	575	21	179	411	129	3370	
Borough of Wareham.....	372	10	75	209	105	1709	
Borough of Weymouth and Melcombe-Regis....	886	119	7	711	412	4732	
Town and County of Poole.....	1029	28	—	1032	72	4816	
Totals.....	23210	841	12982	9607	4232	124693	

DURHAM.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF THE COUNTY OF DURHAM.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Wards, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture,	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.	
Chester Ward, Three Divisions	9974	369	2941	7600	4024	69627	
Darlington Ward, Three Divisions	7184	169	2971	3150	2558	39001	
Easington Ward, Two Divisions	3870	112	1585	2231	1091	22594	
Stockton Ward, Two Divisions	3414	104	1705	1092	931	16165	
Islandshire	1264	49	485	412	714	6832	
Norhamshire	733	41	438	186	141	3524	
City of Durham	932	24	144	927	424	6763	
Town of Sunderland	1662	22	19	1496	2023	12289	
Local Militia, embodied, May 17, 1811.....	—	—	—	—	—	830	
Totals	29033	890	10288	17094	11906	177625	

ESSEX

ESSEX.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF ESSEX.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.	
Barstable	1715	30	1519	372	115	10243	
Becontree	4377	136	1988	1785	1230	26675	
Chafford	1479	34	874	605	201	8471	
Chelmsford.....	3758	121	2447	1408	614	22254	
Clavering	590	15	562	98	73	3296	
Dengie	1259	15	1057	367	148	8244	
Dunmow	1936	52	1390	541	223	10336	
Freshwell	970	7	873	198	61	5372	
Harlow	1133	27	940	324	123	6697	
Havering-atte-Bower.....	924	33	521	541	94	5055	
Hinckford	5654	162	3865	1877	920	29814	
Lexden	2901	50	2047	776	600	16261	
Ongar.....	1905	42	1384	463	350	11211	
Rochford.....	1658	29	1262	563	263	10678	
Tendring.....	2592	32	2262	954	349	17813	
Thurstable	777	20	699	164	65	4511	
Uttlesford.....	1779	32	1627	381	145	9961	
Waltham	1318	37	554	280	573	7199	
Winstree	506	5	513	97	97	3474	
Witbam	1739	45	1143	553	198	8997	
Borough of Colchester.....	2111	57	480	1152	1461	12544	
Borough of Harwich.....	564	14	72	178	660	3732	
Borough of Maldon	505	10	101	290	174	2679	
Town of Saffron-Walden.....	669	7	307	215	207	3403	
Local Militia embodied, May, 1811.....	—	—	—	—	—	3553	
Totals	42829	1012	28517	14182	8944	252473	

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE,

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1841.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.	
Berkeley	3808	148	1711	2215	627	21362	
Bisley	2975	292	1221	1594	378	14441	
Blidesloe	441	16	240	176	83	2408	
Botloe	1080	33	713	280	202	5710	
Bradley	839	26	644	145	116	4243	
Briavells, St.	2283	63	792	1344	240	11565	
Brightwells Barrow...	1329	25	873	416	186	6249	
Cheltenham	1798	123	594	788	676	9734	
Cleeve	299	14	286	34	6	1416	
Crowthorne and Minety.....	975	33	867	141	67	4649	
Deerhurst	622	18	458	140	62	3243	
Dudstone and King's Barton...	1564	43	1230	366	219	8473	
Grumbald's Ash	1540	26	1093	412	198	8070	
Henbury	761	25	584	126	157	4627	
Kiftgate	2693	84	1858	680	373	12799	
Lancaster, Duchy of, Langley and Swineshead	380	15	322	79	31	1878	
Longtrees	2330	75	831	923	756	12938	
Puckle-church	2806	264	761	1958	263	13652	
Rapsgate	697	16	335	256	196	3939	
Slaughter	677	21	524	143	84	3303	
Tewkesbury	1406	31	796	457	299	7079	
Thornbury	686	17	573	112	38	3553	
Tibalstone	1082	29	674	340	180	5833	
Westbury	180	3	174	37	8	979	
Westminster	846	22	602	323	86	4053	
Whitstone	704	22	559	154	122	3989	
City of Bristol, with Barton Regis Hundred	1949	82	783	1218	216	10356	
Borough of Cirencester	11940	425	394	12420	4783	76433	
City of Gloucester Borough of Tewkesbury	902	24	207	526	215	4540	
	1509	20	12	1312	392	8280	
	959	33	71	873	63	4820	
Totals	52042	1991	20782	29988	11322	285514	

HAMPSHIRE.

HAMPSHIRE.

WE are happy in being enabled to add to our description of this county, a notice of the following seats.

HERON, or HERN COURT, the seat of the Earl of Malmesbury (Lord Lieutenant of this county) is situated in the rich and fertile valley leading from Wimborne to Christ-church, about four miles distant to the north-west from the last-mentioned town. The mansion is placed in an elbow formed by the river Stour, and is supposed to derive its appellation from this circumstance of locality; *Hern* being Saxon for an angle, or corner.

The present noble possessor inherited this place and property from his relation, Mr. Hooper; to whose family it had belonged for upwards of two centuries.

The house, which is upon a large and substantial scale, has been nearly rebuilt by Lord Malmesbury; part of the north front (which has been raised one story) being all that remains of the former structure. A veneration for the original character of the mansion has, however, been evinced in this work of re-edification. The style of domestic architecture that prevailed during the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, is still preserved in every principal feature:—a laudable example of respect for ancestry, and of correctness in taste, which it is hoped will find imitators in those who may alter and renovate ancient family buildings in adjacent districts.

The library of this capacious residence contains a highly-valuable collection of books and maps. That these are selected with an excellent judgment will scarcely be doubted, when the literary talents of the present Earl and his celebrated father (James Harris, Esq. who enriched the republic of letters with the work intituled *HERMAS*) are held in due remembrance.

In this seat are also preserved many fine paintings, the principal of which are enumerated in the *BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND* for *BERKSHIRE*, under the article of *PARK PLACE*.*

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* See *Beauties for Berkshire*, p. 184—187.

- A very extensive range of plantations covers the adjoining hills; and the examiner cannot fail to notice a fishing-cottage of unusual attraction, which is placed on the margin of the river Avon, and is a desirable appendage to the property that surrounds this mansion.

BEECH HOUSE is the residence of John Proctor Anderdon, Esq. formerly an eminent West India merchant. The house has received its name from a venerable beech of majestic dimensions, "the last of its fellows," which stands near it. The situation is upon the south-western verge of the New Forest, within a few miles of the sea; from the shore of which the country rises with a gentle ascent to the southern front of the house. This is also the case with the wood and field-scenery upon the western side; and, by this favourable disposition, the eye is enabled to range over landscapes remarkable for their interest, variety, and beauty.

These circumstances have gradually led the successive proprietors of the estate to bestow on it the importance which it now possesses; and, by degrees, to enlarge the scanty dimensions of a game-keeper's cottage to the extent necessary for a convenient mansion. Such alterations, however, had been conducted with very little attention to picturesque effect until the summer of 1816, when the present owner, under the direction of Mr. Stedman Whitwell, an architect of considerable taste and rising eminence, made a most rapid and successful transformation. The finished appearance which the house now possesses, is carefully adapted to the surrounding scenery, and is distinguished by its simplicity, propriety, and harmony.

The interior is remarkable for a collection of paintings by the great masters, which have been selected by their present possessor, as the most valuable that long study, ample means, and sound judgment could procure. The following list will call up some delightful recollections to the mind of the connoisseur

In the Flemish, or Dining Room, amongst others, are

A landscape and village-feast by *Teniers*, in his finest manner;—engraved.

A stag-hunt by *Wouvermans*, remarkably beautiful;—engraved.

A sea view, with rocks, a scene in Norway, by William *Vander-velde*; a chef-d'œuvre.

A brisk

A brisk gale, by the same.

A landscape and figures, by *Wynants*, one of his finest specimens.

The triumph of Pomona,—numerous figures in a fine landscape, by *Rubens*, heretofore in the possession of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the companion-picture to Lord Grosvenor's Judgment of Paris. It has been universally admired as one of the most finished and beautiful performances of this great master, and certainly has never been surpassed in colouring.

Cattle and figures, in a landscape, by *Cuyp*.

A landscape, with two horses, &c. by *Paul Potter*. There are several etchings, by the master himself, of the first designs for this picture, as well of the whole when finished.

A landscape and cows, by *Paul Potter*, beautifully engraved.

A traveller's halt, and fine landscape by *Wouvermans*, also engraved.

A mill and waterfall, in a landscape, by *Rusdale*; of a larger size than usual, and of an excellence never surpassed by this master.

A large landscape by *Teniers*, with cattle and various figures; the chief of which are Christ and his disciples, going to Emmaus. This picture, which is of the highest celebrity, was brought from the Escorial in Spain.

Cupid, with a broken bow, in a landscape, by *Sir Joshua Reynolds*. It has always been called "*the English Corregio*," and is a very beautiful specimen of the superior talents of this great artist.

In the Italian, or Drawing Room, are,

The Madonna, child, and St. John, by *Raphael*, from the Capo di Monte Palace;—on pannel.

The baptism of Christ by St. John, with a landscape by *Murillo*: formerly in the possession of Mr. Matthew Bryan.

The three Marys at the Tomb, a beautiful landscape by *Francesco Mola*, formerly in the possession of Dr. Chauncey, and engraved in Mr. Forster's collection of celebrated pictures.

Christ taken from the cross, with various figures in a landscape, by *Ludovico Caracci*; a beautiful easel picture.

A magnificent landscape, with figures, by *Domenichino*, six feet long; engraved. This picture has ever excited the highest degree of admiration

admiration with artists, connoisseurs, and others; and perhaps is scarcely inferior to any, of the same class, in Europe.

St. Francis, by *Andrea Sacchi*, an exquisite pendant to the *Ludovico Caracci*.

The Madonna, and two holy children on the ground, with flowers and a landscape, by *Leonardo da Vinci*. An undoubted, and beautiful picture of this very rare master; three feet six inches by two feet six inches, on panel. It came from the Palazzo Pitti, and was purchased by the present proprietor at a very large price.

The Madonna, child, and St. John, with a landscape by *Fra. Bartolomeo*, on panel; a companion to, and nearly the same size as, the last. The original design for this picture, in chalk upon paper, is in the possession of the President of the Royal Academy.

The Madonna, child, St. John, and St. Joseph, by *Andrea del Sarto*, on panel. This undoubted and charming picture was long in the possession of a noble family, from whom it passed into the hands of the present proprietor.

The triumph of David, by *Guercino*, one of his very finest works. It consists of seven figures, and is six feet long. It was purchased in Rome by the late Mr. Head (on the approach of the French army) from a palace in which it was originally painted, and has been copied, for the purpose of being engraved in Tresham and Tonkins' work "The British Gallery of Paintings." There is, already, an old *membrano* engraving of it.

The salutation of Mary and Elizabeth, with other figures, in a landscape by *Sebastian del Piombo*. This picture, so long, so highly, and so justly celebrated, was brought into this country by the late Mr. Beckford. It has been finely copied in enamel by Mr. Bone, and several times engraved.

In the library and other rooms, are pictures by *Murillo*, *Nicolo Poussin*, *Nicolo del Abbati*, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, and some very beautiful works in oil from Mrs. Anderson's own pencil.

The entrances to the estate have been marked with lodges, of an appropriate character; and the grounds are receiving daily additional proofs of tasteful culture.

Blackbrook Place is the residence of George Purvis, Esq. who was
secretary

secretary to Earl St. Vincent, while that Admiral blockaded Cadiz. The house was built by Mr. Purvis in the years 1799 and 1800, on a spot (then an open field) commanding pleasing views over the adjacent country. When that gentleman purchased the estate which comprises the site of the present handsome dwelling, it possessed a mansion, which occupied lower ground, on the opposite, or southern, side of the road.—This building has undergone considerable alterations, and is now distinguished by the name of *Blackbrook Cottage*. The whole of the estate was purchased by Mr. Purvis of Col. Hammond, of the North Hants Regiment of Militia.

HAMPSHIRE

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF HAMPSHIRE,

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Divisions, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Altop, North.....	2092	47	1486	575	318	12180
Alton, South.....	889	17	723	325	74	5837
Andover.....	4168	93	2608	1162	838	21298
Basingstoke.....	4197	78	3232	1026	633	24249
Fawley.....	3083	54	2386	811	425	18552
Kingsclere.....	2711	44	2106	543	280	13861
New-Forest, East....	2963	78	1607	846	767	15364
New-Forest, West...	2990	128	1741	1024	416	14784
Portsdown.....	6279	129	2473	1839	2757	37004
Isle of Wight.....	4323	155	2669	1518	779	24120
Borough of Portsmouth and Town of Portsea.....	6852	108	137	5920	3477	40567
Town and County of Southampton.....	1573	63	165	1485	419	9617
City of Winchester and Soke Liberty.....	1087	36	68	949	307	6705
Local Militia embodied, May 16, 1811.....	—	—	—	—	—	942
Totals.....	43210	1030	21401	18024	11491	245080

HEREFORDSHIRE.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF HEREFORDSHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.	
Broxash.....	2071	81	1564	433	191	10496	
Ewyas-Lacy	684	77	584	108	18	3257	
Greytree	2020	79	1090	582	493	9799	
Grinsworth	1253	49	991	260	72	6033	
Huntington	974	33	590	336	150	4721	
Radlow	2065	71	1561	493	238	11227	
Stretford	1520	71	1172	408	141	7928	
Webtree	1492	43	1301	266	93	7881	
Wigmore.....	942	23	785	166	68	4792	
Wolphy	2302	51	1455	723	316	11184	
Wormelow, Lower and Upper.....	1666	61	1327	347	86	8631	
City of Hereford.....	1583	85	179	922	572	7306	
Local Militia embodied, May 21, 1811.....	—	—	—	—	—	818	
Totals	18572	724	12599	5044	2438	94073	

HERTFORDSHIRE.

HERTFORDSHIRE.**SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF HERTFORDSHIRE,***As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.*

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS. Total of Persons.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	
Braughin	2586	55	1351	1343	300	14077
Broadwater	2460	39	1672	646	354	13033
Cashio	3658	90	2178	1195	733	20335
Dacorum	4354	105	2682	1505	464	22525
Edwintree	1506	24	1286	311	149	7524
Hertford	1935	51	1000	715	396	10335
Hitchin and Pirton...	1529	30	838	603	218	7732
Odsey	1115	25	751	239	278	5743
Borough of Hertford.	592	6	122	371	242	3900
Borough of St. Albans.....	610	11	118	264	420	3653
Local Militia embodied, May 17, 1811	—	—	—	—	—	2797
Totals.....	20345	436	11998	7192	3554	111654

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.**SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF HUNTINGDONSHIRE,***As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.*

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS. Total of Persons.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	
Huntingstone	2338	39	1789	618	395	13240
Leightonstone	1443	22	1092	350	219	7943
Norman-Cross	1251	14	1019	283	138	7427
Toseland	2084	57	1443	663	277	11192
Borough of Huntingdon.....	450	21	18	291	213	2397
Totals.....	7566	153	5361	2205	1242	42208

KENT.

KENT.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF KENT,

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Lathe of St. Augustine.....	10193	360	4776	2552	3937	55535
Aylesford.....	10922	243	7012	3952	2164	66610
Scray.....	10152	148	5939	4034	2242	63710
Shepway.....	3786	102	2274	979	1347	22881
Sutton-At-Hone.....	9127	241	5205	3037	2525	54000
City of Canterbury..	2093	106	508	1194	624	10200
Town of Chatham and City of Rochester.....	3713	79	333	3110	1158	21722
Town of Deptford and Town of Greenwich.....	5778	125	304	4415	3567	36780
Town and Cinque Port of Dover..	1780	65	50	998	1115	9074
Borough of Maidstone.....	1706	39	437	942	490	9443
Town and Cinque Port of Sandwich.....	517	13	174	244	179	2735
Town of Woolwich..	2296	150	65	2539	1844	17054
Local Militia embodied, May, 1811.....	—	—	—	—	—	3351
Totals.....	62063	1671	27077	27996	21192	373095

LANCASHIRE.

LANCASHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF LANCASHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	
Amounderness	9322	240	3333	5704	688	48297
Blackburn	19708	571	2645	16157	1799	110149
Leyland	6251	167	1798	4349	498	36715
Lonsdale, North of } the Sands..... }	3729	141	1701	1381	797	18691
Lonsdale, South of } the Sands..... }	3249	92	2160	909	264	16903
Salford.....	43254	1213	4009	41485	2311	254126
West-Derby	22546	434	7190	14324	2287	123137
Borough of Lancaster	1694	37	182	1260	464	9247
Borough of Liverpool	15589	418	83	7516	12953	94376
Town of Manchester	16353	892	47	19639	1334	98573
Borough of Wigan...	2588	64	157	1798	676	14060
Local Militia embodied, May, 1811	—	—	—	—	—	4035
Totals	144283	4269	23305	114522	24072	828309

LEICESTERSHIRE.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF LEICESTERSHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.	
Framland.....	2527	50	1571	798	326	12936	
Gartree.....	3160	102	1478	1387	442	14697	
Goscote, East.....	3276	71	1655	1284	470	15705	
Goscote, West.....	6950	114	2494	4271	468	34696	
Guthlaxton.....	3606	97	1364	2148	248	17622	
Sparkenhoe.....	5891	122	2710	3049	444	30660	
Borough of Leicester	4609	74	428	4090	355	23146	
Local Militia embodied, May 15, 1811.....	—	—	—	—	—	957	
Totals	30019	630	11700	17027	2753	150419	

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Page 608
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APPENDIX.

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LINCOLNSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF LINCOLNSHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Wapentakes, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.	
PARTS OF HOLLAND.							
Elloe	4145	109	2664	1174	664	20320	
Kirton	2255	34	1531	407	473	11493	
Shirbeck	900	20	588	108	260	4298	
Borough of Boston...	1772	65	166	907	738	8180	
PARTS OF KESTIVEN							
Aswardhurn	1026	22	825	235	46	5144	
Aveland	1449	21	952	467	225	7687	
Beltisloe	992	15	766	211	111	5134	
Boothby-Graffo	1127	27	923	184	121	5876	
Flexwell	859	20	508	286	108	4365	
Langoe	930	9	841	159	58	5288	
Loveden	1245	19	992	258	142	6427	
Nes	1004	21	537	206	363	5376	
Winnibriggs & Threo	837	11	607	158	165	4359	
Borough of Gran	1529	27	638	668	390	7766	
tham, with the							
Soke							
Borough of Stamford	798	22	136	627	133	4582	
PARTS OF LINDBEY.							
Aslaoe	696	11	609	128	38	3645	
Soke of Bolingbroke	1392	39	1003	325	175	7089	
Bradley-Haverstoe ..	1699	76	1237	622	141	8537	
Hundred of Calce-	1550	41	1225	301	157	7757	
worth							
Candlehoe	1164	16	967	232	133	6099	
Corringham	2291	97	848	848	711	10414	
Gartree	964	27	886	151	79	5387	
Hundred of Hill	472	15	403	102	45	2694	
Soke of Horncastle...	1293	33	847	415	81	6395	
Lawress	1080	21	710	192	260	5611	
Hundred of Louth-	2033	76	1126	489	674	10629	
Eske							
Ludborough	211	2	207	19	12	1095	
Manley	3631	75	2723	862	428	17612	
Walshcroft	1016	20	882	217	65	5474	
Weil	437	13	370	90	19	2217	
Wraggoc	895	13	723	156	134	5094	
Yarborough	2859	58	1973	913	298	14576	
City of Lincoln	1813	26	468	1117	392	8861	
Local Militia em-	—	—	—	—	—	2410	
bodied, May,							
1811							
Totals	46368	1099	29881	13184	7839	237891	

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MIDDLESEX.

MIDDLESEX.

(*The County separate from the Metropolis.*)

THE following corrections are submitted, in regard to the part of the work; and it gives the Editor peculiar satisfaction to believe that no errors of greater importance demand notice. Much, undoubtedly, might be *added* to the topographical delineations of nearly every parish; but, as the Editor is not aware of any serious omissions, he necessarily forbears to present, in this Appendix, any other additional matter than some few supplementary hints of intelligence.

Page 109, *note*, for "*compaigns*," read "*campaigns*."

HOLLAND-HOUSE, P. 136—146. From an old volume of architectural drawings, by *John Thorpe*, now in the possession of J. Soane, Esq. Architect, "it appears that Holland House was designed by that artist for Sir Walter Cope, who then possessed the property." In our notice of the *busts* which ornament the gilt room, for "*Don Gaspar Melchor de Savellanos*," read *Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovelanos*; and add to the enumeration of busts, those of *Ariosto* and *Buonaparte*. In our description (P. 145.) of a picture in this mansion, representing the late C. J. Fox, when a boy, with two ladies; for "*Lady Mary Lenox*," read *Lady Sarah Lenox*. To the principal portraits in the Library, add that of the late *Earl of Stanhope*, by *Opie*, bequeathed by that nobleman to the present Lord Holland. The full length of the present *Lady Holland* is by *Romney*. It should be observed that the chief library at Holland-House is of rather larger dimensions than we have stated; it being 109 feet in length.

Page 148, line 15, *dele* the comma between the words "*Warwick*" and "*Holland*."

Page 315, *note*; for "*principal*," read * *The principal*,

Page 398, line 24, *dele* the word "*all*."

Page 399, line 12, for "*ancient English*," read *the ancient English*.

Page 411, line 28, for "*Bouchier*," read *Bourchier*.

Page 421, line 13, for "*Simplicicus*," read *Simplicius*.

As the poetical *Register* of the parish of TWICKENHAM, written by Horace Walpole, (Earl of Orford) and mentioned in a note on the Beauties for this county, Page 424, contains many curious local allusions,

allusions, and is at the same time little known, it is presumed that the reader will deem it a desirable article to be introduced in the present place.

THE PARISH REGISTER OF TWICKENHAM,

Written about 1758.

WHERE silver Thames round Twit'nam meads
His winding current sweetly leads ;
Twit'nam, the Muses' fav'rite seat ;
Twit'nam, the Graces' lov'd retreat ;
There polish'd Essex (1) wont to sport,
The pride and victim of a court !
There Bacon (2) tun'd the grateful lyre,
To soothe Eliza's haughty ire ;
— Ah ! happy had no meaner strain
Than friendship's dash'd his mighty vein !
Twit'nam, where Hyde (3) majestic sage,
Retir'd from folly's frantic stage,
While his vast soul was hung on tenters
To mend the world, and vex dissenters:
Twit'nam, where frolic Wharton (4) revel'd,
Where Montague (5) with locks dishevel'd
(Conflict of dirt and warmth divine)
Invok'd—and scandaliz'd the nine :
Where Pope in moral music spoke
To th' anguish'd soul of Bolingbroke,
And whisper'd, how true genius errs,
Preferring joys that pow'r confers ;
Bliss, never to great minds arising
From ruling worlds, but from despising :

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Where

(1) Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

(2) Sir Francis Bacon.

(3) Lord Clarendon.

(4) The Duke of Wharton.

(5) Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

Where Fielding (1) met his bunter muse,
 And, as they quaff'd the fiery juice,
 Droll Nature stamp'd each lucky hit
 With unimaginable wit :
 Where Suffolk (2) sought the peaceful scene,
 Resigning Richmond to the queen,
 And all the glory, all the teasing,
 Of pleasing one not worth the pleasing :
 Where Fanny, (3) ever-blooming fair,
 Ejaculates the graceful pray'r,
 And 'scap'd from sense, with nonsense smit,
 For Whitfield's cant leaves Stanhope's (4) wit :
 Amid this choir of sounding names
 Of statesmen, bards, and beauteous dames,
 Shall the last trifler of the throng
 Enroll his own such names among ?
 —Oh ! no—Enough if I consign
 To lasting types their notes divine :
 Enough, if Strawberry's humble hill
 The title-page of fame shall fill.*

George Deare, the promising but short-lived sculptor, noticed in the account of the residence of George Gostling, Esq. at Whitton, (Page 431—432.) is thus commemorated in Dr. Clarke's *Travels*, part Second, section Second, page 12.—“ Eleanor, wife of Edward the First, sucking the poison out of her husband's arm, is the work of *George Deare*, who, at a very early period of life, attained to a surprising degree of perfection in sculpture and design. He died, a few years ago, at Rome, at the very time when the first proofs of his genius began to obtain the patronage necessary for its full development. The particular work alluded to is a bas relief, executed in the marble of Carrara. It was purchased by Sir Corbet Corbet, an English baronet, and belongs now to his collection. This brief allusion to a young artist, who would have been an honour to his country,

(1) Henry Fielding, Author of *Tom Jones*, &c. &c. &c.

(2) Henrietta Hobart, Countess of Suffolk.

(3) Lady Fanny Shirley.

(4) Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield.

* Works of H. Walpole, Earl of Orford. Vol IV, P. 382—383.

country, is, perhaps, the only biographical document concerning him likely to be made public."

Page 626.—It will be seen, from an enumeration of many Roman stations, inserted at Page 133 of the INTRODUCTION TO THE BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES, that the station *Sulomagus* is placed by the most judicious modern antiquaries at BROCKLEY-HILL. "The Romans," writes Mr. Leman, (Hist. of Hertfordshire, article Early Inhabitants, P. 15.) "built on the scattered town, or towns, of Sullionac (for there appear, from the extent of the remains to have been more than one British post there) the new fortress of Sulomagus."

Page 653, line 9, for "Lanfrance," read *Lanfranc*.

Page 680, note, for "Cassivallan," read *Cassivelaun*.

The subjoined learned and satisfactory remarks, on the subject of the ancient *embankment and ditch* noticed in the "Beauties" for this county, P. 677, cannot fail of being particularly acceptable to the reader. They are extracted from an article contributed by the Rev. T. Leman to the first volume of Mr. Clutterbuck's History of Hertfordshire, published since the completion of the "Beauties" for Middlesex.

"Although the distinction between the lines of separation of the Celtic and Belgic tribes are more evidently seen in Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, yet marks sufficiently plain of both of them, may be still discovered within the confines of Hertfordshire. Thus, the faint traces of a bank and ditch, running north of the brick-kiln on Harrow Weald Common, and on the left of the road from Harrow to Elstree, having its bank to the north, and its ditch to the south, is certainly one of the boundaries of the primeval *Celts, the Cassii*, connecting their post of Sullionac, with the river Colne, and forming one of the southern lines of defence of their territories; while the more substantial work which joins it to the east, and crosses, so visibly, the road from Harrow to Watford, near Oxhey-lane, is, as evidently, a *Belgic work*, raised, probably, on the traces of the former by this more powerful people, when they crossed the Thames, and invading the dominions of the *Cassii*, placed it as a boundary to their first conquests. This may be concluded from the ditch of this fortified line being invariably to the south, and its bank towards the north, which proves it to be the work of a people attacking from the southern quarter."

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF MONMOUTHSHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manu- facture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Abergavenny.....	2937	80	1121	1625	358	14745
Caldicott.....	1639	48	969	438	385	9075
Ragland.....	1334	67	921	296	182	6565
Skenfreth.....	708	39	573	79	70	3370
Usk.....	1662	50	935	444	410	7681
Wentloog.....	2825	63	1150	1555	279	16269
Borough of Mon- mouth.....	661	14	146	375	232	3503
Local Militia em- bodied, May 13, 1817.....	—	—	—	—	—	919
Totals.....	11766	361	5815	4812	1916	62127

NORFOLK.

APPENDIX.

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NORFOLK.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF NORFOLK.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Blofield.....	692	22	546	125	104	3723
Brothercross.....	675	15	502	147	54	3194
Clackclose.....	2201	43	1865	652	187	13311
Clavering.....	793	13	753	169	70	5267
Depwade.....	1152	6	1153	368	85	8011
Diss.....	1092	15	728	341	461	7736
Earsham.....	1042	12	882	392	190	7378
Erpingham, North..	1455	27	972	417	248	7654
Erpingham, South..	2132	22	1649	582	289	11612
Eynesford.....	1418	17	1223	424	145	8452
Flegg, East.....	439	4	354	67	64	2291
Flegg, West.....	509	6	453	90	93	2969
Forehoe.....	1692	24	1181	689	136	10263
Freebridge-Lynn....	1401	15	1375	323	123	8834
Freebridge-Marsh- land.....	1427	42	1325	257	71	7957
Gallow.....	1139	12	944	347	121	6716
Greenhoe, North....	1688	37	907	535	401	8154
Greenhoe, South....	1314	28	1169	377	113	7841
Grimshoe.....	903	10	725	182	119	5052
Guilt Cross.....	769	8	614	393	108	5695
Happing.....	890	18	787	268	46	5210
Henstead.....	706	14	650	181	56	4069
Holt.....	1575	52	1061	448	228	7771
Humble Yard.....	561	9	620	149	47	4076
Launditch.....	1483	19	1418	376	155	9596
Loddon.....	843	5	817	262	83	5685
Mitford.....	1371	12	1053	610	107	8950
Shropham.....	1080	19	966	313	74	6675
Smithdon.....	1061	24	916	278	172	6281
Taversham.....	821	16	771	216	75	5360
Tunstead.....	1613	37	1161	503	199	8419
Walsham.....	675	10	527	173	38	3633
Wayland.....	830	9	849	191	51	5414
Borough of King's Lynn.....	2199	119	67	1576	887	10259
City of Norwich....	8336	185	388	8410	879	37256
Borough of Thetford.	513	15	56	287	186	2450
Borough of Yar- mouth, Great...}	3486	90	27	1964	1814	17977
Local Militia em- bodied, May, 1811.....	—	—	—	—	—	808
Totals.....	51776	1031	31454	23082	8279	91999

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

A valuable Correspondent in Northamptonshire has favoured the Editor with the following corrections of the account of that district, as presented in the eleventh volume of this work.

- P. 4. n. & p. 5. l. 1. for "Moreton" r. *Morton*
P. 6. l. 26. for "Stanwich" r. *Stannick*
P. 9. l. 14. for "Ralph" r. *Hugh*
Ibid. for "Coltesbrook" r. *Cottesbrook*
P. 19. l. 33. for "Mrs. Wright" r. *Mrs. Wight*
20. l. 7. for "Coltingham" r. *Cottingham*
Ibid. omit l. 15.
Ibid. l. 26. for "Hollywell" r. *Hollowell*
l. 28. for "Kilmarsh" r. *Kelmarsh*
l. 32. for "Blencour" r. *Blencowe*
P. 21. l. 7. for "Brian" r. *Bruern*
P. 37. l. 21. for "height" r. *top*
P. 38. l. 8. &c. the Union Canal is completed; and the Har-
borough to Stamford Canal abandoned
P. 41. l. 10. for "northern" r. *western*
Ibid. l. 11. omit "and at the same town," &c.
l. 23. for "Spritton" r. *Spratton*
P. 42. l. 19. for "Archologia" r. *Archæologia*
Ibid. l. 23. for "Welingborough" r. *Wellingborough*
l. 24. for "Warnford" r. *Wansford*
P. 46. in Table, Nassaburgh Hundred is omitted
P. 47. l. 17. for "Lodagrins" r. *Leodegarius*
Ibid. l. 19. omit "and spire"
l. 28. for "altar tomb" r. *slab*
P. 48. l. 28. for "altar tomb" r. *slab*
P. 49. l. 2. for "Crawfords" r. *Cranfords*
Ibid. l. 16. for "who" r. *whose ancestor*
P. 50. l. 32. &c. the cross has been destroyed many years

P. 32.

- P. 52. l. 23. for "Anly" r. *Onley*
P. 63. l. 21. for "Henry the third" r. *Henry the fifth*
P. 64. l. 33. add—and *when of*
P. 71. l. 5. for "Wyle" r. *Wylde*
Ibid. l. 6. after "in another part" add—*on an altar tomb*
P. 75. l. 28. for "several of which are" r. *one of which is*
Ibid. l. 32. for "Morilli" r. *Morillo*
P. 80. l. 8. omit "But"—and for "well" r. *ill*
P. 82. l. 26. for "is" r. *was*
P. 85. l. 9. Mr. Wodhull is since dead.
P. 88. l. 5. for "second" r. *subsequent*
P. 89. l. 13. for "of" r. *on*
P. 93. l. 16. omit "except"
P. 95. l. 15. omit "formerly"
Ibid. l. 16. for "that name" r. *Easton Neston*
P. 97. l. 8. for "lately the" r. *the temporary*
P. 98. l. 21. for "Leveson Simon" r. *Leveson Vernon*
P. 102. l. 2. for "related" r. *reported*
Ibid. l. 9. for "the" r. *this*
P. 108. l. 5. omit "yard"
Ibid. l. 6. for "several monumental records"
r. *inscriptions on flat stones*
P. 109 l. 4. omit "and tutor to Lord Henry Petty"
P. 110 l. 7. for Huntingbroke" r. *Hinchinbroke, the late*
Earl of Sandwich
P. 111. l. 10. & 13. for "Abingdon" r. *Abington*
P. 112. l. 8. for "Blackwell" r. *Buckwell*
Ibid. l. 16. for "O'Brian" r. *O'Brien*
P. 122. l. 21. for "Haselrig" r. *Heselrigge*
P. 124. l. 26. for "150,000l. r. 50,000l.
P. 132. l. 14. after "St. John" r. *for women*
Ibid. l. 15. & 16. omit "for the brethren,"—and "for the co-
brothers"—
and add :—This Hospital is governed by a
master and two co-brothers, or chaplains, who
are appointed by him. The Master himself
is appointed by the Bishop, and has a
house in the adjoining grounds, but is non-
resident.

Ibid.

- Ibid. l. 25. after "Hospital" r. *for women*
- P. 135. l. 31 & 32. the Moravian chapel is converted into a Bel-
lian, or National, School, and the Methodists
have lately erected a large and handsome
chapel.
- P. 136. l. 23. for "Paradise" r. *or new*
- Ibid. l. 34. "two" r. *one*—the other has been discon-
tinued some years.
- P. 137. l. 34. for "or" r. *of*
- P. 141. l. 28. "Bramley" r. *Brampton*
- P. 142. l. 5. "Darlington" r. *Dallington*
- P. 147. l. 3. "birthplace" r. *residence*
- Ibid. l. 14. after "In" r. *the parish of*
- P. 148. l. 6. for "Delvesheath" r. *Dyces's Heath*
- Ibid. the 2d. paragraph, should have followed
the 2d. paragraph in the *preceding page*.
- P. 149. l. 32. for "fine" r. *small*
- P. 152. l. 27. after "Blauquesfort" r. *and Earl of Fever-*
sham.
- P. 156. l. 29. for "East Haddon" r. *West Haddon*
- P. 157. l. 1. "Standford" r. *Stanford*
- P. 158. l. 2. "Cold Ashby" r. *Cottesbrook*
- P. 163. l. 19. omit "handsome"
- P. 165. l. 5. for "Barfoot" r. *Barford*
- Ibid. l. 7. after "Rothwell" r. *and Thorpe Underwood*
- l. 9. omit "or Underwood."
- P. 167. l. 27. &c. The monument here described is at *Maidwell*,
not *Oxendon*
- P. 168. l. 4. after "inscription" r. *in the chancel of Oxen-*
don church
- P. 172. l. 5. for "Woolhage" r. *Woolphage*
- P. 175. l. 27. omit "fine"
- Ibid. l. 28. for "Nicoles" r. *Nicolls*
- P. 177. l. 26.

The Rev. Peter Whalley was born at Rugby, in Warwickshire, and had no other connection with Ecton, than holding the living for about twelve months (1762-3).—He was Vicar of Sepulchre's in Northampton, several years.

- P. 179. l. 14. for "Batley" r. *Batley*
- P. 185. l. 16, &c. omit "bearing a cube at top, and on the four sides are carved in stone, different figures emblematic of the crucifixion."
- P. 186. note. for "Lambath" r. *Lambeth*
- P. 189. l. 12. Mr. Cumberland was born at Cambridge, whilst his mother was on a visit to her father, the celebrated Dr. Bentley. He, however, spent his early years with his parents at Stanwick.
- Ibid. l. 23. for "Barton Lattimer" r. *Burton Latimer*
- l. 24. "Irthingborough" r. *Irthlingborough*
- P. 192. l. 26. Bishop Henchman was born at Burton Latimer, in the house of the Rev. Owen Owens, Rector of that place; his mother being sister to Mr. Owens' second wife, and daughter to Robert Griffith, of Caernarvon, Esq.*
- P. 193. l. 9. for "Cranford Bridge" r. *Cranford Hall*
- P. 194. l. 30. "is" r. *was*
- P. 195. l. 32. "Hicklins" r. *Hickling*
- P. 198. l. 8. omit "other"
- P. 201. l. 14. for "Wilberstone" r. *Wilbarston*
- P. 203. l. 8. "late the residence" r. *the residence of the late*
- P. 208. l. 9 & 12. for "Clapton" r. *Clopton*
- P. 210. l. 3. Barnwell Castle was never in possession of the Montacutes. It was purchased of Berenger le Moyné by the Abbot of Ramsey; and, after the dissolution, was granted to Sir Edward Montagu.
- P. 213. l. 23. for "Warington" r. *Warmington*
- P. 216. l. 22 — 27. "In the reign" to "windows." In point of chronology this sentence should be transferred to the next page, and precede "Edward the Fourth."
- P. 221. for "Naseburgh Hundred" r. *Nassaburgh Hundred*
- P. 222. l. 13. for "Aleswort" r. *Aylesworth*
- P. 238. l. 30. "Earl of Burleigh" r. *Earl of Exeter*.

NORTHAMPTON.

* Bishop Kennet's MSS. and Requisites, Vol. II.

- P. 48. l. 12. for "September," read *November*.
 P. 53. note* l. 1. "1717," read 1317.
 P. 54. l. 30. "vaulted; it is" &c. read *vaulted is &c.*
 P. 78. l. 19. *dele* from "and &c." to family; *and add.*—
 C. W. Bigge, Esq. of Lindon House, sold
 the large brick house here to William Clarke,
 Esq. the proprietor of Belford, who resides in
 it; and the stone house is occupied by Thomas
 Hanway Bigge, Esq. brother of Mr. Bigge,
 of Lindon.
 P. 73, at reference, † for "p. *assim*," read *passim*.
 P. 100. l. 29. "Roger," read *Robert*.
 P. 120. l. 14. after *Shewingsheels*, *add*: on the sixth of July,
 1816, John Blenkinsop Carlson, Esq. of Blenkinsop Castle, presented
 various articles of antiquity discovered within his manor of Blenkinsop,
 to the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and, among them,
 a fine tablet, bearing the following very interesting inscription to
Ceres.

IMMINET. LEONI. VIRGO. CAELES
 TI. SITV. SPICIFERA. IVSTI. IN
 VENTRIX. VRBIVM. CONDITRIX.
 EX QVIS MVMERIBVS. NOSSE CON
 TIGIT DEOS ERGO EADEM MATER DIVVM
 PAX VIRTVS CERES DEA SYRIA
 LANCE VITAM ET IVRA PENSITANS
 IN CAELO VISVM SYRIA SIDVS EDI
 DIT LIBYAE COLENDVM INDE
 CVNCTI DIDICIMVS
 ITA intellexit NVMINE INDVCTVS
 TVO MARCVS CAECILIVS DO
 NATIVS. MILITANS TRIBVNVS
 IN PRAEFECTO DONO PRINCIPIS

It will be observed that this inscription consists of ten verses, of the same kind as those in which the comedies of Terence are written. The Rev. G. S. Faber, author of *The Origin of the Idolatry of the Pagans*, has given a very learned explanation of this curious document in the *Archæologia Æliana*: but his paper is too long for insertion

tion in this place, and is incapable of abridgment. The following extract is the introductory paragraph of Mr. Faber's paper:—

"Marcus Cæcilius, the author of the curious inscription to Ceres, lately discovered at Caervoran, on the Roman wall, identifies that Goddess with the Zodaical constellation Virgo: and, both in this identification, and in the character which he ascribes to her, he displays an intimate acquaintance with the old Theological notions of the Gentiles."

P. 134. l. 28. for "EO" read TO and *delete* the paragraph beginning, "concerning this" &c. and ending "pius et justus:" and insert the following in its place: it is observable of this inscription that it mentions an Emperor of Rome, who was grandson of Severus; the Second Ala of the Astures; a person of the name of Marius Valerius; the presence of a prefect called Septimius Nilus; and refers to something that, having been injured by time, had been rebuilt, and dedicated on the third of the kalends of November, when Gratus and Seleucus were consuls.

Heliogabalus was grandson of Mæsa, the sister of Severus, and styled himself DIVI SEVERI NEPOS. He began to reign in 218, and was slain on the tenth of March, 222. Gratus and Seleucus were consuls in 221: this inscription, was, therefore, made on the thirtieth of October in that year, and refers to Heliogabalus. After the death of an Emperor who was hated, his name and titles were often erased from public monuments; a practice which accounts for the mutilations in this inscription.

The Notitia Imperii, a record that mentions transactions which occurred after the reign of Theodosius the First, and, consequently, after 375, enumerates the names of eighteen cities *per lineam Valli*: and particularizes the rank of the officers, and the names of the several divisions of the Roman army, by which they were garrisoned. In the sixth of these cities, which it calls *Cilurnum*, and which answers to Walwick Chesters, it places the prefect of the second wing of the Asti (*Praefectus Ala secundæ Asturum Cilurno.*) The coincidence, therefore, between this inscription and the Notitia, clearly proves that the ancient name of Walwick Chesters was *Cilurnum*. A similar agreement exists between the Notitia and inscriptions found at the stations at Benwell; Halton Chesters; Carrowbrugh; House Steads;

Little

Little Chesters; Burdoswald; and other stations on the line of the wall.

The Astures were a people of Spain. The first Ala of them was quartered at Benwell, and, in an inscription belonging to that place, is called *Ala prima Hispanorum Asturum*, and is coupled with the name of Gordian. An inscription discovered at *Æsica*, or *Great Chesters*, on the wall, also mentions the second cohort of the Astures; but the *Notitia* says, *cohors prima Asturum Æsica*.

The Alæ were auxiliary cavalry, and each of them consisted of four or five hundred horse, and was divided into ten *turnæ*, or troops.

I conceive that the term *vetustate* referred to some edifice that had fallen into decay. The first Ala of the Astures rebuilt a temple at Benwell, in the time of Gordian; and the second cohort of the same people re-edified a ruined granary, from the ground, at Great Chesters, in the time of Alexander Severus. The Emperor Gordian also rebuilt certain decayed barracks and magazines at Lanchester; and I apprehend that the inscription in the crypt at Hexham, which has HORR upon it, relates to the repairs of some granary. It is worthy of remark, that all these repairs were done nearly about the same time; and, I think, the term *vetustate conlapsa*, fallen together by time, implies that these edifices had acquired a considerable age at the time they were rebuilt.

Perhaps, the repairs which this inscription records, were done by some part of the second Ala of the Astures, the name of which was in the plural number; and the four last lines, when perfect, stood in some such manner as the following. The titles and offices of this Emperor may be seen in several inscriptions in Gruter, and other authors.

ALÆ. II. ASTVR. TEMPIVM. VETVSTATE. CONLAPSV. RESTITV
ERVNT. PER. MARIVM. VALERIVM. LEG. AVG. PRPR.
INSTANTE. SEPTIMIO NILO. PRAEF. ALÆ. II. ASTVR
DEDICATVM. III. KAL. NOVEM. GRATO ET SELEVCO COSS.

In Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, and in Gough's *Camden*, there are copies of two inscriptions of this kind, found at Lanchester; in both of which the names of the proprætor and the prefect are in this mode of Phrasenology. I have inserted *templum* to agree with *dedicatum*, supposing, that the flattery of the times had complimented this execrable

execrable Emperor and priest of the sun, with some title of divinity, and dedicated a temple to him.*

P. 137, after line 19, *add*:—In 1811 an act was passed “for erecting five distinct rectories and parishes within the rectory and parish of *Simonburn*, and for separating the same from the rectory and parish of *Simonburn*; and for providing parish churches, churchyards, and parsonage houses for the same; and for restraining the commissioners and governors of the Royal Hospital for seamen at Greenwich, from presenting to the rectory of *Simonburn*, or the said new rectories, any other persons than chaplains in the Royal Navy.”† In consequence of the above act, this parish has been divided into the several parishes of *Simonburn*; *Wark*; *Bellingham*; *Thornegburn*; *Falstone*; and *Greystead*. A Chapel of Ease to *Simonburn*, and a parsonage house, have been built at *Humshaugh*; new churches and parsonages at *Wark*, *Thornegburn*, and *Greystead*; and a new parsonage at *Falstone*.

P. 139, line 24, *dele* formerly the residence of a famous border chieftain, and *add*:—it was wholly built by his Grace the late Duke of Northumberland. It stands on the brink of a steep, smooth, green bank, formerly called *Humphrey’s Knough*, and situated between the North Tyne and the Keelder, where they unite. Its form is quadrangular, and it is castellated in the front, which has a prospect far down the North Tyne, and towards the mountain called *Bewshaugh*. *Pearl Fell*, fantastically crowned with four rude pillars of stone (set up by Shepherds, and called *Pikes*) towers up behind it; and fine old woods of birch, alder, hawthorn, &c. give it a majestic appearance. Large plantations of larch, oak, fir, and a great variety of other kinds of forest trees, have lately been made in its neighbourhood. A bridge has also been built here, over the Keelder, within these few years. Some yards to the north of the castle, four rings, and two round pieces of bronze, clumsily soldered together with a whitish metal, were discovered, by the earth being washed from about them by the water of an open drain.

KENNEL PARK is a tract of ground of a roundish form, about three miles in diameter, and divided into two parts by the North Tyne. The part of it situated on the south side of the river is the property of Sir

2 S

John

* See *Archæo. Eliana*, Vol. I. p. 128.

† Preamble to the act, 51 Geo. III. c. 194.

John Swinburne: that on the north belongs to his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, and Col. Reed. The lines of its ancient fences can be seen from almost every part of it. We have met with no account of its ancient possessors. In several parts of it, mounds of earth have been thrown across the dells, for the purpose, as *tradition informs us*, of damming back the streamlets, and forming ponds, in which the deer might save themselves when pursued by dogs. Within it, at the head of *Sunny rigg*, is a circular ditch, inclosing an area of about five yards in diameter, with seats on its outside cut out of the earth. It is called *Arthur's Round Table*. In former times the district of North Tindale abounded with red deer; and numerous horns of that animal are often found here, especially on the banks of the Keelder, after floods.

P. 139. l. 31. after *forests add*:—In the district between Tynehead and Bellingham there are several circular entrenchments, on the banks of the North Tyne, which we suppose to be the remains of fortified villages of the ancient Britons. They go by the name of camps: and were, probably, sometimes used as such, during the border wars. The first of these camps that we noticed is on a place which is covered with wood, and called *Bell's Hunkin*; it is on the south side of the Tyne, about a mile above Keelder Castle, forms an area of about 60 yards in diameter, and is defended by a vast vallum of rough, unhewn stones. There are several square and circular lines within it, which, apparently, are the foundations of buildings. The next of these camps is about a mile further down the river, in *Hitch-hill Wood*: it is very similar to that on Bell's Hunkin, excepting that much of the stone of its vallum has been taken away. The third is on *Lowe's Knough's*, about a mile from the last, is about forty yards in diameter, and has a vallum of earth, which at present is rather faint. The fourth is on *Harpney-rigg* on Lewis-burn, very perfect, thirty yards in diameter, and covered with wood. Still lower down, on *Weilhaugh moor*, is a fifth, also very perfect, and about thirty yards over. All these remains are about 300 yards from the river; on the north side of which each of them has a corresponding camp. There is one on *Ryan's Hill*, opposite to that on Bell's Hunkin, sixty yards across; its mound is of earth, and very faint. Another is opposite to Hitch-hill, on *Camp Rigg*, and is fifty yards over: its vallum is of stones; but the greater part of it removed. Many small
hand-

hand-mill stones were found in it, and spear heads, and other pieces of iron, much corroded. The next in succession, on the north side, is over against Lowey Knough's camp, on *Hob's Knough*, fifty yards in diameter, its vallum being of earth, and still very discernible. That termed *Baredales* is fifty yards in diameter, its vallum is of earth, and still very apparent; but it is a little below its corresponding camp on Harpney-rigg. And the lowest one of this series, that we noticed, is on *Hawk's Knough*, in Kennel Park, opposite that on Wellhaugh, fifty yards in diameter, its vallum of earth, but much defaced.

There is, also, a circular camp, formed of earth and stones, on the southern margin of the North Tyne, in a birch wood not far from *Eals*; and one on *Knopping-Holm-hill*, opposite to Tarset Castle, the lines of which are faint. *Bellingham* was, probably, the site of a Roman station. It commands a view of the passes into Scotland, both by the North Tyne and the Rede. We have observed no traces of Roman antiquities on the North Tyne above it. Immediately below it there is a square camp, on *Garret Hut*; another on *Reedswood bank*; and a third near *Nook mill*; all of which have deep ditches. The two last are upon *Dodd-heaps*, on *Hareshaw common*.

Iron mines have been wrought in this district in ancient times, as appears by heaps of the Scoria of that metal, still to be seen by the road side, in a plantation a little to the north of Mounces, and on the hills to the east of Hawkhope. Coal is abundant here. That at *Plashets* is the property of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland. It is of excellent quality, and is contained in a bed nearly six feet thick. Another bed appears in an estate belonging to Greenwich Hospital, at *Greenheugh*; and the estates of Sir J. E. Swinburne, Bart. at *Shilburne*, and of Dixon Brown, Esq. at *Hawkhope*, contain coal in great plenty.

There is a large table at *Keelder Castle*, made out of a pine tree, which the river Keelder, in a flood, exposed on its banks in Blackcleugh. The tree was of a great size, remarkably sound and perfect; and, on the under side, its bark remained, and was three inches thick. About fifteen years since, the shepherds set fire to the heath on a hill a little to the south of a place called *Yarrow*. The weather was very dry, and the fire communicated to an extensive peat-moss, in the dry parts of which it made great ravages, and exposed the remains of an ancient forest of pine, part of which had evidently been

burnt down, and the rest overturned by a west wind. The people of the neighbourhood go to this place, called the *Fir-tree-moss*, for wood for ladders, &c. and make the torches of it, which they use in taking salmon with fish-spears in the night, as this sort of wood is remarkably inflammable.

A very curious Saxon inscription was discovered in 1810, by the late Rev. James Wood, minister of the Scotch chapel at Falstone, in a farm called *Hawkhope-hill*, which belongs to Thomas Ridley, Esq. of Park-end. Near the spot where the discovery was made, "Ruins" are marked in Armstrong's Map of Northumberland. Mr. Wood gave the inscription, with an account of its discovery, to the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Antiquarian Society, who have published an engraving of it, in the first volume of their Transactions. It is much obliterated, and no explanation of it has hitherto been published. The stone which bears it, appears to have been a part of the capital of some Saxon column, or some such ornament.

Mr. Wood, in his account of this inscription, observes: that "within the bounds of this chapelry of Falstone, and its immediate vicinity, there are some houses consisting of very thick walls, with stone vaults below, which have evidently been erected for the purpose of defending the possessors of them, and their cattle, against the depredations of the neighbouring Moss-troopers. Here, too, are some remains of ancient castles; but we have no authentic account concerning them, and tradition is not to be depended upon. Wonderful stories, indeed, are told of them. Tarsset hall, for instance, on the north side of the Tyne, and Dalley Castle, on the south, may be about a mile distant; and there is, they say, between the two a subterraneous road cut out, even below the bed of the river. Less than half a century ago, vulgar superstition, it is reported, has been so quick sighted as to discern horses and chariots driving between these two old castles at midnight."*

P. 157. after the 9th line *add*:—On the middle of *Fallowfield Fell*, there is a long ridge of sandstone rocks, one of which, called "*The Written Cragg*," bears this inscription: PETRA FLAVI CARANTINI—The Cragg of Flavus Carantinus.†

P. 181,

* *Archæologia Eliana*, Vol. I. p. 104.

† *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 126.

P. 181, line 31, for "were," read *are*; and line 32, for "shrubberies," read *plantations of fir*.

P. 188, after line 17, *insert*:—WOODHORN is the name of a parish, the church of which is a vicarage dedicated to St. Mary, and in the advowson of the Bishop of Durham. Its rectory was appropriated to the priory of Tinnmouth. Formerly it had under it the chapels of Widdrington and Horton, which were separated from it in 1768. Neubiggeng; Wodehorn, with Linmuwe and Hirst, its members; Haliwell, Lynton, Ellington, with Creswell and Hayden, its members; were in the time of Edward the First, parcels of the barony of Hugh de Baliol. *Newbiggen* has a small harbour and granaries, from which grain is shipped, in vessels of about 60 tons burden; and ships can ride in the bay here in seven or eight fathoms of water. Its chapel is dedicated to St. Bartholomew, and annexed to Woodhorn: in former times it has had three aisles, only the middle one of which remains at present: and this contains the effigy of a "Knight Templar." The village is much resorted to as a bathing place; but is chiefly inhabited by fishermen. In January, 1808, the crews of five boats, consisting of nineteen men, belonging to this place, and to Blythe and Hartley, perished at sea, by a sudden tempest from the North-East. The sum of 170*l.* was voluntarily subscribed, chiefly in Newcastle and its neighbourhood, for the relief of their widows, orphans, and dependants, consisting of 90 persons.

P. 201, for "third," read *second*.

P. 207, after line 5, *add*:—BUDLE is a small village standing above a fine sandy bay, on the north side of the mouth of Warn-burn, which is a safe harbour for ships of about 80 tons. The shores of Budle bay produce abundance of cockles. Here are large granaries, and mills, called Warn-Mills, from their being situated on the river *Warn*, which, probably, had its name from the circumstance of having water mills upon it in the Saxon ages; the word *Qvern* in Swedish, and *Quern* in English, signifying a mill. By the Testa de Nevil we are informed that the two villages Bodle and Spinlestan, with the mill of Warnet, were given to Eustace, the son of John, by King Henry the First; and that his successor, Eustace de Vesey, held them in the reign of Edward the First. A part of Budle belonged to the three daughters of Sir George Bonies, of Streatlan Castle, in the county of Durham, in 14 Char. I. In 1663, it was the property of Lady Forster and Mr.

Richard Forster, of Newham; and at present it belongs to Grieve Smith, Esq. From Budle bay there are high and bold remains of a Roman way towards Alnwick; from whence it probably passed to the Devil's Causeway by *Lemington*.

P. 210, line 9, after *castle*, *add* :—and is now, *jure uxoris*, the property of Sir M. Masterman Sykes, Bart. of Sledmere in Yorkshire.

P. 213, line 24, for “Henry,” read, *Sir Henry Liddle, Bart.*

P. 215, line 14, for “family” read *Roddams*.

P. 217, after line 21, *add* :—FOWBURY TOWER was the seat of William de Folebyr, who in 1273 held Folebyr, Caldmerton, and Hesibrigg, by one knight's fee, of the old Feoffment of the barony of Vescy. In 1416, Robert de Folebery was a representative in Parliament of this county. “On Trinity Sunday, 1524, 500 Scotsmen passed the Tweed at different fords, and lay in hollow grounds near the highway, with a view of intercepting the traders and others going to Berwick Fair. They took much spoil, and made many prisoners; but being attacked near Brankston by a body of Englishmen, who gathered on the alarm, and were joined by the young Lord of Fowberry, at the head of 100 light horse, a fierce skirmish ensued, in which the Scots were defeated; and in their flight 200 of them taken.”* In 1532, The Scots plundered this place. In 1663 it was the property of William Strother, Esq. of Kirknewton; but charged upon “Mr. Hearon of Fowbery” in the rental for raising the train-bands. In 1741, John Strother Kerr, Esq. of Fowberry, was sheriff for this county. At present this place is the residence and property of Matthew Culley, Esq. who purchased it of Sir Francis Blake, Bart.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

* Rid. Bord. Hist. p. 520.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Wards, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families, not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Bambrough.....	1778	101	1025	430	443	8663
Castle.....	8109	252	1734	5475	3855	49706
Coquetdale.....	3302	165	1801	996	1179	18703
Glendale.....	2067	55	1321	494	369	10698
Morpeth.....	2132	159	1175	976	488	11783
Tindale.....	6790	268	3704	2022	2006	37215
Town and County of the Town of Berwick-upon- Tweed.....	934	21	169	1099	521	7746
Town and County of the Town of Newcastle-upon- Tyne.....	3164	105	16	5055	1390	27587
Totals.....	28258	1126	10945	16547	10251	172161

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

In a supplementary paper furnished by the editor of the *BEAUTIES* for this county, he observes that "it cannot be denied but that much might be added to the account of a district so important in extent and in population. Of what is written there is little, however, that requires correction, in regard to fact; and, where speculation has been hazarded, the editor fears not the charge of presumption when he claims the authority of recent events, to justify the principles assumed in reference to general polity."

The names of the principal gentlemen who contributed information to this portion of the work, have been already enumerated;* but it should be added, that, "for the interesting account of Stanton, the public are indebted to the pen of the very intelligent and Rev. Dr. STANTON; the editor's note to that account requires, however, a slight correction.—Although the Stanton family of Ireland are there said 'to be a younger branch of the family,' yet we are assured by that gentleman that there, in fact, exists no relationship whatever.

"In the description of Stoke-upon-Trent, and the account of the battle fought there in the reign of Henry the Seventh, much stress is laid upon the extraordinary discovery at *Minster Lovel*, recorded by Gough in his edition of *Camden*, as connected with a passage in Bacon's history of that reign. Since that was written, we have perused the account of Oxfordshire in the present work, the editor of which seems to consider Mr. Gough as having been imposed upon.† To enter into the controversy, here, is needless;—the reader will judge for himself of the general probabilities on both sides.

"It is also proper, in this place, to notice a slight mistake of the Engraver with respect to the plate of the "Excavations," which are there said to be at Sneinton, but are really in the park near the confluence of the Lene and Trent."

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

* See *Beauties* for Nottinghamshire, and the *General Preface*.

† See *Beauties* for Oxfordshire, p. 507—508.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE,

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Persons not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
HUNDRED OR WAPENTAKE OF BASSETLAW.						
Hatfield Division.....	3001	64	1902	886	265	14602
North Clay Division	1730	54	1010	676	179	8484
South Clay Division	1314	23	1046	268	64	6183
Bingham, North and South Divisions.....	1951	26	1352	569	144	10042
Broxtow, North and South Divisions.....	7922	20	1796	6295	344	42118
Newark, North and South Divisions.....	1152	35	842	254	172	5813
Rushcliffe, North and South Divisions.....	1687	31	1061	612	139	9005
Liberty of Southwell and Scrooby	1726	49	1091	466	237	8602
Thurgarton, North and South Divisions.....	2864	56	1685	1104	220	15198
Borough of Newark-upon-Trent	1483	9	389	983	224	7236
Town and County of the Town of Nottingham.....	6514	287	110	6815	305	34253
Local Militia embodied, May, 1811.....	—	—	—	—	—	1364
Totals.....	31344	954	12293	18928	2293	162900

OXFORDSHIRE.

OXFORDSHIRE.

The Editor regrets that his delineations of this county should have been restricted, by unavoidable causes, to limits too likely to prove unsatisfactory to some partial inhabitants. An account of the university of Oxford necessarily engrossed so large a portion of his allotted pages, as to leave little room for historical discussions, or descriptive statements, respecting many circumstances and places, of minor, although of unquestionable, interest. It is felt desirable to remind the reader that he investigated ground untrodden by the laborious and patient county historian, whilst prosecuting his researches in this district. Such an inconvenience he states in palliation of any possible errors; but he has the satisfaction of observing that a scrutiny rather more rigorous than might be expected, has, hitherto, failed in discovering any serious inaccuracies.

His unprinted collections are numerous, as he resided for many years on the border of Oxfordshire; but he cannot suppose that they would be acceptable in an Appendix, embracing notes upon many different counties. All corrections that have appeared to be strictly necessary, are here made; and some few additional remarks are presented.

Page 2, line 19, for "Dr. Whitaker," read *the Rev. J. Whitaker*. The ancient British tribe termed the *Dobuni*, (see p. 2—6) is noticed with more mature consideration in the "Introduction" to the Beauties, article "The Ancient Britons."

Page 8—9; to the Roman stations in Oxfordshire, add *Stonefield*. Vide "Introduction," and the attached map.

Page 9—10; on further consideration, there appears reason for supposing that *Astal Barrow*, and other similar tumuli, were of *British*, rather than of *Roman* construction, as is conjectured by Dr. Plot.

Page 10—12. The remains of Roman roads are accurately laid down in the map annexed to the "Introduction."

Page 139—140. Mr. Gough, in his elaborate work on Sepulchral Monuments, thus notices the curious shrine mentioned in these pages:—"The shrine of St. Frideswide, in the north aisle of Christchurch, Oxford, of which there is an aquatinta print lately executed by Mr. Roberts, portrait painter to the Duke of Clarence, is a rich piece of Gothic

Gothic wood work ; but as the altar-tomb under it has on its slab the brassless figures of a man and woman, I cannot help surmising, that it has been removed from its own original station. Browne Willis, who notices these figures, does not remove my scruples by observing that they were said to be in memory of *Didanus* and *Saffrida*, her parents ; which *Didanus*, being a petty King in these parts, built the nunnery in the eighth century, and made his daughter first abbess." *Sepulchral Mons.* Vol. II. Introduction, p. 188.

Page 237—238. CLARENDON PRINTING-HOUSE. The following work was lately printed and published, by order of the Clarendon trustees : " Religion and Policy, and the countenance and assistance each should give to the other, &c. By Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford." The advertisement respecting this publication involves some particulars deserving of notice. " Henry, Viscount Cornbury, who was called up to the House of Peers by the title of Lord Hyde, in the life-time of his father, Henry, Earl of Rochester, by a codicil to his will, dated August 10, 1751, left divers MSS. of his great grandfather, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, to trustees, with a direction that the money to arise from the sale or publication thereof should be employed ' as a beginning of a fund for supporting a menage, or academy for riding and other useful exercises in Oxford ;' a plan of this sort having been also recommended by Lord Clarendon, in his Dialogue on Education.

" Lord Cornbury dying before his father, this bequest did not take effect. But Catherine, one of the daughters of Henry, Earl of Rochester, and late Duchess Dowager of Queensberry, whose property these MSS. became, afterwards by deed gave them, together with all the monies which had arisen or might arise from the sale or publication of them, to Dr. Robert Drummond, then Archbishop of York, William, then Earl of Maresfield, and Dr. William Markham, then Bishop of Chester, upon trust for the like purposes as those expressed by Lord Hyde in his codicil.

" The present trustees having found the above unpublished work amongst these MSS. have proceeded, in the execution of their trust, to publish it."

Page 252.—The greater part of ST. MARY'S COLLEGE is still remaining, although now converted into stables, a meeting-house for Methodists,

Methodists, &c. It may be added, that very considerable architectural remains, appearing to be those of a monastic structure, and now used as livery-stables, are to be seen opposite to Magdalen church. These, we believe, are not noticed by any writer on the antiquities of Oxford.

Page 256—259. Although it is duly mentioned, in a preceding section, that King Richard the First was born at Oxford, he should be again noticed as a native in the above pages. The following names may also be added to our enumeration of distinguished natives of this city. *Dr. Charles D'Avenant*, son of Sir William D'Avenant, well known from his political writings; *Barten Holyday*; *William Joyner*, or *Lyde*; *Gerard Langbaine*, author of "A new Catalogue of English Plays," &c.; *Samuel Welles*; and *Dr. Edward Wootton*.

NUNEHAM COURTNEY, P. 277.—Those three large portions of the tapestry maps, which formerly lined the hall at Weston, in Warwickshire, and were presented to the late Earl Harcourt by the Hon. H. Walpole, were afterwards given by that polished and amiable nobleman to an antiquary, whose acquaintance he had courted through a love of literature—the late Richard Gough, Esq. The same maps formed part of the articles which Mr. Gough, by his last will, directed to "be placed in the Bodleian Library, in a building adjoining to the Picture Gallery, known by the name of the Antiquaries' Closet?"—Nuneham-Courtenay was visited by the Editor of the *Beauties for Oxfordshire*, in the absence of the noble proprietor of the domain. The tapestry-room was then locked-up, and was the only apartment in the mansion, likely to contain objects of public interest, that was not minutely inspected in the course of an examination resumed in three different days. The account of the tapestry-room, as it stands in the *Beauties*, was derived from a M.S. Catalogue raisonné, preserved at Nuneham-Courtenay.

THAME. P. 288—301. In the summer of 1816, on digging in a close, situated in the liberty of Priest-End, now in the occupation of Mr. Joseph Howland, were found, "some teeth, of a very large size, supposed to be those of the Mammoth," which are preserved by Mr. David Moore, of Thame. Fossil bones of various kinds are frequently found on digging gravel in the immediate vicinity of this place; several curious specimens of which are, likewise, in the possession of Mr. Moore.

On the 2d of May, 1817, a calamitous fire occurred in this town, between the hours of one and two in the afternoon, which consumed the pleasant residence of the above-named gentleman, together with fourteen other houses.

DORCHESTER.—The bridge at this place, which is stated (at page 379) to have been in a state of progress when our account of Oxfordshire was produced, was opened for carriages, in the month of July, 1815. The new structure is thus noticed in a communication to the Gentleman's Magazine:—" Its length is a quarter of a mile, wanting eight yards; its breadth thirty feet. Part of this length is, in summer, apparently useless, as the ample centre arch is then capacious enough to admit the whole of the stream; but the winter-rains swell this stream to a considerable river, which, overflowing its banks, inundates the meadows on each side its channel. The completion of the new bridge was the signal for removing the old one; which was effected so rapidly, that in December, 1815, scarce a vestige remained."—Gent. Mag. for July, 1816, p. 297, with an engraved view of the New Bridge.

Page 425. A more recent discovery has occurred in the neighbourhood of the Roman vestiges here mentioned. This took place in the year 1813, and succeeding years; and consists of a Roman villa, of an extensive character, situated in the parish of *North-Leigh*, and distant about one mile and a half from the former discovery. Fortunately for the antiquarian public, the present interesting relics have met with the protection of the liberal and judicious. Buildings have been erected over those parts which contain tessellated pavements; and accurate drawings of the whole have been made by Henry Hakewill, Esq. architect. From a " Plan" published by this gentleman, it appears that the present discoveries comprehend a quadrangle, of irregular dimensions, having a crypto-porticus round three of its sides. The greatest length of the quadrangle is 212 feet 8 inches; and the greatest width 167 feet. We are informed that a circumstantial account of the remains of this villa is in the press, and will soon be published.

Page 426, line 10, for " Antiquary," read *Antiquarian*.

KIDDINGTON, P. 453. In our list of the principal books relating to this county, we have omitted to notice the following work connected

connected with the above parish : " Specimen of a History of Oxfordshire, by T. Warton," one thin quarto volume, lately reprinted by Nichols and Son. This very judicious and elegant " Specimen," contains the History of the Parish of Kiddington.

DEDDINGTON, P. 465—470. In the year 1744 was published " The Life and Adventures of Matthew Bishop, of Deddington, in Oxfordshire. Containing an account of several actions by Sea : Battles and Sieges by Land ; in which he was present from 1701 to 1711, interspersed with many curious Incidents, entertaining Conversations, and judicious Reflections." It has been deemed desirable to notice this publication, with which the Editor of the Beauties for Oxfordshire was not acquainted when he wrote the account of the town of Deddington, although *Matthew Bishop* is by no means a native calculated to add important interest to the biography of the place which is said to have afforded him birth. According to the anecdotes which he relates of himself, Mr. Bishop left Deddington, the place of his nativity, in the year 1701 ; and repaired to the house of a relation in Kent. Being of a rambling disposition, he shortly afterwards entered on a seafaring life ; and, from the date of his first quitting shore, commences a series of adventures, which are of little interest in themselves, and are related in very homely terms.

P. 471, line 31, for " Berford," read *Burford*.

BURFORD. P. 472—478. It must be obvious that in all extensive topographical enquiries, occasional reliance must be placed on the testimony of individuals, selected as the most desirable sources of information, on account of a long residence on the spot under investigation, joined to an appearance of respectable impartiality. The most careful discrimination, however, is sometimes subject to error in the choice of informants ; and a lengthened residence would, in some cases, be necessary to enable the enquirer to separate the dictates of party-feeling from temperate and candid intelligence. It would give us sincere regret if, in a cursory allusion to the presumed ill-management of certain charities attached to this town, we have been misled by the supposed impartial person from whom we derived information.

P. 473. The picture of Sir Thomas More and family, in the possession of the truly-respectable owner of the Priory, Burford, is supposed *not* to be the work of Holbein.

Ibid.

Ibid. for "Bassau," read *Bassan*.

P. 475, line 13, between the words "from," and "in," insert *being*.

P. 480, line 9, *dele* the word "that."

P. 483, line 17, between the words "younger," and "of," insert *part*.

P. 485, WITNEY is distant *ten* miles from Oxford.

P. 488, line 7, *from bottom*, for "1456," read 1656.

P. 492. The passage beginning with the words "In this part of the county," and ending with the words "part of Berks," may be amended as follows:—In this part of the county are three parishes completely isolated; namely, *Widford*, *Shilton*, and *Langford*.—Widford forms a part of Gloucestershire; and the churches of Shilton and Langford, as far as regards ecclesiastical government, are deemed to be in Oxfordshire; but, in all civil matters, these parishes are considered as being in Berkshire.

Since the publication of the "Beauties" for Oxfordshire, there has appeared a well-written and satisfactory work, intituled the History and Antiquities of BICESTER, a Market-town in Oxfordshire," &c. &c. by John Dunkin. One volume octavo. This pleasing work, (to which is added a reprint of the whole of Kennett's Glossary,) can scarcely fail of being peculiarly acceptable to the inhabitants of a county so little illustrated by topographical labours.

P. 536. *Dele* the passage beginning "Dr. Stukeley," and ending "*Caversfield*."

OXFORDSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF OXFORDSHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS. Total of Percent.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	
Bampton	2354	74	1249	887	402	12285
Banbury	1781	38	658	763	489	8649
Binfield	1345	45	606	399	404	7052
Bloxham	1486	43	1165	421	52	6995
Bullington	1754	37	1459	351	137	8870
Chadlington	2482	52	1663	611	318	12640
Dorchester	569	9	477	105	27	2776
Ewelme	1050	34	801	210	79	4916
Langtree	622	14	552	92	27	3220
Lewknor	747	20	529	174	164	3810
Pirton	511	3	353	102	106	2623
Ploughley	2275	31	1679	542	254	11257
Thame	745	5	283	132	364	3917
Wootton	2744	51	1942	755	365	14220
City of Oxford	1992	42	185	1791	492	12931
Liberty of Oxford....	245	1	16	320	24	1606
Local Militia embodied, May, 1811.....	—	—	—	—	—	1423
Totals	22702	499	13646	7655	3705	119191

RUTLANDSHIRE.

RUTLANDSHIRE.

Respecting this county the editor observes "that there is little to correct. It may be proper, however, to add to the list of Errata, that in page 70, "fears *is*," should have been printed, fears *are*. The editor, likewise, begs to acknowledge that he was subject to error when he stated Henry Duke of Gloucester, son of Charles the First, to have died in his father's life-time; whereas he lived until the Restoration, and was, indeed, an interesting, though very young personage to the friends of Royalty during the Interregnum."

RUTLANDSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF RUTLANDSHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Clauses.	Total of Persons.
Alstoe.....	692	13	428	198	141	3563
East.....	578	6	426	153	49	2959
Martinsley.....	677	16	305	282	135	3274
Oakham Soke.....	721	28	412	235	115	3384
Wrandike.....	657	14	454	160	65	3200
Totals.....	3325	77	2025	1028	505	16380

SOMERSETSHIRE.

A correspondent, who has paid much attention to the progress of the "Beauties of England," suggests the following additions and corrections to the topographical account of the CITY OF BRISTOL.

Since the Thirteenth Volume of this Work, including Somersetshire, was published, the above-named great commercial city has undergone several alterations and improvements. The avenues of trees on the *College Green* are now cut down, and the green is surrounded by a light and ornamental iron railing. A substantial iron railing, combining neatness with security, is also erecting on the banks of the river Frome. The introduction of Gas has met with considerable favour; and preparations are making to render this beautiful mode of illumination an object of general utility. In regard to an augmentation of public buildings, it may be observed that three new places of worship have been constructed for the use of dissenters from the established church, each having a front composed of free-stone. The *assemblies* (noticed at page 694) have been for some years removed to a more elegant building, in the neighbouring village of Clifton.

The Editor of the *Beauties for Somersetshire*, writing, at page 687, concerning the *Merchants' hall*, has fallen into some errors, which must be thus corrected:—There are only two plain stone vases in recesses or niches, one on either side of the door; nor is there any globe, or armillary sphere. In the outer hall is only *one* portrait, that of the late Edward Colston, Esq. In the great room of the *council-house*, however, are several portraits; and, over the fire-place of the inner hall, the merchants' arms are "finely carved in wood, and appropriately coloured." In an inner room is a model of the *Medea frigate*, built at Bristol in 1778.

The following correction is of essential importance.—At page 690, *delete* from line 1, beginning at the words "The expenses," to the end of the paragraph terminating at line 18, with the words "full rigged;" and insert, *The works proceeded with rapidity, and the sum of 500,000*l.* was expended. The foundations of the present two iron bridges across the harbour were laid: one being on the Exeter, the other on the London road. Unfortunately, in January, 1806, the iron ribs of the latter gave way, after the work was considerably advanced: but the injury was soon repaired.*

SUFFOLK.

SUFFOLK.

We are favoured by a correspondent with the following corrections in regard to this county.

- Page 7, line 5, for "Saxfield," read *Larfield*.
 9, 5, add 1796.
 18, 10, for "Charlsfield," read *Charzfield*.
 109, 14, for "Claggett," read *Clagett*.
 136, in two instances for "Hollis," read *Holles*.
 144, note, for "Cordwell," read *Cordell*.
 159, line 3, from bottom, for "Alto," read *Basso*.
 160, 3, from bottom, for Ossington," read *Assington*.
 169, 5, after Sir Harry Parker, Bart. add, *he died January 15, 1812*.
 176, 7, for "Robert," read *Richard*.
 176, 19, for "June," read *May 18th, 1775*.
 180, 16, for "North," read *South*.
 182, 2, from bottom, for "Rochester," read *Lincoln*.
 216, last paragraph. To the account of "the Rev. Thomas Harmer," add *he died at Wottesfield, in Blackbourn hundred*.
 218, after "Hæc tamen," read *post partum 19, (viz. filiorum 13, filiarum autem 6) et anhelationem, &c.* instead of "post partum XIX. Filiorum et XIII. Filiarum,"
 265, 18, for "1668," read 1688.
 371, 8, from bottom, insert and between "Rendlesham, Sudborne;" and for "and Alford," read with *Orford*.

SUFFOLK.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF SUFFOLK.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade, or Manufactures.	All other Persons not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.	
Babergh	3353	55	2389	1300	352	19079	
Blackbourn.....	1560	15	1365	486	402	11166	
Blything	2844	47	2487	966	461	20278	
Bosmere and Claydon.....	1751	16	1465	515	163	10715	
Carlford.....	739	9	828	174	47	5137	
Colneis	477	7	466	161	58	3584	
Cosford	1433	25	1116	501	164	8511	
Hartsmere.....	2337	22	1860	790	257	14665	
Hoxne.....	1740	17	1814	618	143	13588	
Lackford.....	1514	35	1143	446	389	9537	
Loes.....	1787	40	1010	965	260	11422	
Mutford and Lothingland.....	2125	47	963	921	465	11612	
Plomesgate.....	1342	12	1080	531	247	9033	
Risbridge.....	1958	42	1672	609	239	12365	
Samford.....	1397	5	1354	382	142	9305	
Stow.....	1092	23	804	406	159	6650	
Thedwestry.....	1240	19	1173	354	119	7684	
Thingoe.....	749	6	856	110	48	5273	
Thredling.....	382	1	330	172	12	2559	
Wangford.....	1869	21	1064	805	282	10904	
Wilford.....	761	13	770	322	97	6017	
Borough of Bury } St. Edmund's... }	1474	30	164	966	551	7986	
Borough of Ipswich..	2733	99	193	2083	826	13670	
Borough of Sudbury	570	18	40	597	165	3471	
Total.....	37227	624	26406	15180	6048	234211	

SURREY.

SURREY.

We have great pleasure in supplying an important omission, which, probably in the celerity of periodical composition, escaped the notice of the Editor of the " Beauties" for the county of Surrey.—The parish of BARNES is, on many accounts, of inferior interest to few in this county, yet it has been unfortunately overlooked; and we now anxiously endeavour to remedy such a deficiency, by presenting the following historical and descriptive pages.

BARNES is described in the record termed Domesday, under the title of *Berne*, in the hundred of *Brixistan* (Brixton) as belonging to the church of St. Paul's; and the property of the manor is still vested in the canons of that church.

The parish is bounded on the north by the river Thames; on the east and south by Putney; and on the west by Mortlake. This parish is said by Mr. Lysons* to contain about 900 acres of land, of which nearly two-thirds are arable, including garden-ground; there being of the latter about 125 acres, besides what is cultivated by farmers for garden-crops.—In the Abstract of Answers and Returns made under the population act for the year 1811, the total number of persons dwelling in the parish of Barnes is stated to be 994.

In the general review of parochial districts, our attention is first, and most naturally, attracted to the parish church; since we there often view the authentic records of extinct, as well as of existing, families connected with the neighbourhood.—The church of *Barnes* evinces considerable antiquity; and is supposed, by the author of the *Environs of London*, to have been erected about the time of Richard the First. It has, however, experienced many alterations. The windows in the north wall of the chancel are in their original state, and are narrow and pointed; but those in the south wall, and in the nave, are of a later date. The tower, [which is square, and built of brick, while the walls in other parts of the structure are chiefly of stone and flint,] "was erected, probably, about the end of the 15th century, if not much later."†

The most ancient monument recorded as once existing in this church,

2 T 3

* *Environs of London*, 2nd Edit. Vol. I. p. 7.

† *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 11.

church, was to the memory of *William Millobourne, Esq.* who died An. 1415. This consisted of a figure in brass, upon a slab; and was situated near the communion table, before the chancel was new-floored. The effigy represented a man in armour, bearing a dagger on his right, and a long sword on his left side; his hands uplifted, and his head guarded by a pointed helmet. The monument bore the following inscription:—

Hic jacet *Willichnus Milloburne* Armiger, qui obiit in die
Sancte Luce Evangeliste, a° Dom. MCCCCXV.

Quisquis eris qui transieris, sta, perlege, plora,
Sum quod eris, fueram quod es, pro me precor ora.

Mr. Lysons has preserved the memory of this brass by an engraving;* and Mr. Bray mentions an old house on Barnes-green as belonging to the family of Milbourne, who continued in this parish until the reign of Henry the Eighth.†

Few amongst the monuments of a more recent date are deserving of particular notice. The best, in point of execution, is one by Hickey, erected to the memory of *Sir Richard Hoare*, of Barn Elms, the first baronet of that family; who died 11th of October, 1787, and was buried here. The connexion of the family of Hoare with this parish, will be stated in a page briefly ensuing.

On the outside of the church, in the south wall, is a small tablet of stone, to the memory of *Edward Rose*, citizen of London, who died in July, 1653. This humble tablet obtains frequent notice, on account of a singular donation, by which the deceased endeavoured to preserve his name in lasting remembrance. The citizen here buried, directed that *rose-trees* should be planted against the wall on each side of his commemorative tablet; and bequeathed the sum of 20*l.* to the poor of the parish of Barnes, upon condition that the churchwardens should keep in repair the paling which protects this fanciful plantation.

The parish of Barnes constitutes a rectory, under the patronage of the

* The above engraving is omitted in the second edition of the *Environs of London*; which edition is, in many respects, inferior to the first.

† *Hist. of Surrey*, Vol. III. p. 316.

the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's; and it may be observed that several of the rectors have been promoted to the episcopal bench.

The chief topographical interest of this parish is connected with the tenants of its manorial property.—The manor of **BARN ELMS**, as we are informed by Sir William Dugdale, in his history of St. Paul's, was granted to the canons of that church by King Athelstan, and was usually let by them upon long leases. In 1467, Sir John Saye and others were joint-lessees. Thomas Thwayte, Chancellor of the Exchequer, possessed the lease in the year 1480; and was succeeded, in 1505, by Sir Henry Wyat, in whose family it remained for half a century. The remainder of Sir Henry Wyat's lease was bought by Thomas Smith, Esq. who was in possession of it in 1567; soon after which date it became the property of the celebrated Sir Francis Walsingham, who selected the mansion of Barn Elms as his country retirement from the fatigues of arduous state employment.

At this seat Sir Francis Walsingham was honoured with three visits of his royal mistress, Queen Elizabeth. These took place in the years 1585, 1588, and 1589. In regard to the latter visit, the following notice occurs in a letter of Lord Talbot to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury: "This daye (May 26, 1589.) her ma^{tie} goethe to Barnellmes, where she is purposed to tarry all day, tomorrow being Tewesday; and on Wednesday to return to Whytehall agayne. I am ap-
poynted among the rest to attende her ma^{tie} to Barn-ellmes. I pray God my diligent attendance there, may procure me a gracious aun-
swere in my suite at her return; for while she is ther, nothinge may be moved but matter of delyghte, and to content her; which is the only cause of her going thither."*

It appears that, previous to this visit, Queen Elizabeth had taken the lease herself, after the expiration of that granted to Sir Henry Wyat; and that she bestowed it upon Sir Francis Walsingham, and his heirs, by letters patent, in the twenty-first year of her reign.

But Sir Francis did not long enjoy the royal gift; for he died in the following year; and, notwithstanding his numerous opportunities of aggrandizement, he died in such impoverished circumstances as to be buried (at St. Paul's) in the most private manner, at the expense of his friends!†

2 T 4

The

* Lodge's Illustrations of British History, Vol. II. p. 396.

† Stow's Annals.—For the character of Sir Francis Walsingham, see Lloyd's State Worthies, Vol. I. p. 398, &c

The only surviving daughter of Sir Francis was married to three very illustrious characters: *—Sir Philip Sydney; the Earl of Essex; and the Earl of Clanrickard: the second of whom, so well known, and so much pitied for his misfortunes, resided frequently at Barn Elms.—Lady Walsingham, relict of Sir Francis died, at this seat, on the 19th of June, 1602; and, according to the annalist Stowe, was buried in a private manner, near her husband, in St. Paul's Cathedral.

It appears that Sir Henry Wyat's lease of Barn Elms commenced on the 1st of March, 19. Hen. VII. (1504) and, extending to the long term of 96 years, terminated in 1600. In the year 1639, the manor was demised to John Cartwright; and, when the church lands were exposed to sale by order of Parliament, the house and land were purchased by Mr. Cartwright, and the manor by Richard Shute, Esq. In 1659, the house and gardens at Barn Elms, with a small proportion of land, were advertised to be let.† On the restoration, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's regained their former possessions; and the Cartwright family continued to be their lessees, until the middle of the 18th century.

While the estate was leased to the family of Cartwright, it appears that the mansion afforded a retirement to the Poet Cowley,‡ whose anxiety to escape from the turmoil of busy society, and to woo the muse in her most sequestered haunts, has been emphatically commemorated, and is well known. This moral poet and amiable man resided at Barn Elms for a short time only; and his death has been attributed to the lingering effects of a fever contracted on this spot. His biographer, Spratt, says that, "out of haste to be gone out of the tumult and noise of the city, he had not prepared so healthful a situation as he might have done, if he had made a more leisurable choice :

* Mr. Lysons (*Environs of London*, Vol. I. p. 8,) says that this lady had "the singular good fortune of being wife to three of the most accomplished men of the age." But in such a mode of calculation few persons will agree with that writer. Her Ladyship's fortune would, assuredly, have been more felicitous, if she had enjoyed a permanent union with only *one* of those distinguished characters.

† *Mercurius Politicus*, May, 5, 1659.

‡ A raised terrace-walk, flanked by fine trees, still retains the name of *Cowley's walk*.

choice: of this he soon began to find the inconvenience at Barn Elms, where he was afflicted with a dangerous and lingering fever."—He afterwards removed to Chertsey, where he died at the Porch-house, 28th of July, 1667.

In this era of the property, whilst the lease was held by the Cartwrights, the house was also tenanted by the celebrated Heydegger, master of the revels to King George the Second; of whom Mr. Lysons has recorded the following anecdote:—"The late king gave him notice that he would sup with him one evening, and that he should come from Richmond by water. It was Heydegger's profession to invent novel amusements; and he was resolved to surprise his Majesty with a specimen of his art. The king's attendants, who were in the secret, contrived that he should not arrive at Barn Elms, before night, and it was with some difficulty, that he found his way up the avenue which led to the house. When he came to the door, all was dark; and he began to be very angry, that Heydegger, to whom he had given notice of his intended visit, should be so ill prepared for his reception. Heydegger suffered his Majesty to vent his anger, and affected to make some awkward apologies, when in an instant, the house and avenues were in a blaze of light, a great number of lamps having been so disposed, as to communicate with each other, and to be lit at the same instant. The king laughed heartily at the device, and went away much pleased with his entertainment."*

In the year 1750, the lands, house, and manor of Barn Elms, were purchased by Sir Richard Hoare, of William Cartwright, Esq. of whom he had previously rented the estate for the term of ten years. The above-mentioned Sir Richard Hoare was the second son of Henry Hoare, of Stourhead, in the county of Wilts, Esq. He served the office of sheriff for the city of London, in the years 1740-1;† and was knighted on the 31st of October, 1745; in which memorable year of the rebellion he was chosen Lord Mayor for the city of London. He died on the 12th of October, 1754; and was buried in the family vault at St. Dunstan's.

He

* Environs of London, Vol. I. part I. p. 9—10.

† This Sir Richard left a curious journal of his shrievalty, in his own handwriting; of which Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. his descendant, has lately printed a limited number of copies.

He was succeeded in his property at Barn Elms by his eldest son, Richard, who was created a Baronet on the 10th of June, 1786; and died at Bath, on the 11th of October, 1787; leaving the house and estate at Barn Elms to his widow. Her Ladyship died on the 10th of September, 1800; and, on that event, the property descended, by will, to Henry Hugh, the eldest son of the aforesaid Sir Richard by his second marriage with Francis Ann, daughter of Richard Acland, Esq. who still makes it his occasional residence.

BARN ELMS, distant five miles from Hyde Park Corner, rather deserves the title of a country seat than that of a villa. The attached grounds comprise above 600 acres of land; and being surrounded, nearly on three sides, by the river Thames, possess the combined advantages of rural beauty and perfect retirement. In point of seclusion, this seat was, indeed, well-suited to the pensive temper of the poet Cowley; for one foot-path only, leading from the river to the village of Barnes, intersects its peaceful and elegant demesne. A row of fine elm-trees decorates its borders on the River Thames; and the house is approached through a venerable avenue. The mansion is built with brick; and was considerably enlarged, and improved, by the late Sir Richard Hoare, Bart. in the year 1771. Amongst several good pictures preserved in this seat, must be noticed two of the largest and finest landscapes of *Gasper Poussin*.

The gardens at the back of the house are well laid out, and are enriched by much fine wood, and a large ornamental sheet of water. It may be here remarked that the soil of this domain is naturally dry, and that the place does not, from any circumstance, appear to deserve the imputation of unhealthiness, ascribed to it by the biographer of Cowley.

It is impossible to quit our notice of Barn Elms, and the truly respectable family to which the estate belongs, without reminding the reader that Sir R. Colt Hoare, the second baronet, and elder brother to the present possessor, Henry Hugh Hoare, Esq. is distinguished by his literary attainments and productions. On this subject it may be desirable to cite the "Beauties" for Wiltshire: "To this gentleman the literary and antiquarian world is indebted for some very useful and interesting works; and as they are mostly of a topographical nature, they particularly demand our notice here. They consist of a Translation of the tour, &c. of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, through Wales,

Wales, two vols. 4to.; *A Tour in Ireland*, one vol. 8vo.; and *THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF SOUTH WILTSHIRE*, folio. In thus appropriating his leisure, and a part of his fortune, Sir Richard must derive much rational pleasure; at the same time he is entitled to the thanks of every topographer and antiquary.”*

The parish of Barnes has, at different times, afforded a residence to the following well-known characters in the annals of literature and the arts: *Henry Fielding*,† unquestionably the best English novelist; *Handel*, the Shakspeare of musicians; and *Vanderebank*, the painter.

Hughes wrote a short poem intituled “Barn-elms,” which is printed in his works.

A celebrated Club, once held at Barn-Elms, likewise demands attention.—Of the KIT-CAT CLUB we have all heard; but its history was little known, until collected and presented by Mr. Bray, to whose work‡ we are indebted for the following particulars. This club derived its name from a person called *Christopher Cat*, who was either a pastry-cook or a tavern-keeper, and supplied the members with delicious mutton-pies at the original place of their meeting, in London.

Tonson, the bookseller, while secretary to the club of Kit-cats, caused the meetings to be transferred to a house belonging to himself at Barn-Elms; and built a handsome room for the accommodation of the members. The portrait of each member was painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller; but the apartment not being sufficiently large to receive half-length pictures, a shorter canvas (36 inches by 28 in width) was adopted; and hence proceeded the technical term of *Kit-cat* size, so generally known as to its application. Prints in mezzotinto were scraped from the original pictures, by Faber, between the years 1730 and 1736; and are published in one volume, containing forty-three plates, which commemorate the following personages:

1. Sir

* *Beauties of Wiltshire*, p. 274, note.

† Two other villages near London (*Twickenham* and *Ealing*) are mentioned in the “*Beauties*” for Middlesex, as having been favoured with the temporary residence of this witty writer and deep student of human nature.

‡ *History of Surrey*, Vol. III.

1. Sir Godfrey Kneller.
2. Charles, Duke of Somerset.
3. Charles Lenox, second Duke of Richmond, K. G.
4. Charles Fitzroy, second Duke of Grafton, K. G.
5. William Cavendish, second Duke of Devonshire, K. G.
6. John, Duke of Marlborough, the celebrated General, K. G.
7. John, second Duke of Mountague, K. G.
8. Evelyn, Duke of Kingston, K. G.
9. Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle, K. G.
10. Charles Mountague, Duke of Manchester.
11. Lionel Cranfield Sackville, Earl of Dorset, K. G.
12. Thomas Wharton, Marquis of Wharton.
13. Theophilus Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon.
14. Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset, K. G.
15. Algernon Capel, second Earl of Essex.
16. Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle.
17. Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, K. G.
18. James Berkeley, Earl of Berkeley, K. G.
19. Richard Lumley, Earl of Scarborough, K. G.
20. Francis, Earl of Godolphin.
21. Charles Mountagu, Earl of Halifax, K. G.
22. James, Earl Stanhope.
23. Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, K. G.
24. Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham.
25. Charles Mohun, fifth and last Lord Mohun.
26. Charles Cornwallis, fourth Lord Cornwallis.
27. John Vaughan, Earl of Carbery.
28. John Sommers, Baron of Evesham.
29. Richard Boyle, Viscount Shannon.
30. Sir Robert Walpole, the celebrated Minister of State, afterwards Earl of Orford.
31. Sir John Vanbrugh, the Architect, &c.
32. Sir Samuel Garth, M. D.
33. Sir Richard Steele.
34. John Tidcomb, Esq.
35. William Pulteney, Esq.
36. Joseph Addison, Esq.
37. George Stepney, Esq.
38. Abraham

38. Abraham Stanyan, Esq.
39. John Dormer, Esq.
40. Edmund Dunch, Esq.
41. William Walsh, Esq.
42. William Congreve, Esq.
43. Charles Dartiquenave, Esq. a celebrated epicure, recorded by Pope in his Satires, and by Lord Lyttelton in his Dialogues.
44. Thomas Hopkins, Esq.
45. Edward Hopkins, Esq.
46. Arthur Mainwaring, Esq.
47. Jacob Tonson.*

This interesting series of portraits, comprising the most illustrious statesmen and authors of that age, were bequeathed by Mr. Tonson to his nephew, Jacob; on whose decease they became the property of his brother, Richard, of Water-Oakley, near Windsor, who removed them to that place; and they now belong to William Baker, Esq. late M. P. for the county of Hertford, whose father married the eldest daughter of Jacob, nephew of the original secretary to the Kit-cat Club, Mr. Jacob Tonson, the bookseller, who died in 1736.

* Many curious particulars respecting the characters of the above celebrated members of the Kit-cat Club, are collected in Mr. Bray's History of Surrey, Vol. III. Article *Barnes*.

SURREY.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF SURREY,

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Blackheath.....	1113	29	792	263	251	6597
Brixton.....	24050	887	2122	17510	12477	136656
Copthorne.....	1367	37	702	471	411	8239
Easingham.....	197	2	154	41	30	1186
Elmbridge.....	1065	48	426	335	408	6019
Farnham.....	1174	29	693	441	154	6753
Godalming.....	1473	30	891	691	96	8554
Godley.....	1852	77	1069	464	439	10430
Kingston.....	2200	75	454	1188	909	13390
Reigate.....	1666	35	1005	466	229	8588
Tandridge.....	1281	27	1026	319	120	7657
Wallington.....	3078	44	1271	1343	823	17881
Woking.....	1637	36	1110	384	208	8816
Wotton.....	984	25	540	300	258	5678
Borough of Guildford	495	15	46	434	116	2974
Borough of Southwark.....	11802	294	116	10510	8003	72119
Local Militia embodied, May, 1817.....	—	—	—	—	—	2314
Totals.....	55434	1690	12417	35160	24982	323851

SUSSEX

SUSSEX.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF SUSSEX.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Rapes, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Arundel.....	3624	89	3061	1209	517	24276
Bramber.....	3700	233	2527	1227	507	22777
Chichester.....	4151	123	3105	1161	590	24200
Hastings.....	5268	130	3657	1885	996	34826
Lewes.....	2932	56	2371	823	342	18659
Pevensy.....	5833	126	4812	1743	516	38217
City of Chichester...	1083	32	72	803	411	6425
Borough of Lewes...	893	29	112	597	549	6221
Town of Brighthelmstone.....	3077	301	61	1301	1054	12012
Local Militia embodied, May 1811.....	—	—	—	—	—	2470
Totals.....	29561	1119	19778	10754	5482	190083

WARWICKSHIRE.

WARWICKSHIRE.

Restrained, by the limits of this Appendix, from introducing fresh topographical delineations respecting a county so rich, throughout nearly all its divisions, in local history and antiquities, it remains to present such corrections of the descriptive sketches already made, as have occurred on an attentive revisal, or have been suggested by gentlemen residing in the county, in consequence of letters circulated for that purpose.

Page 20. Since the publication of the "Beauties" for Warwickshire, the STRATFORD CANAL has been brought to Stratford, and completed. At this town it joins the Avon, and opens a communication with the Bristol Channel. The first boat passed out of the Canal into the Avon, on the 24th of June, 1816.

Page 28, (and p. 265) WROXHALL HOUSE is now inhabited by Christopher Wren, Esq. its proprietor, who has completed the alterations and repairs of this mansion.

Page 38, line 10, for "slight," read *flight*.

Page 42. The great hall of Kenilworth Castle is situated in the *Lancaster*, not in the "Leicester," buildings. We have observed that the lake, which formerly ornamented three sides of this castle, is "now nearly dried up:"—the site is, at present, meadow-land.

Page 44, *note*, for "1662," read 1642.

Page 52, line 13, after "William Lord Craven," *add*, afterwards Earl.

Page 54, line 17, for "Houthorst," read *Honthorst*. The same correction is necessary in the note to the same page; and again, at page 57, line 2.

Page 56, line 4, *from bottom*, for *Miereveld*, read *Mircvelt*.

Page 57. BINLEY CHURCH was erected by the late Lord Craven. The Earldom became extinct on the death of the first possessor, and was renewed in the person of the present peer.

Page

Page 57. Mr. Wagstaffe, here mentioned, was son of the more celebrated Thomas Wagstaffe, eminent as a writer on the side of royalty in the 17th century. He is said by Chalmers to have "died at Rome, Dec. 3, 1770, aged 78. Mr. Nichols has preserved some jeux d'esprits, and some epitaphs written by him; and there is a letter of his to Hearne, the antiquary, in the 'letters written by Eminent Persons,' published at Oxford in 1813."

Page 66. ALLESLEY PARK is the property, but not at present the residence, of the Rev. J. Neale.

Page 81, line 22, for "Lilly," read *Lely*.

Page 98. Although the freeholders of "the county of the city of Coventry" do not, at present, vote on the election of representatives of the county of Warwick, they presume that they have a right to that privilege.

Page 99, line 5. The fillet attached to the small antique figure mentioned in this page, is of an indistinct character, and has been thought to resemble laurel rather than "wheat."

Page 119, line 8, *from bottom*, for "1744," read 1644.

Page 127. The most ancient part of St. Michael's church is the *East end*.

Page 128, line 20, for "t s" read St.

Page 131. The term of "plain" is, perhaps, scarcely applicable to the interior of St. John's church; which is interesting to the architectural antiquary, as a specimen of the style that prevailed in the reign of Edward III.

Page 136, line 1, for "Richard Scrope," read *Richard Crosby*.

Page 137, line 2, *from bottom*, not I.H.S. in Roman letter, but the Hebrew characters.

Page 142. The mayor has not any *elevated seat* in the Old Council-house, as would appear to be suggested by the descriptive terms used in this page.

Page 156. The building still preserved near Spon-bridge, but now converted into ordinary habitations, was not the hospital founded by an Earl of Chester for the reception of lepers; which stood without the suburbs, and is now completely destroyed.

Page 180. The injudicious intelligence afforded by an inhabitant of Warwickshire, led us to misrepresent the works which were in progress at Weston during our researches in this county. We have

great pleasure in stating that those operations were intended for the repair, and not for the demolition, of this ancient and interesting family residence.

Page 181. To the account of the *Cotswold Games*, add that there is, in the works of Sir William D'Avenant (folio, p. 236) a Poem "In celebration of the yearly preserver of the *Games Cotswald*."

— 197. CHURCH of ST. MARY, WARWICK. In the *Parentalia*, p. 342, amongst "Designs of Buildings" made by Sir Christopher Wren, are the following entries:—"Designs for the parochial church at Warwick, after the fire of the town in 1694; not executed. *Orthography* of the Tower of the parochial church of St. Mary at Warwick, erected after an unsuccessful attempt in execution of a defective prior design by other hands." The above unexecuted "Designs" are among the drawings by Sir Christopher Wren, now preserved in the library of All Souls' College, Oxford.

— 217. An inaccuracy occurs in describing the contents of the Gallery of Armour, at WARWICK CASTLE. It is *plate armour*, no "mail," that is there preserved.

It may, likewise, be remarked, that the armour formerly ascribed to the legendary champion, *Guy*, is not kept in Caesar's tower, but in a room in the gateway, or porter's lodge.

— 219, and other pages, in which the name of the proprietor of GUY'S CLIFF occurs, for "Bertie Greathead, Esq." read *Bertie Greathced, Esq.*

— 222; The inscription at BLACKLOW-HILL is proved, by the form of the letters, to have been cut at a date much less remote than the event which it commemorates. It is, also, observable, that Gaveston was beheaded in 1312, not in 1311, as is stated in the inscription.

The engraving inserted in our work, under the title of "Part of Warwick," is not noticed in the letter-press of the "Beauties" for this county. We now supply that omission, by observing that the spacious domestic structure shewn on the left, is the residence of one of the proprietors of the very extensive Worsted Manufactory. In the distance, on the right, is seen the tower of St. Mary's church.

WESTMORELAND.

WESTMORELAND.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF THE COUNTY OF
WESTMORELAND.*As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.*

Wards, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS Total of Persons.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manu- facture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	
East Ward	2464	57	1617	614	400	12431
Kendal Ward	2719	111	1548	998	275	13674
Lonsdale Ward	774	27	469	296	102	4170
West Ward	1283	76	949	265	164	6604
Town of Kirkby- Kendal	1496	12	30	697	982	7505
Local Militia embodied, May 1811	—	—	—	—	—	1538
Totals	8736	283	4613	2870	1923	45922

WORCESTERSHIRE.

THE Editor of this County presents the following supplementary remarks.

“ It is but an act of justice, to state that, since the publication of this portion of the work, information has been derived from a most respectable source, regarding the church at *Inkborough*, on the eastern side of this county, of which, on the authority of Nash, confirmed by enquiry, it was stated that it is “ an ancient parish church falling fast to decay,” &c. It is a pleasure to observe that such an assertion is erroneous, as far as regards its decay, it being now in most excellent repair, both within and without; and, by the judicious zeal and attention of the Vicar, and Parishioners, it is not in that respect exceeded by any church in the diocese. Dr. Nash, alluding to a *monument of the Savage family*, says, that as the whole chapel in which it is situated was ready to fall, he had taken care to engrave the monument before it fell to pieces; since his time, however, owing to the care of the Vicar, and the liberality of the parish, this ancient and venerable sepulchral memorial has been sedulously protected from the weather; and this at a very considerable expence, the descendants of the family refusing to contribute towards so laudable an act.

“ In another part of our Survey the title of *Viscount* has been inadvertently given to *Lord Beauchamp*: but the title is now raised to an *Earldom*.”

As a trifling addition to the list of errata, in p. 105, for “ *deters*” read *deter*.

The Editor of this “ Appendix,” has, likewise, been favoured with some corrections, and useful additions, to the account of *Worcestershire*, which proceeded from an anonymous correspondent. Although not enabled to present the name of this contributor, the Editor has reason to believe that he is a gentleman of high respectability, and intimately acquainted with those parts of the county concerning which he has obliged the work with information to the following effect.

“ *REDDITCH* (page 203.) is said to be remarkable only for a fair held in August, but it must be added that the place is the great seat
of

of the Needle manufactory, many hundred persons being employed in this manufacture, which is so extremely curious as to deserve the notice of all those who may visit that part of the county. An interesting detail of the principal manipulations for the production of needles may be seen in *Rees's Cyclopaedia*. Article NEEDLE. Vol. XXIV. Part II. An amusing account of the manner in which the manufacture of pins and needles was introduced into Great Britain, will be found in Mr. Parkes's *Chemical Essays*, Vol. V. page 255. Note 247.

" In treating of SWINFORD, page 229, the name of the place should have been printed OLD SWINFORD, this being its usual denomination, to distinguish it from a considerable village about three or four miles distant, called *King Swinford*. To the notice of the Hospital endowed by Thomas Foley, Esq. an ancestor of the present Lord Foley, it may be added that this is not a receptacle for invalids, as the name seems to import, but an establishment for the education of sixty poor boys, who are clothed, lodged, and boarded in the house of the Institution. This excellent man was also the founder of the Presbyterian Society at Stourbridge, which was for several years superintended by his domestic chaplain, a Mr. Flower. The number of deserving tradesmen in the neighbouring towns, who were educated at this Hospital, bear ample testimony to the utility of the establishment.—See *Priestley's Appeal on the Riots in Birmingham*, Part II. page 197.

Under the article STOURBRIDGE it should be inserted that, besides the library at the free-school, there is also a very valuable public library, which was established about the year 1788, by the industry and zeal of Mr. Samuel Parkes, the author of several well-known chemical works, who was formerly an inhabitant of this town, and president of the society. This society, which at the time of its formation had the honour of enrolling the Earl of Stamford, Viscount Dudley and Ward, the late Lord Littleton, and most of the clergy and gentlemen of the neighbourhood in the list of its members, has continued to the present time in a very flourishing and prosperous state. As continual augmentations are making to this library, by the annual subscriptions of the proprietors, it promises, in a course of years, to become a very valuable acquisition to the town and its vicinity.

" Under the article DUDLEY, it should be noticed that the manu-

facture of *nails* is one of the staple trades of the town and neighbourhood. In this trade the iron is furnished by persons called Nail factors, and the workmen form it into nails in their own cottages. Many hundred persons are employed here in this manufactory. Last year the venerable *old* church was taken down, and a new church is intended to be erected on the same site.

"In speaking of the town of KIDDERMINSTER, notice is taken of the church, and of the attention which has been paid to "Gothic" effect in the repairs and alterations which were made some years ago in this noble structure of antiquity. To that account we are desirous of adding that the whole of this work was done under the direction of the late Mr. Johnson, architect, of Worcester; a man of great taste and judgment. At that time the church was entirely new pewed, and a new gallery erected, the whole being formed of the most beautiful Norway oak, and executed in a style at once elegant and substantial. The same ingenious architect was also employed, about the same time, to erect a new chapel for the dissenters of Stourbridge, in the lower part of the High Street, which is also pewed with Norway oak in the same beautiful manner.

"In recurring to the account of Kidderminster, where it is stated, "that there is here a very considerable society of Presbyterian dissenters, the descendants of Baxter's pupils," it may be added that there is also a society of Unitarian dissenters in the town, which comprises some of its most opulent and respectable inhabitants. Respecting the belief in witchcraft, in which it is said the ancestors of the present race of natives indulged, this cannot perhaps be wondered at, when it is recollected that Baxter, their famous teacher, wrote in defence of the doctrines of possession and witchcraft. Some curious particulars respecting this singular person, may be seen in the *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. II. p. 167. In *Granger's Biographical History of England*, Vol. III. p. 331. In *The History of his own Life and Times*; and in the volumes of the *Monthly Repository of Theology, &c.*

"In the account of the biography of Kidderminster, after giving some account of Richard de Kedermyster and Richard Baxter, it is stated that "In modern times, we must not omit *Mr. Purkes*, the ingenious author of the *Chemical Catechism*;" but this gentleman was, in fact, neither born at Kidderminster, nor ever was a resident in that town. The individual

dividual in question is the son of a respectable tradesman of Stourbridge, where he resided with his father, during the first 30 years of his life; and there it was that he acquired a taste for literature, having for several years been president of a highly respectable reading society in that town, and afterwards president of the library society, as already mentioned. Our preceding informant probably fell into the error, from the circumstance of Mr. Parkes's father having, some years before his death, retired to Kidderminster, where he died a few years ago, at an advanced age.

“ Under WOLVERLEY PARISH, the name of J. Knight, Esq. is mentioned as a “ gentleman who has been of considerable service to agriculture, by his spirited experimental mode of husbandry;” and he must be further noticed as a manufacturer of bar iron, of which he and his ancestors have been some of the most considerable manufacturers which this country has produced. Of so much consequence as an iron-master was this gentleman considered, that for many years the body of manufacturers consented to *his fixing the price* of bar-iron at the periodical meetings of the principal people of the trade, which were held quarterly at Stourbridge, Wolverhampton, and Birmingham.

“ In speaking of Mr. Baskerville (page 247) it is said that “ he was buried at his own express desire, within his own grounds.” This was owing to his dislike of the ceremony of consecrating ground for the purpose of interment. Mr. Baskerville was unfortunately a disbeliever in Christianity; but we are assured that he always treated those from whom he differed in opinion, with modesty and deference.”

WORCESTERSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF WORCESTERSHIRE.

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Hundreds, &c.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.	
Blackenhurst	604	14	461	148	20	2991	
Doddingtree.....	2928	107	1883	1243	360	15615	
Halfshire ..	10135	273	2543	7444	1021	52899	
Oswaldslow.....	6991	137	5037	2037	787	37429	
Pershore.....	4480	127	3233	1233	506	23089	
Borough of Droitwich	423	11	92	161	309	2079	
Borough of Evesham	674	11	313	339	62	3068	
Town of Kidderminster.....	1546	60	89	1569	79	8038	
City of Worcester....	2425	64	167	2691	297	13814	
Local Militia embodied, May, 1811	—	—	—	—	—	1524	
Totals	30206	804	13818	16865	3441	160546	

YORKSHIRE.

YORKSHIRE.

The editor of the "Beauties" for this county, submits the following list of corrections, in addition to those already presented at the end of Volume XVI.

- Page 18, line 12, for "Barrow's camps," read *Barrow's camp*.
 21, 20, for "Ethelbald," read *Ethelbert*.
 26, 10, omit "effect and."
 58, 1, for "in," read *on*.
 64, 24, for "or," read *and*.
 109, note, for "Usher Primrod," read *Usher Primord*.
 129, line 4, for "Edward," read *Edwin*.
 129, 5, for "foreign," read *foreigners*.
 236, 3, for "superstructors," read *superstructures*.
 242, 6, for "Flaccus Albinus," read *Flaccus Alcuinus*.
 246, note, for "Sir Robert," read *St. Robert*.
 260, line 7, for Johannes," read *Johannis*.
 261, 6, omit "great."
 320, 10, for "and," read *but*.
 357, 8, for "Wotham," read *Hotham*.
 369, 2, for "Matton," read *Malton*.
 139, 15, for "novesque," read *novisque*.
 339, 10, for "Richard," read *Richard the First*.
 367, 13, for "William," read *William Allasqn*.
 362, 12, for "330," read 320.
 394, 8, omit the word "ago."
 433, 7, and 8, for *Castrorutn*," read *Castorum*.
 534, 2, for "1672," read 1665.
 578, 15, for "whole course, read *old course*."
 579, for "Skifton, read *Skipton*.
 685, 2, for "607," read 1607.
 733, 6, for "north side," read *south side*.
 778, 2, for "volumns," read *columns*.

Page

Page 790, line 11, for "1677," read 1777.

872, 2, omit "and."

872, 23, for steep," read *deep*.

532, 13, for "and," read *but*.

879, 2, for "on the great Roman road," read *near the great Roman road*.

848, 4, for "twelve miles south-west from Thorne," read *ten miles south-west from Thorne*.

The enumeration of MARKET-TOWNS IN THE EAST-RIDING, which should have preceded the list of "Gentlemen's Seats," has been accidentally omitted. The following market-towns are situated in this district :

Bridlington	South Cave
Hornsea (now little used)	Market Weighton
Pattingham	Driffild
Nedon	Pocklington
Hull	Howden.
Beverley	

WALES.

WALES.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF WALES,

As published by Authority of Parliament in 1811.

Counties.	HOUSES.		OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Anglesey.....	7183	108	5376	1453	877	37045
Brecon.....	7555	354	4667	2239	1013	37735
Cardigan.....	9639	155	5864	1913	3519	50260
Carmarthen.....	4856	335	9878	5256	949	77217
Carnarvon.....	9169	154	6667	2687	833	49336
Denbigh.....	13078	281	7973	3447	2283	64240
Flint.....	8816	155	4086	3009	2645	46518
Glamorgan.....	17017	741	8217	7915	2563	85067
Merioneth.....	6022	115	3619	1270	1928	30924
Montgomery.....	9349	174	6369	3164	772	51931
Pembroke.....	12468	406	7189	2848	2900	60615
Radnor.....	4046	119	2941	843	584	20900
Total.....	119398	3095	72846	36044	20866	311788

END OF APPENDIX.

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CORRECTIONS RELATING TO THE MAPS.

MAP OF THE CELTIC AND BELGIC TRIBES.

The following British towns are inserted in the map, but are not enumerated in the list of British towns contained in the letter-press:—

Calleva, Silchester.

Banchorium, Banchoir.

Vindomis, near St. Mary Bourne.

Bibrocum.

Avalonia, Glastonbury.

MAP OF THE ROMAN ROADS.

The sites of the stations marked Numbers 32, 33, and 123, in the list of Roman stations contained in the letter-press, are still uncertain and, consequently, could not be noticed in the map.

Number 163, as noticed in the letter-press; for "Brougham," read *Braughing, Herts.*

The station, *Ad Portes*, is not mentioned in the letter-press, but is inserted in the map, at Staines, in Middlesex; its site being confidently attributed to that place.

At page 138, of the letter-press, for "Stations and Camps on, and near, the Walls of Antonine and Severus," read *Stations and Camps on and near the Wall of Severus.*

* * * DIRECTIONS FOR THE BINDER.

The map of the Celtic and Belgic tribes to face page 12.

The map of the Roman roads to face page 133.

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